

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
October 5 to 16, Inclusive
1925



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1925

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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1926

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Forty-Fifth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Voters for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators, and.....	1	24	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, New York.
		73	A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	73	J. Goldstone, 1823 Holland Ave., Bronx, New York.
		72	Peter Beisel, 4100 South Broadway, St. Louis, Missouri.
		96	James C. Shanessy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		96	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	96	Roe H. Baker, 440 28th Street, San Francisco, California.
		96	H. C. Wenzel, 418 North Franklin St., St. Paul, Minnesota.
		96	Phil J. Pearl, 4121 Arcade Square, Seattle, Washington.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	16	Charles Aitkens, 990 East 37th Street, Brooklyn, New York.
		25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	W. G. Powlesland, 250 Beatrice Street, Toronto 4, Ont., Canada.
		43	J. A. Franklin, Suite 522, Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	4	43	Charles F. Scott, 824 Heed Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		43	John Dohney, 7915 S. Sangamon St., Chicago, Illinois.
		42	M. J. McGuire, 1483 Hopkins St., Oakland, California.
		46	Walter N. Reddick, 308 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	45	Felix J. Belair, 308 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		45	Mary E. Meehan, Room 732, Old South Bldg., Boston, Massachusetts.
		73	Collis Lovely, 246 Summer St., Boston, Massachusetts.
		73	Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer St., Boston, Massachusetts.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	72	J. Thomas Beasley, 246 Summer St., Boston, Massachusetts.
		72	Frank W. Anderson, 3108 Cullom Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		72	Mollie E. Weitler, 135 Lyons St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	54	A. J. Kugler, 156 Grant Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
		53	Joseph Obergfell, 2347-51 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		53	John Sullivan, 129 Worth Street, New York City.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	117	William J. Bowen, 1417 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		117	George Jones, 510 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		117	George T. Thornton, 1417 K Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.
		117	William Lyons, 265 Washington St., Newark, New Jersey.
		116	Walter V. Price, 255 Haven Ave., New York City.
		116	Peter S. Shaughnessy, 910 West Monroe St., Chicago, Illinois.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	2	25	Frank Kaston, R. 440, 327 S. La Salle St., Chicago, Illinois.
		25	William Tracy, R. 440, 323-331 S. La Salle St., Chicago, Illinois.
		43	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis, Missouri.
		42	Wm. P. McGinn, 986 Saratoga St., East Boston, Massachusetts.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	4	42	Edward Ryan, 3841 West Monroe St., Chicago, Illinois.
		42	John O'Brien, 9516 Orleans Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		7	Will R. Boyer, 853 King Place, Chicago, Illinois.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International.....	1	31	William F. Quesse, Sixth Floor, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.
		31	Paul David, 166 West Washington St., Room 601, Chicago, Illinois.
Building Service Employees' International Union.....	2	313	Martin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Missouri.
		313	E. Wm. Weeks, 508 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Missouri.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	4	312	F. J. Cullum, 38 Milton Street, Stratford, Ont., Canada.
		312	T. P. Hyland, Horton, Kansas.
		397	Wm. L. Hutcheson, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		397	Frank Duffy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		396	George T. Walker, 3046 Osgood St., Chicago, Illinois.
		396	John Howat, Box 515, Shreveport, Louisiana.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	396	Harry Lindeman, 3024 Olive St., St. Louis, Missouri.
		396	W. R. Bennett, 1620 4th Ave., Seattle, Washington.
		396	M. D. Taylor, 6558 S. Sangamon St., Chicago, Illinois.
		396	John B. Tierney, 52 Kingston St., Buffalo, New York.
		59	G. W. Perkins, 620, 508 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.
		59	I. M. Ornburn, Box 1728, New Haven, Connecticut.
		59	W. A. Campbell, 620, 508 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.
		58	R. S. Sexton, 620, 508 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	4	60	Thos. F. Flaherty, Room 300, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		59	Perry J. Bradish, 3318 Monroe St., Kansas City, Missouri.
		59	Theo. E. Lippold, 1480 27th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
		59	Charles R. Gale, Atlantic City, Post Office, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	4		

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
		152	E. H. Fitzgerald, 701 Brotherhood of Ry. Clerks Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		152	H. W. Harper, 210 Moore Bldg., San Antonio, Texas.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	6	152	L. L. Wooten, P. O. Box 33, Wilmington, North Carolina.
		152	G. H. Nicholson, N. E. Cor. 8th and Walnut Sts., Kansas City, Missouri.
		152	C. A. Weber, 5410 S. Marshfield Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		152	E. A. Badley, Brotherhood of Ry. Clerks Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail.....	2	50	C. C. Coulter, 720 Fifth Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		50	H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
		26	M. Zaritsky, 621 Broadway, New York City.
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.....	3	26	M. Zuckerman, 621 Broadway, New York City.
		26	Nathaniel Spector, 30 West 37th Street, New York City.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1	23	J. R. Deckard, 2959 North Taney Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	1	13	James J. Doyle, 615 South Street, Roslindale, Massachusetts.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.....	1	4	Edward de Raay, 660 Riverside Drive, New York City.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	6	C. L. Rosemund, Room 200, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		203	James P. Noonan, 506 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		203	F. J. McNulty, 506 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		203	M. T. Joyce, 1 Warren Ave., Boston, Massachusetts.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	203	C. M. Paulsen, 1507 Ogden Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		203	Julia S. O'Connor, 1109 Tremont Bldg., Boston, Massachusetts.
		203	Irwin Knott, 2814 Warren Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		202	Edw. J. Evans, Room 1505, 127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.
		27	Frank Feeney, 391 Fulton St., Brooklyn, New York.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	27	James J. McAndrews, Room 1603, Capitol Bldg., 159 North State Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		27	Walter Snow, 700 Wesley Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		64	Arthur M. Huddell, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating.....	4	63	Dave Evans, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		63	Michael Murphy, 166 E. 60th St., New York City.
		63	James A. Cooley, 227 E. Madison Ave., Collingswood, New Jersey.
		36	Matthew Wolf, Room 701, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo-.....	2	36	Henry F. Schmal, Tower Grove Bank Building, 3136 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Federal Employes, National Federation of.....	4	51	Luther C. Stewart, 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.
		51	John Fitzgerald, 72 Adelphi Street, Brooklyn, New York.
		50	Gertrude M. McNally, 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.
		50	Charles L. Wiegand, 220 Custom House, Baltimore, Maryland.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	80	Fred W. Baer, A. F. of L. Bldg., 901 Massachusetts Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		80	James M. Simester, 3629 Wallace St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	3	34	Timothy Healy, 110 East 23rd Street, New York City
		33	C. L. Shamp, 3611 North 24th St., Omaha, Nebraska.
		33	Jos. W. Morton, 165 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois
Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International.....	2	57	Morris Kaufman, 1368 Sheridan Ave., Bronx, New York.
		57	Pietro Lucchi, 560 Morgan Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.
		95	T. A. Rickert, Room 506, 175 West, Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	95	B. A. Langer, 621 Bible House, New York City.
		95	Frank Doyle, Room 210, 69 Canal St., Boston, Massachusetts.
		95	A. Adamski, 547 Doat Street, Buffalo, New York.
		95	Mrs. D. A. Houck, 621 Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers Union, International Ladies.....	6	150	Morris Sigman, 3 West 16th St., New York City
		150	Charles Kreindler, 203 Superior Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		150	Louis Pinkofsky, 231 East 14th St., New York City.
		150	Louigi Antonini, 8 West 21st St., New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	150	Samuel Perlmutter, 33 Second Ave., New York City.
		150	David Dubinsky, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.
		30	James Maloney, 1007 Colonial Trust Bldg., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....	2	30	John Griffin, 1535 West Lexington St., Baltimore, Maryland.
		27	Wm. P. Clarke, 337-46 Ohio Bldg., Toledo, Ohio.
Glass Workers, Window, National.....	1	26	Thomas J. Gallagher, 1108 Sarah St. S. S. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	2	20	Frank Harbert, Glassboro, New Jersey.
		43	Sam Squibb, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	42	James Duncan, 25 Gilmore Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
		39	Michael F. Greene, 418 Bible House, New York City.
		38	Christopher F. Donigan, 39 Newton St., Newark, New Jersey.
		38	Jeremiah Scully, 303 Main St., Danbury, Connecticut.
Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	5	123	D. D'Alessandro, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
		123	J. V. Moreschi, P. O. Box 183, Chicago, Illinois.
		123	Joseph Marshall, 290 Guerrero St., San Francisco, California.
		123	J. B. Etchison, 1202 Spann Ave., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		123	Peter Fosco, 850 S. Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen.....	1	20	Hubert S. Marshall, 1101 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		77	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Ave., Buffalo, New York.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	5	77	Jere L. Sullivan, 528-530 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		77	Thomas S. Farrell, The Davis and Farley Co., Davis and Farley Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		77	John J. McDevitt, 2908 Aramingo Ave., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		77	Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, New York.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	1	114	M. F. Tighe, 510 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		30	Wm. J. McSorley, Lathers' Bldg., Room 307, Detroit at W. 26th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3	30	Joseph Duty, 418 Diamond Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		29	Charles Case, 917 Main St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Laundry Workers' International Union.....	1	55	Harry L. Morrison, 799 Second Ave., Troy, New York.
Leather Workers, United, International Union.....	1	20	W. E. Bryan, 610 Walsix Building, Kansas City, Missouri.
		65	Edward J. Gainer, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		65	M. T. Finnan, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	5	65	Charles D. Duffy, 834 Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Illinois.
		65	L. E. Swartz, Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.
		65	John T. Mugavin, Provident Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Lithographers', International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	1	53	Philip Bock, 205 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	2	159	A. J. Chlopek, 744-49 Bramson Building, Buffalo, New York.
		159	Joseph P. Ryan, 164 11th Ave., New York, New York.
		119	Robert Fechner, Room 31, 5 Park Square, Boston, Massachusetts.
		119	Chas. W. Fry, 113 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Machinists, International Association of.....	6	119	Dan Haggerty, 936 Capp Street, San Francisco, California.
		119	Wm. Larkin, 35 13th Street, Lowell, Massachusetts.
		119	Geo. W. Marshall, 608 East 38th Street, Savannah, Georgia.
		119	Chas. F. Wills, 6019 South Maplewood Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, United Brotherhood of.....	3	125	Fred H. Fljzodal, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
		125	Elmer E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
		124	Leslie Miller, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association of.....	1	32	Lewis Rode, 406 East 149th Street, New York, New York.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization.....	1	39	Clarence E. Hill, 244 Linden St., Moorestown, New Jersey.
		41	Patrick E. Gorman, 900 Fehr Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	3	41	Dennis Lane, 160 North La Salle St., Chicago, Illinois.
		40.	Michael J. Kelly, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.
		63	John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet.....	4	63	Hugh Frayne, Rooms 608-609, 1416 Broadway, New York City.
		62	Thomas Redding, 4941 West End Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
		62	Richard Pattison, 162 East 23rd St., New York City.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union of.....	3	29	Chas. H. Moyer, 500 Mercantile Bldg., Denver, Colorado.
		28	Edw. Crough, Box 266, Mulberry, Florida.
		28	John McMullen, 514 South Montana St., Butte, Montana.
		500	John L. Lewis, 1102-1109 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		500	Philip Murray, 408 Columbia Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		500	William Green, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	500	Frank Farrington, Illinois Miners' Bldg., Springfield, Illinois.
		500	Lee Hall, 75 Ruggery Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
		500	Thomas Kennedy, 1101-08 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
		500	Walter Nesbit, Springfield, Illinois.
		500	C. J. Golden, Shamokin, Pennsylvania.
		69	M. J. Keough, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	4	69	John P. Frey, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		69	Geo. E. McCaffrey, 213 Webster Ave., Syracuse, New York.
		68	G. W. Boswell, P. O. Box 551, San Bruno, California.
		134	Joseph N. Weber, 1440 Broadway, New York City.
		134	David A. Carey, 170 Montrose Ave., Toronto, Canada.
		133	Chauncey A. Weaver, City Hall, Des Moines, Iowa.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	6	133	Edward Canavan, care, 958 8th Ave., Local 802, A. F. of M., New York City.
		133	Adolph Hirschberg, 1533 N. Natrona St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		133	John W. Parks, care, Local 147, A. F. of M., Labor Temple, Dallas, Texas.
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....	1	12	Walter J. Yarrow, 208½ West Twelfth Street, Fort Worth, Texas.
		180	Joe Kelly, 1513 So. 53rd Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		180	Chas. J. Lammert, Painters' Bldg., Lafayette, Indiana.
Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers of America, Brotherhood of..	6	179	Nick F. Smith, 2882 Howard St., San Francisco, California.
		179	P. H. Triggs, 21 Sanford St., Springfield, Massachusetts.
		179	John J. Doyle, 54 Norwalk Ave., Buffalo, New York.
		179	Chas. J. Eisenring, 3908 St. Louis Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	M. H. Parker, 25 South Hawk St., Albany, New York.
		25	Frank P. Barry, Ballston Spa, New York.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	2	35	James Wilson, Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		35	James L. Gernon, 411 Albermarle Road, Brooklyn, New York.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	20	Edward I. Hannah, 336 East 59th Street, New York City.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	24	Carl Bergstrom, Lock Box 130, Rockport, Massachusetts.
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International.....	1	6	Jacob Fischer, 260 East 138th Street, New York City.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	4	75	Ed. J. McGivern, 17 Robbins Road, Arlington Heights, Massachusetts.
		75	John Donlin, 3241 Lexington St., Chicago, Illinois.
		75	John Watson, 1355 Central Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		75	Peter G. Cook, 140 Union Road, Roselle, New Jersey.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5	79	John Coefield, 1138 North Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.
		79	Thomas E. Burke, 1138 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		78	J. J. Sullivan, Care of 1138 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		78	William H. Fallon, 129 Bidwell Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
		78	Charles Anderson, Room 9, 510 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Polishers, Metal, International Union.....	2	30	W. W. Britton, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		30	Ray Kelsay, 1308 Olney Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	1	81	John T. Wood, P. O. Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Printers' and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	12	Thomas McQuade, 1130 Montello Avenue N. E., Washington, D. C.
		80	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	80	Martin P. Higgins, 46 High Street, Charlestown, Massachusetts.
		80	William H. McHugh, 720 Heed Bldg., 1215 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		80	William Smith, 528 N. Homan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	2	80	Charles A. Sigmund, R. 125 N. Florida Ave., Atlantic City, New Jersey.
		25	John P. Burke, P. O. Drawer V, Fort Edward, New York.
		25	Herbert W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Quarry Workers, International Union of North America.....	1	30	Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vermont.
		169	W. D. Mahon, 260 East High Street, Detroit, Michigan.
		169	Wm. B. Fitzgerald, 260 East High Street, Detroit, Michigan.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	6	168	P. J. Shea, 101 S. Irving Avenue, Scranton, Pennsylvania.
		168	Wm. Quinlan, 328-338 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		168	John H. Reardon, 55 Downing Street, Worcester, Massachusetts.
		168	John J. Bruce, 332-338 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Railway Mail Association.....	2	96 95	William Collins, 506-508 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Henry W. Strickland, Rooms 506-508 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition	1	30	William N. Clark, care of J. M. Gaviak, 3091 Coleridge Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	3	54 53 53	Andrew Furuseth, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Victor A. Olander, 359 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois. Percy J. Pryor, care of 359 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad.....	3	27 27 26	D. W. Helt, 4750 N. Kimball Ave., Chicago, Illinois. T. A. Austin, 4750 N. Kimball Ave., Chicago, Illinois. D. C. Cone, Box 58, Landing, New Jersey.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	50 50 50 50	Wm. F. Canavan, 110 West 40th Street, Room 701, New York City. Thomas Maloy, 422 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Illinois. H. C. Griffin, 1315 Lafayette St., Detroit, Michigan. P. J. Ryan, P. O. Box 1333, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	34 34	Winfield T. Keegan, 78 Lincoln Street, Jersey City, New Jersey. Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	26 25	M. W. Mitchell, 324 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Indiana. Frank Basky, 410 East 89th Street, New York City.
Stove Mounters' International Union....	1	16 45	W. L. Funder Burk, 6466 E. Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. T. C. Cashen, 39 West North Street, Buffalo, New York.
Switchmen's Union of North America....	2	44 31	J. B. Connors, 5441 S. Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois. Thos. Sweeney, 6753 Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	3	31 31 31	Gus Soderberg, 219 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois. C. N. Bolander, care of 6753 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	1	35 132 132	F. G. Stecker, 512 Webster Bldg., 327 South La Salle St., Chicago, Illinois. Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	132 131 131 131 70 79	John M. Gillespie, 15 Allston Heights, Allston 34, Massachusetts. Wm. A. Neer, 220 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. John P. McLaughlin, 536 Bryant St., San Francisco, California. Edw. McCaffrey, 565 Hudson Street, New York City. E. J. Manion, 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	5	78 78 78 78	D. G. Ramsay, Suite 1125, Chicago Temple, Chicago, Illinois. H. B. Perham, 1378 Montclair Ave., St. Louis, Missouri. Ed. R. Derrickson, 1831 South Hamlin St., Chicago, Illinois. G. R. Smith, Trenton, Michigan.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial.....	2	21	Frank B. Powers, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		20	Percy Thomas, care of 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Textile Workers of America, United....	2	150	Thomas F. McMahon, Rooms 108-112 Bible House, New York City.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	150	Sara A. Conboy, Rooms 108-112 Bible House, New York City.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	14	W. R. Walden, 50-53 Our Home Life Insurance Bldg., Louisville, Kentucky.
	1	30	John J. Collins, 246 East 116th Street, New York City.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	119	James M. Lynch, Meridian at 28th Street, Indianapolis, Indiana
		119	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		118	Max S. Hayes, 2829 Coventry Road, Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio.
		118	John C. Harding, 110 North Pine Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		118	T. W. McCullough, 2005 Manderson Street, Omaha, Nebraska.
		118	William Young, 1530 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	1	76	William Kohn, 230 East 58th Street, New York City.
Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United.....	1	6	Chas. A. Alexander, care of Chas. Gentzler, York, Pennsylvania.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	William J. Tracy, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	James O'Connell, 400-403 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employes Department.....	1	1	Bert M. Jewell, Room 402, 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Lewis Bowen, 1304 Williams Street, Birmingham, Alabama.
California State Federation of Labor....	1	1	John J. Murphy, 1535 Alabama Street, San Francisco, California.
Colorado State Federation of Labor....	1	1	O. F. Nigro, 506 Beach Street, Trinidad, Colorado.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. M. Atkins, 409 Ingleside Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. B. Gramling, Box 576, R. F. D. No. 5, Atlanta, Georgia.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John H. Walker, 728 Illinois Mine Workers' Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. W. Taylor, 2421 South Seventh Street, Terre Haute, Indiana.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John C. Lewis, 109 8th Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor....	1	1	William Egan, 507 York Street, Newport, Kentucky.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Thos. J. Greer, 513 Stoner Ave., Shreveport, Louisiana.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Kearney, care of M. T. Joyce, Room 819, Lawyers' Building, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Michigan State Federation of Labor....	1	1	George H. Allen, 1586 Dickerson Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor....	1	1	E. G. Hall, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robt. B. Armstrong, 3667 Blaine Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Montana State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Stephen Ely, P. O. Box 1152, Helena, Montana.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Nevada State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. D. Nelligan, Stewart Apartments, Reno, Nevada.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Henry F. Hilfers, 41 Franklin Street, Newark, New Jersey.
New York State Federation of Labor....	1	1	James P. Holland, 110 East 23rd Street, New York, New York.
North Carolina State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. P. Barringer, Box 230, Wake Forrest, North Carolina.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Adolph Kummer, 1311 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James J. McAndrew, 430 North Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
Porto Rico State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, 207 A. F. of L. Build- ing, Washington, D. C.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. M. Reilly, Labor Temple, Dallas, Texas.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Henry Ohl, Jr., 516 Metropolitan Block, 3rd and State Streets, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Harry W. Fox, 909 Richardson Court, Drawer 892, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Alexandria, La., Central Labor Union..	1	1	M. E. Steadman, 18 Bolton Ave., Alexandria, Louisiana.
Altoona, Pa., Blair County, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles Kutz, 1228 Jefferson Ave., Altoona, Pennsylvania.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades....	1	1	C. W. Cunningham, 187 A. Cooper Street, Atlanta, Georgia.
Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Philip Rohr, 291 N. Pennsylvania Ave., Atlantic City, New Jersey.
Belleville, Illinois, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Edward Wieck, Belleville, Illinois.
Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jeremiah Ryan, 53 State Street, Bing- hamton, New York.
Birmingham, Alabama, Trades Council.....	1	1	John L. Busby, Box 489, Birmingham, Alabama.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John R. Kelley, 6 Dover Street, W. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union....	1	1	J. V. Fitzsimmons, 1209 Cleveland Ave., S. W., Canton, Ohio.
Chattanooga, Tennessee, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Paul J. Aymon, 1020 East Main Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
Chicago, Illinois, Federation of Labor....	1	1	Oscar F. Nelson, 3637 Maple Square Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Hammer, 217 West 12th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor....	1	1	James F. Malley, 2450 E. 9th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Council Bluffs, Iowa, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William F. Patton, R. F. D., No. 5, Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Detroit, Michigan, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank X. Martel, 274 East High Street, Detroit, Michigan.
East St. Louis, Illinois, Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	H. Barnes, care of H. B. Keith, 305A Collinsville Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Grafton, W. Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James E. Jones, Blen Avon Hotel, Grafton, West Virginia.
Hamilton, Ont., Canada, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. A. O'Dell, 20 Rutherford Ave., Hamilton, Ont., Canada.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. B. Nelson, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Missouri.
Klamath Falls, Oregon, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. D. Long, Box 363, Klamath Falls, Oregon.
Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	W. M. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Ave., Rochester, New York.
Los Angeles, California, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Collins Hardin, 201½ Labor Temple, 540 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, California.
Marshfield, Wis., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Tony G. Sommers, 706 North Central Ave., Marshfield, Wisconsin.
Marysville, California, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	C. E. Rynearson, Box 664, Marysville, California.
Meriden, Connecticut, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John Lappert, 135 Reservoir Ave., Meriden, Connecticut.
Middletown, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Thomas F. Walsh, 127 Linden Ave., Middletown, New York.
Millville, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Thomas E. Evans, North Second Street, Millville, New Jersey.
Moberly, Missouri, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	D. A. Frampton, Lock Box 123, Moberly, Missouri.
Montreal, Que., Canada Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. T. Foster, 747 Stuart Ave., Outremont, Montreal, Que., Canada.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council.....	1	1	Adam E. Zusi, 708 South 14th Street, care, Newark Labor Lyceum, Newark, New Jersey.
New Kensington, Pa., Allegheny Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank Hughes, Broad Building, New Kensington, Pennsylvania.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Jerome B. Keating, 15 Park Row, New York City.
Ottawa, Ont., Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 166 Clemow Ave., Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
Panama, C. Z., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. C. Hushing, 200 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank Burch, Room 210, 929 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Wm. S. Sampson, 318 West North Ave., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Portland, Oregon, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Gust Anderson, 101 Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	A. P. Bower, 105 North Sixth Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	William J. Fitzmaurice, 312 Granite Building, St. Louis, Mo.
San Juan, Porto Rico, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Prudencio Rivero Martinez, San Juan, Porto Rico.
Sacramento, California, Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	J. L. R. Marsh, Box 2, Labor Temple, Sacramento, California.
Salem, Massachusetts, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles L. Reed, 145 Essex Street, Salem, Massachusetts.
San Francisco, California, Labor Council.....	1	1	Timothy A. Reardon, Labor Temple, San Francisco, California.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lawrence F. Hart, 109 Franklin Ave., Scranton, Pennsylvania.
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	H. B. Weimar, Box 238, Shreveport, Louisiana.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank Doyle, care of 7750, So. Shore Drive, South Chicago, Illinois.
South Framingham, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Vernan B. Vaughn, Box 140 Framing- ham, Massachusetts.
Springfield, Illinois, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, P. O. Box 15, Springfield, Illinois.
Springfield, Missouri, Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	R. T. Wood, Route 5, Box 253, Spring- field, Missouri.
Tiffin, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. H. Trimmer, 284 South Washington Street, Tiffin, Ohio.
Toronto, Ont., Canada, District Labor Council.....	1	1	William P. Covert, 257 Brock Ave., Toronto Postal District 3, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James Wm. Fitzpatrick, 13 Wall Street, Waterbury, Connecticut.
Willimantic, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Sigfred Peterson, 22 South Street, Willimantic, Connecticut.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John C. Saylor, 415 Shipley Street, Wilmington, Delaware.
Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Thomas F. Lonergan, 62 Madison St., Union Labor Temple, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor....	1	1	William J. McGeorgy, Box 180, Yonkers, New York.
Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress of Mahoning County.....	1	1	Ed. Tinney, 608 Custer Ave., Youngs- town, Ohio.
Asphalt, Plant and Street Repair Foremen's Union No. 14912, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	1	Michael Carrozzo, Room 54, 106 N. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Bank Employees' Association No. 17709, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	1	J. Shafr, 5749 Drexel Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City.....	1	5	Ernest Bohm, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.
Cleaners', Dyers' and Pressers' Union No. 17742, Chicago, Illinois....	1	12	Ben A. Abrams, 315 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Cleaners' and Dyers' Union (Retail) No. 17792, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	1	Samuel Ruben, 629 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Cleaners', Dyers' and Pressers' Union No. 17797, New York City.....	1	1	J. Effrat, care of Julius G. Cohen, 151 Clinton St., New York City.
Federal Labor Union No. 17614, Reno, Nevada.....	1	1	Phil J. Geyer, 337 Mill Street, Reno, Nevada.
Federal Labor Union No. 17624, Westfield, Mass.....	1	1	James P. Rogers, 11 Princeton Street, Westfield, Massachusetts.
Federal Labor Union No. 17823, Puerta de Tierra, Porto Rico.....	1	1	Maurice Simons, Puerta de Tierra, Porto Rico.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Freight Handlers and Baggage Employees' Union No. 16900, Greensboro, N. C.....	1	1	William McGibbony, care of W. J. Hazel, 1041 College Avenue, Greensboro, North Carolina.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	Sam Blackman, 2492 East 37th, Cleveland, Ohio.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	Benjamin Oglesby, 616 Garfield Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 17775, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	Albert C. Campbell, 347 Cleveland Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Hospital Stewards' and Nurses' Union No. 16031, San Francisco, California..	1	1	Andrew J. Camous, 937 Broderick Street, San Francisco, California.
Ladies' Hat Workers' Union No. 17795, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Annie M. Miller, 48 Rutland Square, Boston, Massachusetts.
Neckwear Makers' Union No. 11016 (United), New York City.....	1	5	L. D. Berger, 22-50 Sixth Ave., Astoria, Long Island, New York.
Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Michael J. Flynn, Box 1646, Boston, Massachusetts.
Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.....	1	2	E. J. Tracy, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union No. 17661, Minneapolis, Minnesota.....	1	1	Miss Mary Toman, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Tuck Pointers' and Front Cleaners' Union No. 13046, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	2	Thos. Portway, 5941 S. Sawyer Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14581, New York City.....	1	1	Morris C. Feinstone, 175 East Broadway, New York City.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	Ben Smith, M. P., 3 Central Building, Westminster, London, S. W. 1, England.
		1	A. A. Purcell, 1, Semi Bungalow, Talbot Road, Davyhulme, Urnston, Manchester, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	Donald Dear, 469 Metcalf Street, Ottawa, Ont., Canada.
Mexican Federation of Labor.....	2	1	Canuto A. Vargas, Mexican Embassy, 2529 16th Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		1	Roberto Haberman, Civic Club, 42 West 12th Street, New York City.
Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary....	1	1	Anna Fitzgerald, 5436 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....	1	1	Elizabeth Christman, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
96	National and International.....	279	28,392
4	Departments.....	4	4
25	State Bodies.....	25	25
57	Central Labor Bodies.....	57	57
21	Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	21	42
5	Fraternal Organizations.....	7	5
208		393	28,525

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	*1915.	1911 James Duncan.	1913 George W. Perkins.
			*1917.
To British Trades Union Congress			
1895 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1906 { Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	1916 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	
1896 { J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	1907 { John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky.	1917 { John Golden. James Lord.	
1897 { Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill.	1908 { Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1918 { J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.	
1898 { James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1909 { John P. Frey. B. A. Langer.	1919 { Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes.	
1899 { James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy	1910 { W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1920 { Timothy Healy. Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	
1900 { J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	1911 { Wm. B. Macfarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1921 { Wm. J. Spencer. James J. Forrester.	
1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1912 { George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1922 { Benjamin Schlesinger. E. J. McGivern.	
1902 { Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1913 { Louis Kemper. W. D. Mahon.	1923 { Peter Shaughnessy. Anthony J. Chlopek.	
1903 { Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	*1914 { Matthew Woll.	1924 { Peter J. Brady. Edward J. Galtner.	
1904 { W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	***1915 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1925 { A. Adamski. Edw. J. Evans.	
1905 { John A. Moffitt. James Wood.			

From British Trades Union Congress.

1894 { John Burns. David Holmes.	1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour.	1916 { H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.	
1895 { Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.	1906 { Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.	1917 { John Hall. Arthur Hayday.	
1896 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	1907 { David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.	***1918 { F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield	
1897 { Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1908 { John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.	1919 { S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield	
1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne.	1909 { A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.	1920 { J. W. Ogden. J. Jones.	
1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	1910 { W. Brace. Ben. Turner.	1921 { J. H. Thomas. James Walker.	
1900 { John Weir. Pete Curran.	1911 { G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.	1922 { E. L. Poulton. H. Smith.	
1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillet.	1912 { J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.	1923 { R. B. Walker. W. C. Robinson.	
1902 { M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.	1924 { C. T. Cramp. A. B. Swales.	
1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady.	**1914 {	1925 { Ben Smith. A. A. Purcell.	
1904 { William Abraham. James Wignall.	1915 { C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.		

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898. Thomas I. Kidd.	1908 Hugh Frayne.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1909 Jerome Jones.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1910 John J. Manning.	1919 Sam Griggs.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1920 W. G. Shea.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1912 John T. Smith.	1921 John O'Hara.
1903 John Coleman.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.
1904 John H. Richards.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1924 Walter W. Britton.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1925 James Duncan.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.		

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 David A. Carey.	1908 P. M. Draper.	1917 Wm. Lodge.
1899 David A. Carey.	1909 F. Bancroft.	1918 Thos. Moore.
1900 David A. Carey.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1919 J. M. Walsh.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1911 Wm. Glocking.	1920 J. A. McClellan.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1921 U. M. F. Bush.
1903 James Simpson.	1913 Gus Franq.	1922 Ernest Robinson.
1904 John A. Flett.	1914 R. A. Rigz.	1923 James A. Sullivan.
1905 William V. Todd.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1924 John Colbert.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1925 Donald Dear.
1907 W. R. Trotter.		

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly Roberto Haberman	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas Roberto Haberman
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*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

Conventions

of

American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio.	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio.	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1926

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1.—The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to

aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution

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can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions, having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage worker: who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to

the office of the Federation not later than August 31 preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate shall have the casting vote in case of a tie but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly in a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not

on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be \$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters

not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, twenty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, five cents per member per month; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from

Central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrears are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority

or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in

conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (\$7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council

shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than seventy-five (75) cents per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$10.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and month paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of 25 cents for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or

American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or central body or state branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body, or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the unions or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per

capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

Forty-Fifth Annual Convention

OF THE

American Federation of Labor

1925

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day---Monday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.,

October 5, 1925.

The forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor met, pursuant to the law, at 10 o'clock a. m., Mr. Solomon Saltzman, President of the Atlantic City Central Labor Union, temporarily presiding.

Chairman Saltzman extended a very brief, but cordial welcome to the delegates on behalf of the Central Labor Union of Atlantic City and expressed the hope that the deliberations of the convention would be of such a character as would bring closer relations between the various national and international unions and greater prosperity to the working people of the United States and Canada at large.

The invocation was given by Reverend C. D. Sinkinson, of Atlantic City.

ADDRESS OF MR. THOMAS G. REYNOLDS

(Representing Mr. Edward L. Bader,
Mayor of Atlantic City)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: It is my privilege upon this important occasion to represent Honorable Edward L. Bader, Mayor of Atlantic City. First, let me express to you the sincere regret which the Mayor feels at being unable to greet you in person, which he would very much

like to do. If you all knew him as we at home do, you would readily understand that he holds in high regard you men and women, and he has a keen interest in the welfare of that great army of workers which you so loyally serve.

We claim for our city distinct natural advantages. By the co-operation of capital and labor there has been added to these natural advantages a charm which attracts and holds a splendid patronage. Famed far and wide as a health and pleasure resort, Atlantic City has become prominent as a convention city. Here have been considered problems which affected groups and bodies representing science and religion, labor and capital, industry and commerce. There have been initiated in this city movements that have been not only of national, but at times of international import, and it may not be too much for me to say that within the setting and the atmosphere of our city there seems to be something conducive to wise thought and commendable action.

We hope, gentlemen of the convention, that you will find this to be true and that everything in our city will be as you wish it to be. And now I am asking you, when your work has been done, to take with you to your homes as kindly a feeling for the people of Atlantic City as the people of Atlantic City have for you. In conclusion I ask you, Mr. President, to accept this souvenir key, a symbol of the freedom of our city.

(The representative of the Mayor presented to President Green an attractive souvenir key.)

ADDRESS OF MR. EMERSON L. RICHARDS
(State Senator, New Jersey)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, ladies and gentlemen: I come here this morning, in the absence of the Governor, to welcome this convention on behalf of the State of New Jersey. Many conventions come to Atlantic City, on an average more than one a day. Many other conventions come to the State of New Jersey, but never in the course of a year is there a convention assembled here that is fraught with so much of importance, where questions are decided that react more generally throughout the United States than this convention of the American Federation of Labor, because you delegates represent the economic welfare of this nation. In your hands lie decisions that affect for good or ill the whole nation. Even the Congress of the United States has not within its power so much that may react upon the financial, economic and social conditions of the country as have you men, by your decisions in this room during the next week or ten days. So that yours is a great responsibility.

Here in New Jersey we have been trying to keep step with the economic and social progress that the past century has invoked upon our civilization. We realize, or at least some of us do, that it is becoming more and more an accepted principle that in this State we must consider, not so much material things as social things; that in this highly complicated civilization, complicated even more in the congested areas like New Jersey, where, within a radius of one hundred miles of the spot in which you are sitting, more than 30,000,000 people live, with all of the intermeshing, with all of the cross currents of all the various opposing interests that necessarily meet when so many human beings are congregated in a small area, it requires a delicacy of adjustment which means that we must have not only the best minds of our State but it also means that we must have the best hearts of our State. Cold-blooded analysis, cold-blooded figures, selfish "for-myself" thoughts are not for the benefit of the State and the workers in the State.

We must have property, we must have capital; we must have, however, the things that make property; we are discovering through the latest investigations of science that, after all, every bit of matter, whether it be this glass of water, this table or what not, finally resolves itself into nothing more than a charge of energy, whatever its form may be. As we are finding those universal facts of nature we find even more the universal facts of existence among ourselves. And so, in these changing times, we come to the point where the State, through the machinery of government, must readjust the conditions of man to man. That is a long, a serious and a very grave problem, not to be settled in a moment, not in one year, not in five years, not in a decade, but progress is made from day to day, and we in New Jersey, starting as we did some fourteen or fifteen years ago with the first workmen's compensation Act, crude as it was, working at it year after year, by amendment, by altering this or that phrase, have finally built up what I believe to be

the finest workmen's compensation Act to be found in any State in the Union.

We have added not only the one feature of compensation, but we have added what is, to my mind, a more important one—the feature of rehabilitation. It is not enough to pay money to a man who has fallen in the wars of industry. A man must be picked up again, he must be put back on his feet, he must be put in a position where he can again be useful to himself, to his family and to society.

Working on these material problems we have made progress. We have, I think, probably one of the finest organizations for the enforcement of the labor laws to be found in any State in the Union. Now we are beginning to attack the other side of these problems, the legal problems, and last year, for the first time, we succeeded in breaking into the legal questions that have so often hedged about the successful termination of your efforts to better conditions for organized labor. We succeeded in New Jersey in getting through a bill which will give jury trials in contempt cases. That is the beginning. We hope to go further.

I regret that in some measure our courts have not looked as favorably upon some of the measures taken in industrial disputes as we think they should have. Twenty years ago, when I was a student in the University of Pennsylvania, I made a special study of labor relations. At that time, in the wisdom of my youth, I set down certain principles which I said marked a line in the United States where the courts might come in interfering, by means of injunctions or other orders, in labor disputes. During the past twenty years I regret that I have seen every one of those lines crossed, every barrier apparently swept away by the courts in their efforts to obtain more and more power.

I do not believe that it is the function of judges of our courts to determine what should be the industrial conditions in the United States. I do not believe that men appointed for long terms of years or for life have the right to determine an industrial dispute, and therefore I—and I know my colleagues in the Senate and in the Assembly—can be relied upon to stretch the lines so that we will again erect those barriers against the attempts of the courts to usurp other functions of government.

It is going to be our present effort to break down the decisions concerning picketing, which I think are utterly outrageous and indefensible. Step by step, we will have to go carefully, we will have to be sure that the measures that we take will not react, that they may not be used as weapons against us rather than for us. Therefore, let us not be disappointed if, in any one year, we do not sweep aside all of the various obstacles that may be in our way. Time is long; we are patient—step by step we must go. Remember that in the Pacific Ocean there are thousands of islands, some of great size, built up of very tiny animals throughout the centuries. We do not want to wait centuries, but all of our economic conditions are based upon growth, and so let us put a block at a time until we have again made these great United States of ours, this wonderful Republic where every opportunity is afforded to men, where every

natural advantage is at our hands, where every good thing is possible to us, let us make of this a great Paradise for the social betterment of mankind.

Through our institutions, through our laws, through your organization and other organizations working together, hand in hand, not as enemies—that time is gone. Even the capitalist, even the man who was a captain of industry a few years ago, commanding an army as a Napoleon might have commanded it, is today willing to sit down and take counsel. The old baronial system is gone; in its place is to be a new Republic, a Republic of confidence, a Republic of social welfare. It will be made up of you men, undoubtedly, and that, it seems to me, is to be the future of our great State.

I am glad to welcome you here today; it is indeed an honor and a privilege, and we hope that within the bounds of New Jersey you will find much that will be inspiring to you, much that will be of advantage to you, and that your decisions will come forth, just as this day has started, in the clouds and in the storm, but that the sun shall break through and you shall see a brighter and better day.

ADDRESS OF MR. THOMAS B. EAMES
(Second Vice-President, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, distinguished visitors, ladies and gentlemen: My mission is to express the regret of President Quinn, of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, at his unavoidable and enforced absence, to bring to you the fraternal greetings of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, and to bid you thrice welcome to our beloved State, a State that is noted for its mineral products, for its fertile land, for its industrial activities, and for its State Federation of Labor. And I would not be true to the best traditions of our State if I did not remind you that when the hand of Betsy Ross unfurled the first Stars and Stripes, one of those stars represented our sovereign State and that we were among the first in 1787 to ratify the Federal Constitution, that grandest triumph of human reason and experience the world has ever known, that has done more, in my estimation, to make this country the high priest of the civilized world than any other one instrument.

We welcome you to the State of New Jersey because you are a humane institution and in your counsels human welfare is paramount. We measure life, not by dollars but by heart beats, and in this complex and colorful age, an age that is given more to the making of profit than to the making of men, I know of no other institution that serves so great a need, economically, industrially and socially, as the American Federation of Labor, because its plans for the distribution of human effort are consistent with the Divine order. Hence, it cannot fail; it has been successful in the past. When the Creator sent man out of the Garden to till the soil and to earn his living by the sweat of his brow He intended him to be fruitful, to multiply and replenish the earth; in other words, to appropriate the riches

which come from the earth to the common good, and when the Master of men came He put his stamp of approval upon that plan of distribution when He said, "I am come that you might have life and that you might have it more abundantly."

The American Federation of Labor stands today paramount in its sphere. There is no other institution that can do the work of organized labor. I believe it is of divine as well as of secular origin, hence it cannot fail.

However, I am thinking of more sacred things, if that be possible. There is a spirit pervading this convention that I feel sure is found in every spirit here, the spirit of that grand old man of the American Federation of Labor whose service and sacrifice has done more than anything else to put it at its present position of eminence in the world's history. I have reference to our departed brother and President, Samuel Gompers. The obligation which the living owes to the dead no statistician has ever been able to calculate accurately. We are the recipients of the bounty of the generations that have turned to dust; we inherit their names and their strength of character, as we do their dwelling places. And after all, it was the frontiersmen of this country who drove the covered wagon down the Oregon trail, braving the hazards of life and limb to themselves and their families, that have made this country the greatest center of civilization in the world; and it was the frontiersmen of the labor movement who scaled the mountains of difficulty, pressed on over the hot sands of internal and external strife, and stood like the shadow of a great rock to the thirsty land of the down-trodden and the oppressed in industry.

And my personal observation teaches me, as I look over our traditional path, that labor today is blessed, thrice blessed, with able leadership. Never in our history have we been adorned or blessed with men with more unselfish devotion to the cause of the toiling masses. President Green, when you were elected to the exalted and honored position which you now hold, the Executive Board of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor endorsed your election. We were not unmindful of your past record, your distinction of attainment, your consistent effort and your devotion to the cause of trades unionism, and on this occasion we deem it a great honor to be the first donor of your first official gavel. We trust that as you exercise it in the interests of the working people of this country this convention will respond in decorum and legislative judgment, and we ask you to accept this gavel in the name of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor. May it symbolize to you our good will and our devotion.

(As President Green came forward to accept the gavel, the delegates applauded.)

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GREEN

I am confident that we all feel deeply impressed by the words of welcome to which we have listened, and I am sure that I can

genuinely express our very deep appreciation of the hearty welcome extended us by the representative of the Mayor of the City, the representative of the State of New Jersey, the representative of the Central Labor Union of this city and the representative of the Federation of New Jersey. We are indeed glad to be here in this city by the sea.

We recall that in 1919 a convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Atlantic City. Those were stirring days. We had just passed through a period of world-upheaval, and the organized labor movement of our land, through the duly accredited representatives of the labor movement assembled at Atlantic City in 1919, were facing the issues that had grown out of the war, were preparing to deal with the problems of labor that pressed upon them for solution.

I know I can safely say in all truth that the 1919 convention of the American Federation of Labor which convened in this city was an historic one. Evidently the delegates who attended that convention must have liked Atlantic City, because within the brief space of six years they voted to come back again, and here we are, assembled in the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in this delightful atmosphere, in this hospitable city and among the charming people who make up this municipality.

I think it is fortunate, indeed, that we are permitted again to meet here where the ever moving waves of the Atlantic Ocean constantly lap the shores of this historic and industrial State of New Jersey. And in our appreciation of that welcome that has been so generously extended to us, may we assure the working people of this city and the working people of New Jersey that we are glad to have them as part of our great labor movement; we sincerely hope that they may benefit immeasurably by their affiliation with us, and that in return we may serve them in such a way as to promote their general welfare.

It is but natural that at this moment we should think of our great movement; it is inspiring to look into the faces of this splendid delegation; but we love to think of the great cause which you represent. It is a great cause, one that appeals to the emotional and sentimental side of our movement; it is the cause of humanity. We represent the great humane factor in industry, the men and women who serve society, who perform honest toil and who yearn for the enjoyment of a higher and a better life. Is there a cause more inspiring,

a cause that will move men more passionately than this great cause of organized labor that combines within it all the features of economic solidarity, of brotherhood, of fraternity and of common accord? And so it is no wonder that laboring men and women of America face the issue daily, sacrifice hourly because the cause that we represent moves men to sacrifice and to action.

Our work is the work of humanity. We propose to carry forward in an aggressive way, without relaxation or compromise, the great work of organization. It is our purpose to mobilize the economic strength of the workers in every city, town and village of the American continent. We realize that the salvation of the workers lies first in organization. That is a primary necessity, for only with the mobilization of the economic strength of the workers can we reach out and wring from hostile and reluctant employers that degree of social and industrial justice to which every working man and woman is honestly entitled.

So our great mission is to organize, to reach out and bring into the fold those who have not yet associated with us. We must preach the doctrine of trades unionism; we must carry the message; we must educate the working men and women of our nation, and through that process bring into this great industrial army the toilers of the nation, moving as one great army, economically strong and unassailable.

And another thing, my friends, we must earnestly work to secure our own righteous legal standing here in America. We realize that we have been handicapped—if I may use that expression—hampered and limited because some of the courts of our nation have seen fit to usurp powers and to align themselves, if you please, upon the side of the powerful employing interests of our country. Through the use of judicial decree, not a construction of our law, but the order of the court, the opinion of the court, the will of the court, labor has been restricted in the legitimate exercise of its economic power. And if we have a right to exist in America, if we have a right to use the only power the workers possess in an orderly way, then we demand that the courts shall allow us to be free in the exercise of that right.

It is not our purpose to attack the institutions of our government. We love our government, we love America, we love its history and its traditions. What we complain of is the abuses of government, and as the

representatives of a great army of American citizens we claim the right to criticize the usurpation of power by any institution created under our form of government. If we may, in the exercise of our wisdom and judgment, we will as an instrumentality of the workers revitalize the Declaration of Independence and put a new life and a new spirit into it. After all, it has been the workers in every nation and in every field that have led the fight for the enjoyment of liberty and freedom and for the correction of the abuses in government.

And again, it is our purpose to carry on the struggle for the realization of that degree of social justice to which the workers of America are entitled. It is wonderful when we examine the record and understand the progress the American labor movement has made. In the face of tremendous opposition, of much misunderstanding, we have succeeded in advancing the cause of the workers along social justice lines, that must be secured through legislative enactment. And in this great fight we have in mind the children of America. We have in mind also the opposition we encountered in fighting for the protection of the children and the child life of America.

Here and there among even the workers there may be found men and women who have become fight weary and believe that because the first attack of the enemies of the children of America had temporarily succeeded that the fight is over and we are laying down our arms. At this moment, may I with all the earnestness of my soul, correct that erroneous impression. If we have been skirmishing, and skirmish lines in some states and in some state legislatures have clashed with the enemy and we have been temporarily set back, may I announce to the people of America that the American Federation of Labor has just begun to fight for the children of America.

Ours is the one movement here that is leading the hosts in this great fight for our children, because we believe there is nothing so inspiring as to fight for the preservation of every child in every remote corner of America; and if the children of New Jersey or the children of New York or Ohio deserve legislative protection against exploitation, then we declare that the children of North Carolina and other backward states deserve the same protection.

State lines may be drawn and the authority of the state may be clearly exercised in so far as it deals with delegated propositions and delegated authority, but I cannot but feel that the children of America are the children of

America, that the children of our nation are the children of the nation, and that it is the duty of the nation to protect the children of the nation.

We have made tremendous progress in securing the passage of workmen's compensation legislation in the different states of the union; much progress has been made in furthering this great phase of our social justice program. I am happy indeed to say that in many states of our union we have succeeded, through the moral and political influence of the workers, in having written upon the statute books of this commonwealth workmen's compensation laws that challenge the admiration of every student of political economy. And where we laid the foundation in any state and established the principle we have built, and built well, and have made progress in amending every act.

As my good friend Senator Richards from New Jersey has already told you, in this state a beginning was made in the work of securing an ideal workmen's compensation law. Imperfect in the beginning, it has been amended through the influence and activity of the working men and women of this commonwealth until, as he told you, it has been built up by amendment and now appears as a workmen's compensation law that is highly appreciated by the working men and women of this state. In this field of endeavor we can, I am sure, feel proud of our achievement.

There are other phases of our social justice program to which I would like to refer, but in this brief preliminary address I will refrain from doing it. I only ask you, when you become a little discouraged and pessimistic, when you hear men challenging the American labor movement, when you hear the thoughtless assailing us, to point to the record, to study it with its glowing pages of achievement and advancement, and that will be the best answer to any challenge that may be hurled against us.

Now, fellow delegates to this convention, I am sure that while you assemble here with hearts and souls full of expectation and hope, while you come to this convention happy in the consciousness that you are honored by being privileged to represent a great constituency, that your assembling here on this occasion affects you very, very deeply. It is a solemn moment, because we are conscious of the fact that for the first time since 1895 the great leader who led for a half century is not here to preside over your deliberations.

For over forty years, at each annual con-

vention with the exception of one, he was an outstanding figure, a presiding officer, one whose name is synonymous with that of the American Federation of Labor. He is not here for the first time. Many of you who attended the El Paso convention last year will remember how sad and sorrowful we felt each day as we looked into his weary face and observed there the waning strength, the inroads of nature, and we felt that surely he could not be with us much longer. That was the most solemn and impressive convention of the American Federation of Labor I ever attended. And as we gather here, solemn, serious, we reflect and think over the pleasant days when he was with us and was privileged to associate with us.

A great leader, a great crusader, the man who with a few associates laid the foundation upon which this great movement rests. And I think many times as I reflect on his record, his association and his service, how little perhaps we appreciated his foresight and his vision. The regrettable feature of it all is that in this day and this age we find men here and there who still question his philosophy and the basis of the trades union foundation that he laid so securely and so well.

I cannot help but think that even though he is not here in person his spirit is with us, and, speaking for myself, and I think I represent the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of trades unionists associated with the American Federation of Labor, we prefer the philosophy of Samuel Gompers, we prefer the trades unionism which he preached, we prefer the doctrine he propounded rather than the vague theories that are offered therefor.

And let us resolve as a tribute to his memory that as he fought so we will fight, as he kept the faith so we will keep the faith, and as he served humanity so we will serve humanity. Some time during the sessions of this convention it is my purpose to have set apart a part of some of our sessions for a memorial service where, participated in by the men and women of labor, we can appropriately honor his memory and pay tribute to his great worth.

We are glad indeed to have with us fraternal delegates from Great Britain, from the British Trades Union Congress; happy to have with us fraternal delegates from the Federation of Labor of Mexico and Canada, and we are privileged indeed to have here this morning for a short time a visiting delegation representing the Federation of Trades Unions of Germany. We are glad to welcome them most

earnestly and sincerely and we wish them all to feel that they are here among friends and that our friendship, our service, is at their command.

You will observe, friends, that the representative of the Mayor presented to me what he stated was the key of this city. I presume he intended that for my use and for the use of any delegate of this convention that could legitimately use it; so I want to advise you, fellow delegates, that if any one of you needs this key for any special purpose, come to me and you may have it.

And I might transmit this message to the Mayor of this city and his associates, the administrative officials, the police force and magistrates, that if some time later and after the hour of midnight they may hear a noise at the gates of the city I hope they will not be alarmed, because it will be only one of the delegates returning and unlocking the door.

There are many things I should like to say to you this morning. The words I have spoken appear to me to be appropriate to me just now. Perhaps during the sessions of this convention I may be privileged to say some other things that rest upon my mind.

In closing may I say that I am deeply conscious of the great responsibility resting upon me as your presiding officer. I shall endeavor to serve judiciously and impartially, always having in mind the highest and best interests of those you are delegated to represent. Let us feel that this North American continent is our field, the United States and Canada, with our sister republic of Mexico, and that it is our purpose to work in this field among the men and women of labor, following a policy as flexible as the traditions and the usages and the rules of our great movement may permit; when it is necessary for us to be rigid and immovable, there we will stand like the Rock of Gibraltar; when it is necessary for us to adjust ourselves to policies and conditions we, with our wisdom and our judgment, will gladly do so. But, filled with our purpose of trying to do right by those who will do right with us, by negotiating with friendly employers, by co-operating with all the forces that make for the good of human kind, with the purpose, as we develop our economic strength, to attack vigorously and assault with all the power we possess the citadel of opposition until we establish firmly within the economic, social and industrial life of our nation this great organized labor movement we love.

(At the close of the address the audience arose and applauded President Green.)

President Green: I have the honor to declare the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened for the purpose of transacting such business as may be properly and legitimately brought before it.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

A. Hirschberg, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, presented the following partial report:

Atlantic City, N. J.,

October 5, 1925.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Credentials Committee, consisting of three duly elected delegates who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submits the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 388 delegates, representing 95 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 25 State Branches, 56 Central Bodies, 21 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 7 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 24 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, J. Goldstone, Peter Beisel, 218 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, Jacob Fischer, Roe H. Baker, H. C. Wenzel, Phil J. Pearl, 480 votes.

Billposters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Charles Aitkens, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, W. G. Powlesland, 50 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, Charles F. Scott, John Dohney, M. J. McGuire, 171 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—Walter N. Reddick, Felix J. Belair, Mary E. Meehan, 136 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—Collis Lovely, Charles L. Baine, J. Thomas Beasley, Frank W. Anderson, Mollie E. Weiler, 362 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—A. J. Kugler, Joseph Obergfell, John Sullivan, 160 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, George Jones, George T. Thornton, William Lyons, Walter V. Price, Peter S. Shaughnessy, 700 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, William Tracy, 50 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, M. J. Cunnane, Edward Ryan, John O'Brien, 169 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—Will R. Boyer, 7 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—William F. Quesse, Paul David, 62 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, E. Wm. Weeks, F. J. Cullum, T. P. Hyland, 1,250 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, George T. Walker, John Howat, Harry Lindeman, W. R. Bennett, M. D. Taylor, John B. Tierney, 3,170 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—G. W. Perkins, I. M. Ornburn, W. A. Campbell, R. S. Sexton, 235 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Thos. F. Flaherty, Perry J. Bradish, Theo. E. Lippold, 237 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—E. H. Fitzgerald, H. W. Harper, L. L. Wooten, G. H. Nicholson, C. A. Weber, J. H. Gochenour, 912 votes.

Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail—C. C. Coulter, H. J. Conway, 100 votes.

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—M. Zaritsky, M. Zuckerman, Nathaniel Spector, 78 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—J. R. Deckard, 23 votes.

Coopers, International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, 13 votes.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America—Edward de Rany, 4 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 6 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—James P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, M. T. Joyce, C. M. Paulsen, Julia S. O'Connor, Irwin Knott, Edw. J. Evans, 1,420 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, James J. McAndrews, Walter Snow, 81 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Arthur M. Huddell, Dave Evans, Michael Murphy, James A. Cooley, 253 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Matthew Woll, Frank H. Glenn, 72 votes.

Federal Employees, National Federation of—Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude M. McNally, Charles L. Wiegand, 202 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, James M. Simester, 160 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, 100 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International—Morris Kaufman, Pietro Lucchi, 114 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Frank Doyle, A. Adamski, D. A. Houck, 475 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Morris Sigman, Charles Kreindler, Louis Pinkofsky, Luigi Antonini, Samuel Perlmutter, David Dubinsky, 910 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, John Griffin, 60 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Wm. P. Clarke, Thomas J. Gallagher, 53 votes.

Glass Workers, Window, National—Frank Harbert, 20 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Sam Squibb, James Duncan, 85 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Michael F. Greene, Christopher F. Donigan, Jeremiah Scully, 115 votes.

Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—D. D'Alessandro, J. V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, J. B. Etchison, Peter Fosco, 615 votes.

Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, 20 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International

League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, John J. McDevitt, Emanuel Koveleski, 385 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—M. F. Tighe, 114 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, Joseph Duty, Charles Case, 89 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Harry L. Morrison, 55 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union—W. E. Bryan, 20 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainer, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, 325 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Philip Bock, 53 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—A. J. Chlopek, Joseph P. Ryan, 318 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—Robert Fechner, Chas. W. Fry, Dan Hagerty, Wm. Larkin, Geo. Marshall, Chas. F. Wills, 714 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, United Brotherhood of—Fred H. Fljozdal, Elmer E. Milliman, Leslie Miller, 374 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Samyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, 32 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—Clarence E. Hill, 39 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, Michael J. Kelly, 122 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—John J. Hynes, Hugh Frayne, Thomas Redding, Richard Pattison, 250 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Chas. H. Moyers, Edw. Crough, John McMullen, 85 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, William Green, Frank Farrington, Lee Hall, Thomas Kennedy, Walter Nesbit, C. J. Golden, 4,000 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—M. J. Keough, John P. Frey, Geo. E. McCaffrey, G. W. Boswell, 275 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, David A. Carey, Chauncey A. Weaver, Edward Canavan, Adolph Hirschberg, John W. Parks, 800 votes.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—Walter J. Yarrow, 12 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, Chas. J. Lammert, Nick F. Smith, P. H. Triggs, John J. Doyle, Chas. J. Eisenring, 1,076 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—M. H. Parker, Frank P. Barry, 50 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, James L. Gernon, 70 votes.

Pavers, Rammers, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 24 votes.

Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International—Jacob Fischer, 6 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Ed. J. McGivern, John Donlin, John Watson, Peter G. Cook, 300 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, J. J. Sullivan, William H. Fallon, Charles Anderson, 392 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, 60 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—John T. Wood, 81 votes.

Printers and Die Stampers, Union of North America, International Plate—Thomas McQuade, 12 votes.

Printing Pressmen, and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Martin P. Higgins, William H. McHugh, William Smith, Charles A. Sigmund, 400 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, Herbert W. Sullivan, 50 votes.

Quarry Workers, International Union of North America—Fred W. Suito, 30 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Wm. B. Fitzgerald, P. J. Shea, Wm. Quinlan, John H. Reardon, John J. Bruce, 1,010 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United States, Tile and Composition—William N. Clark, 30 votes.

Seamen's Union of North America, Inter-

national—Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, Percy J. Pryor, 160 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—D. W. Helt, T. A. Austin, D. C. Cone, 80 votes.

Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—Wm. F. Canavan, Thomas Maloy, H. C. Griffin, P. J. Ryan, 200 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of N. A., International—Winfield T. Keegan, Charles A. Sumner, 68 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, Frank Basky, 51 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 16 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—T. C. Cashen, J. B. Connors, 89 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Thos. Sweeney, Gus Soderberg, C. N. Bolander, 93 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—F. G. Stecker, 35 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, Wm. A. Neer, John P. McLaughlin, Edw. McCaffrey, 789 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, D. G. Ramsay, H. B. Perham, Ed. R. Derrickson, G. R. Smith, 392 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial—Frank B. Powers, Percy Thomas, 41 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, 300 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—W. R. Walden, 14 votes.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—John J. Collins, 30 votes.

Typographical Union, International—James M. Lynch, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, John C. Harding, T. W. McCullough, William Young, 710 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of N. A.—William Kohn, 76 votes.

Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United—Chas. A. Alexander, 6 votes.

Building Trades Department—Wm. J. Tracy, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—James O'Connell, 1 vote.

Railroad Employees' Department—Bert M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—John J. Manning, 1 vote.

Alabama State Federation of Labor—Lewis Bowen, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—John Murphy, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—O. F. Nigro, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—J. M. Atkins, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—C. B. Grambling, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—John H. Walker, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—T. N. Taylor, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—John C. Lewis, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—William Egan, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—Thos. J. Greer, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—John J. Kearney, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—George H. Allen, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—E. G. Hall, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Robert B. Armstrong, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—Stephen Ely, 1 vote.

Nevada State Federation of Labor—W. D. Nelligan, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Henry F. Hilfers, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—James P. Holland, 1 vote.

North Carolina State Federation of Labor—C. P. Barringer, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Adolph Kummer, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—James J. McAndrews, 1 vote.

Porto Rico, Free Federation of Workingmen—Santiago Igesias, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—W. M. Reilly, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Henry Ohl, Jr., 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.

Alexandria, La., Central Labor Union—M. E. Steadman, 1 vote.

Altoona, Pa., Blair County Central Labor Union—Charles Kutz, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—C. W. Cunningham, 1 vote.

Atlantic City, N. J. Central Labor Union—Philip Rohr, 1 vote.

Belleville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Edward Wieck, 1 vote.

Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—John Busby, 1 vote.

Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Jeremiah Ryan, 1 vote.

Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—John R. Kelley, 1 vote.

Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union—J. V. Fitzsimmons, 1 vote.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Paul J. Aymon, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Oscar F. Nelson, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Frank Hammer, 1 vote.

Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—James F. Malley, 1 vote.

Council Bluffs, Iowa, Central Labor Union—William F. Patton, 1 vote.

Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor—Frank X. Martel, 1 vote.

East St. Louis, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Union—H. Barnes, 1 vote.

Grafton, W. Va., Central Labor Union—James E. Jones, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—E. W. A. D'Dell, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—C. B. Nelson, 1 vote.

Klamath Falls, Ore., Central Labor Union—C. D. Long, 1 vote.

Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Council—W. M. Campbell, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, California, Central Labor Council—Collins Hardin, 1 vote.

Marshfield, Wis., Central Labor Union—Tony G. Sommers, 1 vote.

Marysville, Cal., Central Labor Council—C. E. Rynearson, 1 vote.

Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union—John Lappert, 1 vote.

Middletown, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Thomas F. Walsh, 1 vote.

Millville, N. J., Central Labor Union—Thomas E. Ames, 1 vote.

Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—D. A. Frampton, 1 vote.

Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council—J. T. Foster, 1 vote.

Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Adam E. Zusi, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Jerome B. Keating, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Panama, C. Z., Central Labor Union—W. C. Hushing, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Frank Burch, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union—Wm. S. Sampson, 1 vote.

Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council—Gus. Anderson, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Boyer, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—William J. Fitzmaurice, 1 vote.

San Juan, Porto Rico, Central Labor Union—Prudencio Rivero Martinez, 1 vote.

Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council—J. L. R. Marsh, 1 vote.

Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union—Charles L. Reed, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—Timothy A. Reardon, 1 vote.

Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Lawrence F. Hart, 1 vote.

Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—H. B. Weimar, 1 vote.

South Framingham, Mass., Central Labor Union—Vernan B. Vaughn, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank Doyle, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—R. T. Wood, 1 vote.

Tiffin, Ohio, Central Labor Union—C. H. Trimmer, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—William P. Covert, 1 vote.

Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—James Wm. Fitzpatrick, 1 vote.

Willimantic, Conn., Central Labor Union—Sigfred Peterson, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—John C. Saylor, 1 vote.

Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—Thomas F. Lonergan, 1 vote.

Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor—William J. McGeory, 1 vote.

Youngstown, O., United Labor Congress of Mahoning County—Ed Tinney, 1 vote.

Asphalt Plant and Street Repair Foremen's Union No. 14912, Chicago, Illinois—Michael Carrozzo, 1 vote.

Bank Employees' Association No. 17709, Chicago, Ill.—J. Shafir, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City—Ernest Bohm, 5 votes.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17797, New York City—J. Effrat, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.—Ben A. Abrams, 12 votes.

Cleaners and Dyers' Union No. 17792, (Retail) Chicago, Ill.—Samuel Ruben, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 17614, Reno, Nev.—Phil J. Geyer, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 17624, Westfield, Mass.—James P. Rogers, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 17823, Puerta de Tierra, Porto Rico—Maurice Simons, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Baggage Employees' Union No. 16900, Greensboro, N. C.—Wm. McGibbony, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17165, Cleveland, Ohio—Sam Blackman, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.—Benjamin Oglesby, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17775, Kansas City, Missouri—Albert C. Campbell, 1 vote.

Hospital Stewards and Nurses' Union No. 16031, San Francisco, Calif.—Andrew J. Camous, 1 vote.

Ladies Hat Workers' Union No. 17795, Boston, Mass.—Annie M. Miller, 1 vote.

Neckwear Markers' Union (United) No. 11016, New York City—L. D. Berger, 5 votes.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.—Michael J. Flynn, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—V. L. Young, 2 votes.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 17761, Minneapolis, Minnesota — Miss Mary Toman, 1 vote.

Tuck Pointers and Front Cleaners' Union No. 13046, Chicago, Ill.—Thos. Portway, 2 votes.

British Trades Union Congress—Ben Smith, A. A. Purcell, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Donald Dear, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League of America—Elizabeth Christman.

Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary—Anna Fitzgerald.

Mexican Federation of Labor—Canuto A. Vargas, Roberto Haberman.

Respectfully submitted,
Adolph Hirschberg, Chairman,
Geo. T. Walker,
Harry C. Griffin, Secretary.
Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Gainer: I move that the partial report be received, the delegates seated, and the committee continued. (Seconded and carried.)

President Green announced the following appointments:

Assistant Secretary of Convention—William G. Plummer, member of Typographical Union No. 877, Atlantic City.

Sergeant-at-Arms—Charles Fox, Jr., member Paper Hangers' Union No. 1061, Atlantic City, N. J.

Messenger: Thomas Christie, member Bakers' Union No. 356, Atlantic City, N. J.

President Green appointed the following committee:

Rules and Order of Business—John Sullivan, Hubert S. Marshall, Daisy A. Houck, J. J. Sculley, G. H. Nicholson, Edward Crough, M. J. Cunneane, William Kohn, John Collins, J. P. McLaughlin, W. R. Walden, H. C. Wenzel, William Lyons, David Dubinsky, William Larkin.

The Convention adjourned at 12.20 o'clock to 2.30 P. M.

First Day---Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

Absentees

Mullaney, Myrup, Goldstone, Franklin, Scott, Dohney, Kasten, Tracy, Wm., Morrin, McGinn, Quesse, David, Weeks, Cullem, Benet, Ornburn, Gochenour, Coulter, Conway, Noonan, McNulty, O'Connor, Knott, Evans, E. J., Feeney, Snow, Huddell, Evans, D., Murphy, M., Cooley, Baer, Simester, Kauffman, Lucchi, Sigmund, Bock, Chlopek, Ryan, J. P., Fry, Wills, Fljosdal, Milliman, Hill, Gorman, Lane, Kelly, M. J., Hines, Redding, Pattison, Moyer, Crough, Lewis, J. L., Murray, Farrington, Kennedy, Nesbit, Golden, Yarrow, Parker, Barry, Hannah, Bergstrom, McGivern, Donlin, Watson, Cook, Burke, T. E., Sullivan, J. J., Britton, Kelsey, Berry, Higgins, Smith, W., Burke, J. P., Sullivan, H. W., Shea, Bruce, Olander, Helt, Austin, Cone, Keegan, Sumner, Sweeney, Tobin, Manion, Derricksen, O'Connell, Jewell, Bowen, L., Nigro, Atkins, Walker, J. H., Taylor, Eran, W., Kearney, Nelligan, Barlinger, Kummer, McAndrew, J. J., Steadman, Kutz, Kelley, J. R., Nelson, Oscar, Hammer, Malloy, Patten, Martel, Jones, J. E., O'Dell, Long, Hardin, Sommers, Ryneason, Lappert, Hushing, Sampson, Anderson, Gust, Bower, Read, Hart, Weimar, Vaughn, Wood, R. T., Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, J. W., Peterson, McGeary, Tinney, Carozzo, Abrams, Reuben, Geyer, Rodgers, Simons, Camous, Miller, A. M.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Hirschberg, Chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

We have received credentials from the National Federation of Post Office Clerks for an additional delegate, Charles R. Gale, and recommend that he be seated.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Appointment of Committees

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committees appointed by the President:

Committee on Report of Executive Council—James Wilson, George L. Berry, Thomas Kennedy, Wm. L. Hutcheson, T. W. McCullough, Jere L. Sullivan, William P. Clarke, Wm. J. Bowen, J. J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, James C. Shanessy, Anthony J. Chlopek, Collis Lovely, John P. Frey, Wm. A. Campbell.

Committee on Resolutions—James Duncan, Matthew Woll, G. W. Perkins, B. A. Larger, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, John L. Lewis, Thomas L. Hughes, Dave Evans, P. J. Morrin, C. J. Lammert, John Coefield, James M. Lynch, Joe Weber, Wm. B. Fitzgerald.

Committee on Laws—Daniel J. Tobin, Dennis Lane, William Quinlan, A. J. Kugler, Robert Fechner, James P. Holland, Thomas McMahon, Victor A. Olander, Charles Anderson, James O'Connell, William McHugh, Frank Doyle, George Jones, M. D. Taylor, William J. Tracy.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, Sara A. Conboy, Thomas S. Farrell, Charles A. Moyer, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, Martin T. Joyce, I. M. Ornburn, W. N. Reddick, Patrick E. Gorman, Gertrude McNally, D. W. Helt, Phillip Bock, E. E. Milliman, Roe H. Baker, C. J. Golden.

Committee on Labels—John J. Manning, Thomas Sweeney, Max S. Hayes, Max Zuckerman, H. Lindeman, Joseph Obergfell, R. S. Sexton, Charles Kreindler, Jacob Goldstone, Nick F. Smith, Felix J. Belair, Thomas J. Beasley, Chris Donigan, C. A. Weaver, P. J. Ryan.

Committee on Adjustment—T. A. Rickert, Edward Flore, C. L. Shamp, J. B. Etchison, D. A. Carey, Roy Horn, H. B. Perham, W. E. Bryan, Philip Murray, B. M. Jewell, F. H. Fljozdal, M. F. Tighe, William F. Canavan, Frank Kasten, James Maloney, M. F. Greene.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—Jacob Fischer, Walter V. Price, L. E. Swartz, F. J. Cullum, Louis Pinkofsky, Joseph M. Marshall, George E. McCaffrey, John T. Wood, W. J. Yarrow, Fred W. Suitor, Adolph Hirschberg, Charles A. Sigmund, Ed. B. Derrickson, Mary E. Meehan, C. A. Weber.

Committee on Education—James P. Noonan, John H. Walker, Frank Gilmore, John Howat, H. C. Griffin, Frank Glenn, William A. Neer, E. H. Fitzgerald, Thomas E. Burke, William E. Weeks, William Smith, William Young, Morris Sigman, F. G. Stecker, Hugh Frayne.

Committee on State Organizations—Martin F. Ryan, John T. Mugavin, S. C. Hogan, C. M. Paulsen, J. M. Gillespie, Carl Bergstrom, D. P. Haggerty, E. G. Hall, Walter Nesbit, L. L. Wooten, Peter G. Cook, Fred W. Baer, Michael Murphy, John Fitzgerald, T. N. Taylor, Michael J. Flynn.

Committee on Boycotts—Frank Farrington, John H. Reardon, M. J. McGuire, Walter Snow, Charles D. Duffy, W. F. Funder Burk, Timothy Healy, G. V. Moreschi, Charles Case, Leslie Miller, J. R. Smith, Edward Canavan, John J. Doyle, Thomas Maloy, Morris Kaufman, Luigi Antonini.

Committee on Building Trades—George F. Hedrick, F. J. McNulty, D. D'Alessandro, Frank Feeney, Arthur M. Huddell, Joseph A. Mullaney, W. J. McSorley, John Donlin, Edward Ryan, Richard Pattison, George T. Thornton, G. T. Walker, W. H. Fallon, M. W. Mitchell, Sam Squibb.

Committee on Shorter Workday—M. J. Keough, E. J. McGivern, E. J. Gainor, Thomas F. Hyland, H. J. Conway, Samuel Perlmutter, Peter Beisel, Charles F. Scott, John C. Harding, Lee Hall, James L. Geron, M. H. Parker, Perry J. Bradish, Mollie E. Weitler, Frank B. Powers.

Committee on Legislation—C. L. Baine, Thomas F. Flaherty, Luther Steward, W. D. Mahon, W. W. Britton, Thomas C. Cashen, Emanuel Kovelski, A. Adamski, P. W. Triggs, N. W. Harper, Julia S. O'Connor, W. H. Bennett, D. C. Cone, G. Marshall, Thomas McQuade, Winfield Keegan.

Committee on International Labor Relations—George W. Perkins, James Duncan, Max S. Hayes, James Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, James O'Connell, John P. Frey, B. A. Larger, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, John H. Walker, C. L. Baine, W. D. Mahon, Matthew Woll, W. J. Bowen, J. A. Franklin, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Sara A. Conboy, Timothy Healy, E. J. McGivern, Anthony J. Chlopek, Edward J. Gainor, Albert Adamski, Edward J. Evans.

Vice-President Duncan moved that President Green's name be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations. The motion was adopted and the name added to the committee.

President Green presented to the convention First Vice-President Duncan, who read a digest of the following report of the Executive Council:

REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., October 5, 1925.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greetings:

Six years ago the convention of the American Federation of Labor met in Atlantic City after a crucial experience in the history of our nation which had tested as well the structure of our American labor movement. It is fitting that our convention again meets in Atlantic City as the past year brought to us another experience comparable to that of the war.

The crucial event in the history of the American Federation of Labor during the past year was the death of Samuel Gompers who was the architect of the Federation and for many years the guiding mind of the American trade union movement. Coming into the trade union movement at a time when precedents and practices were in the making he became the responsible guide who blazed the way and laid the foundations for the present structure of the labor movement and inspired appreciation and understanding for the practical, as well as that which satisfied the higher aspirations of wage earners. His name was known the world over as practically synonymous with the spirit and purpose of the American trade union movement. The death of such a leader was necessarily a test of the enduring qualities and the structure of our organization. That our movement withstood this shock, readjusted to meet the loss and has continued to make sustained progress and splendid advancement is in itself the greatest testimony that could be given to the leadership of our former president.

Because he was essentially a pioneer in the field of labor organization, because of those qualities of heart and mind that made him a friend and pal of the rank and file of the American trade union movement, because of the judgment and statesmanlike ability that enabled him to make the American Federation of Labor an important factor in national affairs and a constructive force in economic life, the American Federation of Labor is proud to give tribute to him. In that trying period which by marking his departure from the helm of the labor movement focused world attention upon his achievements and upon the splendid constructive work of our American labor movement, we neglected no way by which we could manifest our respect and our regard for his work and his memory.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1924, and ending August 31, 1925.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$213,053.80. Of this total, \$202,029.37 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used only to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions.

The balance \$11,024.43 is in the general fund and available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts from all sources, \$509,702.96; the total expenses, \$533,294.63; amount of expenses over receipts, \$23,591.67.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1925:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1924.....		\$236,645 47
Per Capita Tax.....	\$372,057 27	
American Federationist.....	71,203 85	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:		
Per capita tax from locals.....	31,200 81	
Initiation fees.....	10,581 50	
Reinstatement fees.....	221 25	
Supplies.....	6,953 78	
Special Assessment, Freight Handlers.....	118 95	
Interest:		
Bank deposits.....	\$5,476 95	
U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	1,600 00	
Canadian Victory Loans.....	825 00	
	\$7,901 95	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L.	7,101 75	
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued....	2,361 85	
		509,702 96
Total receipts.....		\$746,348 43

EXPENSES

General.....	\$429,912 96	
American Federationist.....	66,691 96	
Defense Fund:		
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	30,303 00	
Special Assessment, Freight Handlers.....	365 13	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	6,021 58	
Total expenses.....		\$533,294 63
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1925.....		\$213,053 80

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund.....	\$11,024 43
In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	\$202,029 37
Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1925.....	<u>\$213,053 80</u>

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1925:

Rent.....	\$13,470 00
Refund on supplies returned.....	16 89
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	6,021 58
Secretary's bond.....	10 00
Treasurer's bond.....	125 00
Insurance.....	116 32
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	1,075 83
Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of three legislative committeemen: W. C. Roberts, Edward F. McGrady and Edgar Wallace.....	14,986 35
Newspapers, magazines and books.....	1,488 23
Office furniture and fixtures.....	2,684 65
Postage stamps.....	6,663 70
Stereotyping Proceedings of [El Paso Convention].....	404 83
Supplies and printing.....	32,520 67
Miscellaneous expenses.....	3,549 04
Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes (Mailing Department).....	2,883 32
Mailing Equipment.....	264 58
Official stenographer, El Paso Convention.....	1,278 10
Telegrams.....	8,059 37
Expenses entertaining delegates from Mexican Federation of Labor to A. F. of L. Convention, El Paso, Texas.....	200 00
Expenses entertaining delegates from the Mexican Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.....	231 00
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	832 37
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	2,081 10
El Paso Convention:	
Messengers, Sergeant-at-Arms and Assistant Secretary and Roll-Call Clerks.....	490 00
Printing Roll-Call.....	132 00
Printing Daily Proceedings.....	2,233 25
Printing, envelopes, and supplies.....	481 00
Stenographers.....	3,567 22
Rental of office furniture.....	455 94
Committee and office rooms.....	195 00
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out Daily Proceedings, rent of typewriters and desks, typewriting, photographs, supplies, stationery and hauling.....	297 00
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	417 46
Salaries:	
President.....	12,426 23
Secretary.....	10,000 00
Treasurer.....	500 00
Office employes.....	104,647 83
Expenses:	
Executive Council meetings.....	20,867 80
Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rental, etc., E. C. meetings.....	299 90
Stenographers' expenses attending E. C. meetings.....	1,338 46
President, traveling.....	5,305 80
Secretary, traveling.....	1,579 19
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits.....	30,303 00

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

17

Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:

Metal Trades Department.....	15 44
Union Label Trades Department.....	56 83
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	81 07
Organizers' salaries and expenses.....	132,305 88
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	66,691 96
Printing, publishing and editing <i>A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter</i>	8,993 90
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	5,000 00
Special assessment, Freight Handlers.....	365 13
Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, El Paso Convention.....	436 99
Expenses, Publicity.....	4,435 13
Expenses, Special Committees and Conferences.....	8,800 38
Encyclopedia and History of American Federation of Labor (2nd edition).....	1,761 31
Engrossing Resolutions.....	100 00
Funeral expenses of President Gompers.....	8,146 52
Estate of Samuel Gompers.....	1,274 08
Legal expenses.....	330 00
Total.....	\$533,294 63

EDUCATION FUND.

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing cooperation upon the plan of the Rochdale Cooperative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including August 31, 1925, \$4,412.02, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to and including August 31, 1925, \$2,171.51, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1925, amounting to \$2,240.51. The name of Fund for Promoting and Advancing Cooperation was changed by order of the Executive Council to Education Fund.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, April 1, 1918, to August 31, 1925.....	\$4,412 02
Total expenses, February 6, 1919, to August 31, 1925.....	2,171 51
Balance on hand August 31, 1925.....	\$2,240 51

An Itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Since 1920 no contributions have been received, except interest which amounts to \$188.44 and the only expenses paid, amounts to \$82.89. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

FUND FOR PUBLICITY PURPOSES

Total contributions received from international unions upon request of President Gompers, for publicity purposes, showed receipts from February 3, 1923, to and including August 31, 1925, \$12,396.10, and total expenses from March 26, 1923, to and including August 31, 1925, \$12,396.10, leaving the account squared on August 31, 1925.

RECAPITULATION

Balance on hand, August 31, 1924.....	\$9,588 77
Contributions, September 1, 1924, to August 31, 1925.....	401 10
Total.....	9,989 87
Expenditures, September 1, 1924, to August 31, 1925.....	9,989 87

Three itemized reports of the last three fiscal years of the receipts and expenses of this fund have been printed in pamphlet form and copies mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR NATIONAL
NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE FUND

Appeals were issued April 7 and August 13, 1924, by the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L., for contributions to assist in carrying out the instructions of the A. F. of L. convention, to defeat candidates for office, hostile to the trade union movement, and elect candidates who may be relied upon to support measures favorable to Labor. The total amount received in response to the appeals to carry on the 1924 Political Campaign from April 9, 1924, to and including August 31, 1925, was \$25,013.07, and expenses from July 11, 1924, to and including August 31, 1925, were \$25,013.07, leaving the amount squared for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1925.

RECAPITULATION	
Balance on hand, August 31, 1924.....	\$2,226 46
Contributions, September 1, 1924, to August 31, 1925.....	20,838 10
Total.....	23,064 56
Expenditures, September 1, 1924, to August 31, 1925.....	23,064 56

Two itemized reports of the receipts and expenses of this fund have been printed in pamphlet form and copies mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$132,305.88. Of this amount \$793.84 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$10 to \$100 for organizing central bodies and local trade and federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor.

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE	AMOUNT RECEIVED
*1. Hugh Frayne.....	New York, Washington, D. C.....	\$11,609 24
2. Wm. Collins.....	Illinois, New York, Washington, D. C.....	6,976 25
3. E. T. Flood.....	Illinois, Nebraska, Missouri.....	6,860 21
4. P. J. Smith.....	Minnesota, Wisconsin, Washington.....	6,819 02
5. C. O. Young.....	Washington, Oregon.....	6,323 75
6. J. B. Dale.....	California, Nevada.....	6,291 04
7. T. J. Conboy.....	Indiana, Ohio, Nebraska.....	6,014 00
8. P. J. Duffy.....	Pennsylvania, New York.....	5,868 08
9. C. N. Idar.....	Texas, Arizona.....	5,337 61
10. A. Bastien.....	Canada.....	5,327 53
11. H. Streiffer.....	New York.....	5,169 98
12. J. A. Platt.....	Canada.....	5,070 99
13. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts.....	4,958 89
14. E. L. Adams.....	Ohio, Nebraska, Washington, D. C.....	4,958 17
15. A. Neary.....	Maryland.....	4,860 22
16. H. F. Hilfers.....	New Jersey, New York.....	4,580 88
17. S. Iglesias.....	Porto Rico, District of Columbia.....	4,550 25
18. J. M. Richle.....	Pennsylvania.....	4,345 73
19. H. L. Eichelberger.....	Maryland, Pennsylvania, District of Columbia.....	4,248 77
20. C. J. Jennings.....	New Jersey.....	3,809 65
21. Ed. F. McGrady.....	Massachusetts, New York, District of Columbia, Virginia.....	3,509 51
22. A. Marks.....	New York.....	3,355 67
23. J. E. Roach.....	New York.....	3,254 10
24. Edgar Wallace.....	New Hampshire, Maine, District of Columbia.....	3,065 65
25. T. J. Quinnan.....	Arizona.....	2,312 64
26. O. E. Woodbury.....	Illinois, Pennsylvania.....	692 72
27. E. Ellis.....	Oregon.....	433 33
28. T. D. Grimes.....	North Carolina, South Carolina.....	415 00
29. W. F. Brosious.....	Pennsylvania.....	283 16
30. J. R. Rogers.....	North Carolina, South Carolina.....	170 00
31. L. L. Gibbs.....	North Carolina, South Carolina.....	120 00
	Paid to district organizers in amounts less than \$100.....	793 84
Total.....		\$132,305 88

*Includes \$5,577.24 paid for rent of office and office expenses and salary of stenographer.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1925, there have been issued 92 charters to Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Twenty-six Central Bodies, as follows:

Alabama:	Maine:	Oregon:
Anniston.	Bangor.	Coos-Bay.
Arizona:	Minnesota:	Eugene.
Phoenix.	Mankato.	Tennessee:
Arkansas:	Mississippi:	South Pittsburg
Ft. Smith.	Meridian.	Texas:
Hot Springs.	Missouri:	Childress.
Paris.	Columbia.	Lubbock.
Canada:	New York:	Virginia:
Winnipeg, Manitoba.	Salamanca.	Roanoke.
Florida:	Ohio:	Washington:
Jacksonville.	Ironton and Russell, Kentucky.	Mt. Vernon, Burlington,
Sarasota.	Van Wert.	Sedro-Wolley and vicinity.
West Palm Beach.	Oklahoma:	Wyoming:
Illinois:	McAlester.	Hot Springs County.
Gillespie.		

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year:

	1924-1925
Central Bodies.....	26
Local Trade Unions.....	48
Federal Labor Unions.....	18
Total.....	92

BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY 24 OF THE 107 AFFILIATED NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployment benefits.
Bakers.....	\$14,644 00	\$3,275 00	\$116,549 61			
Broom and Whisk.....	1,800 00					
Carpenters.....	655,309 54					
Carvers.....	2,700 00				\$31 00	
Cigarmakers.....	223,277 74		162,370 45	\$7,865 80		\$7,957 85
Cloth, Hat & Cap.....			8,667 00			4,074 00
Conductors, Sleeping Car.....	23,000 00					
Diamond Workers.....	2,250 00					16,204 50
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	44,245 50					
Hod Carriers.....	28,800 00					
Hotel & Restaurant Emp.....	39,375 40		41,853 51			
Laundry Workers.....	2,300 00				2,300 00	
Marble Polishers.....	1,500 00					
Paving Cutters.....	4,137 50			3,696 76		
Piano & Organ Workers.....	400 00	80 00	250 00			20 00
Printing Pressmen.....	96,953 00					
Railway Employees.....						
Street.....	871,323 55		170,052 44			
Roofers.....	9,400 00					
Stereotypers and Elec- trotypers.....	10,400 00					
Stove Mounters.....	2,550 00					2,628 60
Tailors.....	8,668 50		15,776 00			
Telegraphers, Com- mercial.....	1,575 00					
Typographical.....	373,262 69		(a)			(b)
Wall Paper Crafts.....	3,200 00					
Total.....	\$2,421,072 42	\$3,355 00	\$515,519 01	\$11,562 56	\$2,331 00	\$30,884 95

a \$300,708.41 for maintenance of the Union Printers' Home; b old age pension, \$923,704.

Many of the local unions provide death, sick and out-of-work benefits for their members in addition to the benefits paid by the international unions that made reports. The amounts above reported are in the majority of cases, those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits.

UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

American Federation of Labor.	Garment Workers, United.	Photo-Engravers.
Bakers and Confectioners.	Garment Workers, Ladies.	Piano and Organ Work
Bill Posters and Billers.	Glove Workers.	Plate Printers.
Boilermakers.	Hatters.	Powder Workers.
Blacksmiths.	Horsehoers.	Pressmen, Printing.
Bookbinders.	Iron and Steel Workers.	Print Cutters.
Boot and Shoe Workers.	Jewelry Workers.	Slate Workers.
Brewery Workmen.	Lathers.	Stove Mounters.
Brickmakers.	Laundry Workers.	Tailors.
Broommakers.	Leather Workers.	Textile Workers.
Cap Makers.	Lithographers.	Timber Workers.
Carpenters and Joiners	Machinists.	Tobacco Workers.
Brotherhood.	Marble Workers.	Typographical.
Carvers, Wood.	Metal Polishers.	Upholsterers.
Cigarmakers.	Metal Workers, Sheet.	United Wall paper Crafts.
Coopers.	Molders.	Weavers, Wire.
Draftsmen's Unions.	Painters.	
Electrical Workers.	Papermakers.	

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS

Actors.	Firemen, Stationary.	Musicians.
Barbers.	Hotel and Restaurant	Stage Employes, Theatrical.
Clerks, Retail.	Employees.	Teamsters.
Engineers, Steam.	Meat Cutters and Butcher	
	Workmen.	

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge and Lodge Paraphernalia Makers; Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Suspender Makers; and Rubber Workers.

DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months beginning September 1, 1924, and ending August 31, 1925:

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund..... \$31,200 81

EXPENSES

Union and Location	Average Membership	Weeks	Amount
Slate Workers Union, No. 15159, Granville, N. Y.....	180	13	\$16,387 00
Slate Workers Union, No. 15178, Poultney, Vt.....	55	13	5,089 00
Hair Spinners' Union, No. 16399, Chicago, Ill.....	85	8	4,760 00
Slate Workers' Union, No. 16905, Pen Argyle, Pa.....	59	6	2,513 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 15632, Joppa, Ill.....	55	4	1,554 00
Total expenses.....			<u>\$30,303 00</u>

RECAPITULATION

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1924....	\$201,131 56
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1925.....	31,200 81
Total.....	<u>\$232,332 37</u>
Paid out of Defense Fund.....	30,303 00
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1925....	<u>\$202,029 37</u>

BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1925, INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds of affiliated organizations:

Year	Receipts	Expenses	Year	Receipts	Expenses
1902-3.....	\$529 00	\$309 60	1915-16.....	\$5,092 70	\$4,428 19
1903-4.....	398 75	402 60	1916-17.....	5,906 61	4,970 68
1904-5.....	406 75	285 65	1917-18.....	3,544 91	3,055 26
1905-6.....	736 35	591 16	1918-19.....	9,626 78	8,067 33
1906-7.....	1,128 79	817 76	1919-20.....	13,285 93	11,121 06
1907-8.....	1,261 51	1,021 96	1920-21.....	9,490 68	7,816 14
1908-9.....	1,692 35	1,226 03	1921-22.....	5,979 90	4,963 00
1909-10.....	2,874 75	2,392 75	1922-23.....	6,368 76	5,310 10
1910-11.....	2,988 55	1,448 38	1923-24.....	6,593 44	5,523 52
1911-12.....	2,710 07	2,089 15	1924-25.....	\$7,101 75	\$6,021 58
1912-13.....	3,225 55	3,863 18			
1913-14.....	3,221 75	1,898 55	Total.....	\$99,356 46	\$82,676 29
1914-15.....	5,190 74	5,052 66			

RECAPITULATION

Total receipts from 1902 to August 31, 1925.....	\$99,356 46
Total expenses from 1902 to August 31, 1925.....	82,676 29
Excess from 1902 to August 31, 1925.....	<u>\$16,680 17</u>

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

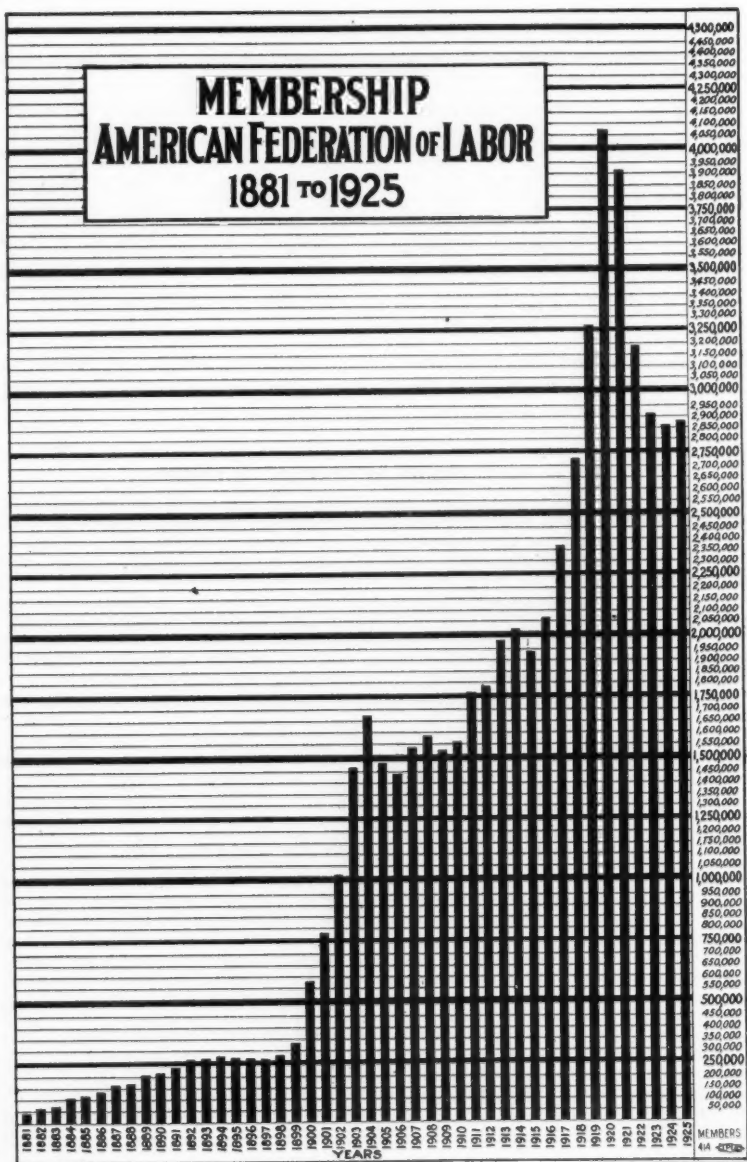
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 2,877,297, an increase of 11,318 members over last year. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

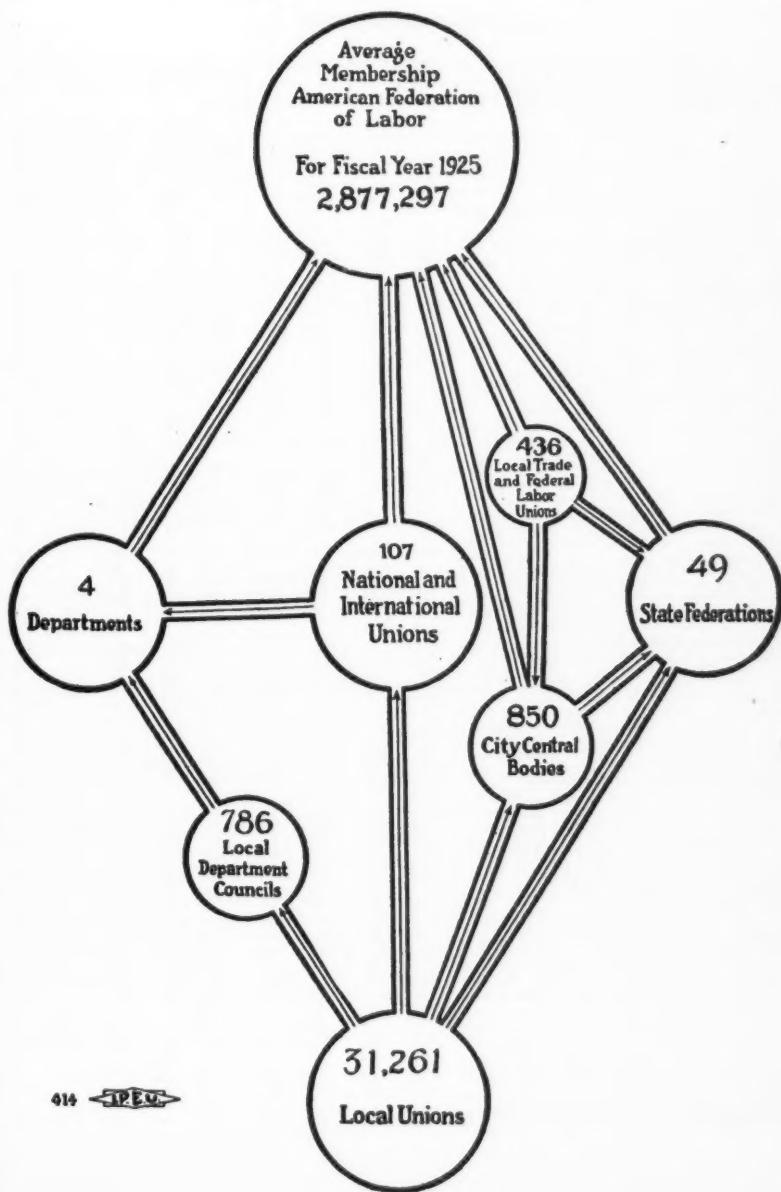
A survey of the membership of the national and international organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. indicates that because of strikes and unemployment there were at least 500,000 members for whom per capita tax was not paid to the American Federation of Labor. Add this number to the 2,877,297 paid-up membership, will give a grand total of 3,377,297 members.

The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past twenty-nine years:

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825	1905.....	1,494,300	1912.....	1,770,145	1919.....	3,260,068
1898.....	278,016	1906.....	1,454,200	1913.....	1,996,004	1920.....	4,078,740
1899.....	349,422	1907.....	1,538,970	1914.....	2,020,671	1921.....	3,906,528
1900.....	548,321	1908.....	1,586,855	1915.....	1,946,347	1922.....	3,195,635
1901.....	787,537	1909.....	1,482,872	1916.....	2,072,702	1923.....	2,926,468
1902.....	1,024,399	1910.....	1,562,112	1917.....	2,371,434	1924.....	2,865,799
1903.....	1,465,800	1911.....	1,761,835	1918.....	2,726,478	1925.....	2,877,297
1904.....	1,676,200						

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1925—forty-five years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 31,261 local unions in the 107 national and international unions and 436 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a total paid-up average membership of 2,877,297 for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1925.





REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1917 up to and including 1925. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.
Actors, Associated, & Artistes of A.	47	30	30	69	118	94	77	74	101
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assn. of Heat and Frost Insulators	10	16	18	22	26	20	20	22	24
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.	189	204	210	275	280	248	229	222	218
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	398	384	359	442	470	452	432	453	480
Bill Posters	15	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	120	183	283	483	500	367	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	312	555	849	1030	845	417	194	175	171
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	396	358	368	467	410	402	399	372	362
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	114	145	164	207	247	163	129	134	136
Brewery Workmen, International Union	450	450	400	341	273	190	166	160	160
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	28	25	27	52	54	41	48	48	50
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700
Bridge & Struct. Iron Wkrs., Intl. Assn.	1	160	170	242	199	140	146	177	163
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	7	7	10	14	12	8	7	7	7
Brushmakers' International Union	2	2	++	++	++	++	++	++	++
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union					8	94	78	62	62
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	2317	2673	3079	3315	3521	3138	3150	3155	3170
Carriage and Wagon Workers	42								
Carmen of A. Bro. Railway	390	534	1004	1821	2000	1717	1600	1375	1250
Carvers' Union, International Wood	12	12	10	12	12	11	9	10	10
Cigarmakers' International Union	416	395	363	388	342	320	309	277	235
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	68	172	714	1860	1696	1378	961	884	912
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail	150	150	150	208	212	167	103	100	100
*Cloth Hat & Millinery Workers International Union	88	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	78
Compressed Air & Foundation Workers	16	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car					12	25	26	23	23
Coopers' International Union	39	40	40	43	44	28	17	15	13
Cutlery Die & Cuttermakers, Intl. Union		2	2	2	3	3	++	++	++
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	4	4	5	6	5	5	5	5	4
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.			18	35	22	10	6	6	6
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	415	544	1312	1392	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420
Elevator Constructors	29	29	30	31	38	38	52	81	81
Engineers, B'n. Ass. of U. S. & C. Nat. Mar.		79	128	170	211	190	u	u	u
Engineers, Intl. Union of Steam	220	230	250	320	320	320	271	250	253
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate			1	2	4	3	2	1	1
Engravers Intl. Union, Metal						1	1	1	1
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	51	51	50	59	65	65	65	68	72
Federal Employees, National Fed. of	81	109	204	385	330	250	212	208	202
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of		23	154	221	180	161	160	150	160
Firemen, Intl. Bro. of Stationary	170	171	205	296	350	250	125	90	100
Fruit & Vegetable Workers of N. A., Intl. Union of						19	++	++	++
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of	13	33	54	91	52	40	40	36	35
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.	81	100	108	121	45	47	92	89	114
Garment Workers of America, United	449	459	460	459	472	475	476	475	475
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	100	100	100	100	100	97	70	60	60
Glass Workers, American Flint	98	99	95	99	97	87	81	61	53
Glass Workers, National Window		7	50	48	50	50	50	40	20
Glove Workers	8	7	7	10	7	4	2	2	3
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., The	125	119	107	105	105	100	95	86	85
Hatters of North America, United	85	91	100	105	115	115	115	115	115
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	324	367	400	420	460	460	475	490	615
Horsehoofers of United States and Canada	54	54	54	54	54	25	20	20	20
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	646	652	608	604	572	465	384	385	385
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.	110	161	197	315	254	159	117	111	114
Jewelry Workers' International	43	48	51	81	s	s	22	12	8
Lace Operatives, Amal.	12	12	9	q	q	q	q	q	q
Ladies' Garment Workers' International	823	895	905	1054	941	939	915	910	900
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. V. & Metal	60	60	60	59	80	80	80	80	89
Laundry Workers, International Union	48	55	60	67	70	65	55	55	55
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United	32	41	67	117	80	34	20	20	20
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of	25	305	307	325	325	325	325	325	325
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural				3	16	10	6	3	3
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assn.	46	49	56	61	72	76	63	55	53

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	255	260	313	740	641	463	343	305	318
Machinists, International Association of.	1125	1436	2546	3308	2736	1809	973	779	714
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.	97	56	542	g	g	g	377	383	374
Marble, etc., International Asso. of.	10	10	10	12	12	17	23	30	32
Masters, Mates and Pilots	43	48	62	71	91	55	41	41	39
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	96	201	663	653	439	196	104	115	122
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.	176	183	202	218	242	250	250	250	250
Mine Workers of America, United.	3520	4134	3938	3936	4257	3729	4049	4027	4000
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of.	179	167	178	211	162	46	81	91	85
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	500	500	516	573	585	265	321	336	275
Musicians, American Federation of.	604	650	654	700	746	750	750	771	800
Oil Field, etc., Workers.				45	209	248	61	25	12
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.	852	845	827	1031	1133	978	928	1033	1076
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.	64	60	57	74	107	83	70	62	50
Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad.				26	16	9	†	†	†
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	70	88	90	90	90	80	80	70	70
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of.	15	17	18	19	20	20	20	20	20
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.	32	32	26	26	24	24	24	24	24
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.	15	20	20	32	27	9	7	6	6
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C. Oper.	190	190	190	194	239	246	252	300	300
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	320	320	320	320	319	350	350	350	392
Polishers, Intl. Union Metal	100	100	100	100	100	82	67	60	60
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of.	81	101	145	162	170	178	180	200	237
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.	76	78	74	80	91	92	91	83	81
Powder and High Explosive Workers	3	4	3	3	2	2	3	2	2
Printing Pressmen, International	330	340	340	350	371	376	370	387	400
Printers' Union of N. A., I. S. & C. Plate.	13	12	13	14	15	15	12	12	12
Printers and Color Mixers, Machine.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Print Cutters' Asso. of A., Natl.	4	4	4	4	4	3	†	†	†
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.	65	80	84	95	113	68	46	50	50
Quarry Workers, International	35	31	30	30	30	30	24	29	30
Railway Employees' Amal. Asso., S. & E.	737	786	897	987	1000	1000	1000	1000	1010
Railway Mail Association.		94	134	144	150	166	167	179	191
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.									
United Slate, Tile and Composition.	12	12	10	18	28	30	30	30	30
Sawsmiths' National Union.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.	322	371	427	659	1033	492	179	180	160
Sideographers, Intl. Assn. of.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.	8	9	62	123	113	105	89	80	80
Slate and Tile Roofers	6	6	6	r	r	r	r	r	r
Spinners' Intl. Union.	22	22	22	r	r	r	r	r	r
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.	186	186	185	196	194	195	196	200	200
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men	29	37	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.	52	53	54	59	61	60	62	65	68
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen	41	42	39	40	44	46	49	50	51
Stove Mounters' International Union.	17	19	19	19	20	20	18	16	16
Switchmen's Union of North America.	102	107	118	140	101	88	87	93	89
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	120	120	120	120	120	120	119	100	93
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.	21	10	28	93	93	70	46	37	35
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.	703	729	756	1108	1057	764	727	750	789
Telegraphers, Commercial	10	10	20	22	32	34	26	37	41
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.	272	377	446	487	500	500	500	433	392
Textile Workers of America, United.	371	459	558	1049	829	300	300	300	300
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union	28	25	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Timber Workers, Intl. Union of.	2	23	32	101	58	8	††	††	††
Tip Printers	3	3	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.	32	33	42	152	123	34	19	15	14
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.	34	24	20	30	30	30	30	30	30
Typographical Union, International	616	633	647	705	748	689	681	688	710
Upholsterers, International Union of.	40	48	55	56	60	67	73	75	76
United Wall Paper Craft of N. A.							7	6	6
Weavers, Elastic Goring.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Weavers, Shingle.	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wire Weavers' Protective, American	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4
Centrals.	762	781	816	926	973	905	901	855	850
State Branches.	45	45	46	46	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local unions.	1016	1076	1091	1498	1027	747	581	514	504
Total vote of Unions.	24973	28375	33849	41307	40410	33336	30486	29847	29,958

†Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ††Disbanded. dNot recognized. gMerged with Operative Plasterers. hMerged with Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. iBro. of

Railway Postal Clerks and National Federation of Post Office Clerks, merged. *j*Suspended for failure to comply with decision of Baltimore Convention. *k*Leather Workers on Horse Goods and Travelers' Goods merged with Leather Novelty Workers. *l*Suspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. *m*Suspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. *n*Merged with Hodcarriers. *o*Merged with Timber Workers. *p*Merged with Bookbinders. *q*Suspended for failure to comply with decision of the Atlantic City Convention. *r*Merged with Composition Roofers; etc. *s*Suspended for failure to comply with decision of the Montreal Convention. *t*Amalgamation of National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the U. S., with National Print Cutters Association of America, and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A. *u*Withdrawn from Affiliation. *v*Merged with International Plate Printers and Die Stampers. *Reinstated, Oct. 14, 1924.

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, MERGED, WITHDREW, AMALGAMATED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND REINSTATED

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 20; suspended, 9; reinstated, 11.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 9; suspended, 44; joined national and international organizations, 4; reinstated, 15.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 7; suspended, 21; reinstated, 1; joined national and international unions, 1.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Amalgamated. 1. International Steel and Copper Plate Engravers League. Amalgamated with International Plate Printers and Die Stampers Union of N. A., membership, 145. Reinstated, 1. Cloth, Hat & Millinery Workers International Union.

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On August 31, 1925, we had 436 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 21,150, and a defense fund of \$202,029.37, to protect the members of the 436 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout.

The Federation has 1,835 general and district organizers, as well as 19 paid organizers and the officers of 850 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$31,200.81; initiation fees, \$10,581.50. and reinstatement fees, \$221.25.

WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL BUILDING FUND

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso convention, to all affiliated organizations for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College to be used for such educational developments as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Contributions received from August 12, to August 31, 1925, amount to \$149.00.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, LABOR OFFICE ROOM FUND.

On June 15, 1925, an appeal was issued for contributions to furnish a room in the newly erected International Labor Office Building, Geneva, Switzerland. This appeal was authorized by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at its February, 1925, meeting and President Green directed to proceed to collect the necessary funds. The amount to be not less than \$1,000. Contributions received from June 18, 1925, to August 31, 1925, amount to \$1,455.00.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor.

CONCLUSION

I congratulate the officers of the national and international organizations and all our affiliated bodies as well as the general membership, without whose loyal support and cooperation all effort would have been in vain, upon the splendid struggle that has been made to maintain the resistance of their respective organizations and the solidarity of our movement against the campaign of opposition of our enemies. I also desire to express my sincere appreciation of the assistance and cooperation extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and our affiliated bodies and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank Morrison.

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER TOBIN'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from August 31, 1924, to August 31, 1925. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME		EXPENSES	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants paid:	
1924		1924	
September 30.....	\$27,528 38	September 30.....	\$32,317 98
October 31.....	32,025 74	October 31.....	28,851 92
November 30.....	28,114 73	November 30.....	50,863 62
December 31.....	47,188 30	December 31.....	40,742 21
1925		1925	
January 31.....	46,382 88	January 31.....	44,033 72
February 28.....	42,686 20	February 28.....	41,073 27
March 31.....	41,673 11	March 31.....	39,746 90
April 30.....	38,607 93	April 30.....	36,591 22
May 31.....	41,125 46	May 31.....	38,711 37
June 30.....	46,927 86	June 30.....	50,729 77
July 31.....	30,830 86	July 31.....	39,244 68
August 31.....	86,611 51	August 31.....	90,687 97
Total income for 12 months.....	\$509,702 96	Total expenses for 12 months.....	\$533,294 63
Balance in hands of Treasurer, August 31, 1924.....	234,645 47		
Total funds.....	<u>\$744,348 43</u>		

RECAPITULATION

Total funds (balance and income).....	\$744,348 43
Total expenses.....	533,294 63
August 31, 1925—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$211,053 80
August 31, 1925—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00
Total balance on hand, August 31, 1925.....	<u>\$213,053 80</u>
Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates.....	\$100,000 00
Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check.....	56,053 80
Liberty Bonds.....	40,000 00
Canadian Victory Bonds.....	15,000 00
Treasurer's balance, August 31, 1925.....	<u>\$211,053 80</u>
Deposits guaranteed by bond.....	

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., September 1, 1925.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1925:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1924.....	\$8,856 59
Receipts from rents, September 1, 1924, to and including August 31, 1925.....	27,000 00
Receipts from amount paid by insurance company to cover costs in accident.....	253 50
Receipts from refund on electric light bills.....	230 30
Receipts from interest on Federal Farm Loan Certificates (4½%).....	225 00
Receipts from waste paper.....	214 56
Receipts from interest on interest bearing certificates.....	211 40
Receipts from interest on funds on deposit.....	10 03
Total.....	\$37,001 38

Maintenance:**EXPENSES**

Pay roll (building employees).....	\$14,759 90
Taxes.....	2,234 14
Electricity.....	1,343 74
Supplies.....	1,309 04
Repairs to elevators.....	1,285 59
Fuel (coal).....	1,234 51
Ice.....	486 40
Upkeep and repairs to building.....	395 83
Plastering and painting.....	292 00
Insurance (fire).....	203 50
Insurance (liability).....	122 26
Hauling ashes and trash.....	158 50
Water rent.....	131 55
Upkeep of lawn.....	25 00
Binding ledger.....	10 50
Upkeep of rest room.....	9 00
Rent of safe deposit box.....	2 50
Total maintenance.....	\$24,003 96
Amount paid to cover costs in accident.....	156 00
Total expenses.....	\$24,159 96

RECAPITULATION

Receipts.....	\$37,001 38
Expenses.....	24,159 96

Balance on hand, August 31, 1925.....**\$12,841 42**

Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, subject to check (3%).....	\$341 42
Mt. Vernon Bank, interest bearing certificates (4%).....	7,500 00
Federal Farm Loan Certificates (4½%).....	5,000 00

Balance on hand, August 31, 1925.....**\$12,841 42**

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

OFFICIAL CHANGES

Death of Samuel Gompers

The dominating influence of the El Paso Convention was the intimation, strong in the minds of all present, that it was the last convention over which Samuel Gompers would preside. Mr. Gompers had been gravely ill since the preceding April and only his marvelous constitution made it possible for him to recuperate enough to return to his headquarters at Washington, prepare official reports for the El Paso Convention and to make the trip to Texas. All recognized that death had already laid its hand upon him and in various ways our convention officially gave expression to the deep affection and respect which Labor bore him both because of his compelling love for his fellow men and because of the service and single-minded devotion he gave the trade union movement. The trade union movement ever had first claim on his services and his remarkable record of service paralleled the establishment of that movement as a constructive force in national affairs.

He was a delegate to the Pittsburgh Congress in 1881 which organized the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada and was elected a member of its legislative committee—a body analogous to the Executive Council. This Federation, which was the forerunner of the American Federation of Labor, elected him chairman of the Legislative Committee in 1882; first vice-chairman in 1883; and he became chairman upon the resignation of W. W. McClelland in 1885. He was active in the movement for reorganization of the Federation which was accomplished in 1886 along lines more definitely trade union, and was elected president of the new organization with which the old Federation was merged and called the American Federation of Labor. He was reelected president by each succeeding convention except the convention in Denver in 1894. It would be difficult to find a parallel for this career of official service.

In a very unique sense the El Paso Convention marked the rounding out of the epoch in which the principles of trade unionism upon which Mr. Gompers' leadership rested, became established as the distinctive labor movement of the Western Hemisphere. The joint sessions of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana and the American Federation of Labor at Juarez and El Paso were extraordinarily thrilling international demonstrations and were a fitting prelude to events in Mexico City. His last work was presiding over the deliberations of the Pan-American Federation of Labor organized through the joint initiative of the labor federations of Mexico, the United States and Canada. The Pan-American Federation of Labor is the application of trade union principles and methods to international problems. It provides a new international force by making the trade union movement a power for international peace and compelling policies of international relations based upon humanism. The Pan-American Federation itself is Mr. Gompers' crowning concept of the possibilities of trade union organization.

Despite medical advice and the warnings of solicitous friends, Mr. Gompers accompanied the representative group of the Executive Council and the El Paso Convention, which accepted the invitations of the Mexican government and the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana to attend the inauguration of President Calles in Mexico City where he was also to preside over the sessions of the Pan-American convention. The ceremonies attending that event were a personal tribute to the leadership of President Gompers as well as grateful appreciation of the fraternal support and cooperation which American labor had given Mexico in time of sore need.

Stricken down in the closing hours of the Pan-American Congress, as soon as arrangements could be made, Mr. Gompers was hurried from that high altitude homeward to American soil, and northward to San Antonio where he died December 13, 1924.

The members of the Executive Council who constituted with him the American delegates to the Pan-American Congress took charge of the situation and arranged to have the funeral an official one with all expenses borne by the Federation. The body, accompanied by official escort and personal friends, was brought first to Washington to lie for a few hours in the A. F. of L. Building, which was in such a real sense the true home of Samuel Gompers. The whole journey was a truly triumphant acclaim of

the value which mankind accords to service. At stations where the train stopped opportunity was given to pay last respects to our president and along the roadbed many a workman and woman stood with bowed and bared heads as the train sped by.

At Washington, the President's Room in the Union Station was made available—the first time this privilege was granted to any except officials. Again, in New York, honors were accorded him as had only been witnessed at the death of a President of the United States. At San Antonio, Washington and New York the United States Army furnished escort and paid our late President, Samuel Gompers, high honors. At his funeral both the federal government and the government of the state of New York were represented. Many men and women of high standing and a very full representation of all organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. gathered to render the last service as well as pay a tribute of personal affection for the leader who was Labor's spokesman for over forty years.

The ceremonies at Samuel Gompers' funeral were infinitely more than the usual ceremonial rites. They typified the splendid success of his life's work and marked definitely the successful rounding out of the pioneer period which he had shaped and directed. The world-wide tribute testified that the labor movement is a recognized, established institution in national life and a force which those of all walks of life regard as potential for human welfare.

The influence continues in that which is his most enduring memorial—the American Federation of Labor. So long as the principles of voluntarism maintain, he will be speaking in that impersonal immortality found in the continuity of social development.

Election of William Green

As the constitution of the A. F. of L. requires in the case of the death of the president that a successor be elected by a conference to be called within six days from the date of vacancy, Acting President Frank Morrison called a meeting of the Executive Council for New York on the day following Mr. Gompers' burial—December 19, 1924. The Executive Council selected William Green, then third vice-president of the A. F. of L., as president of the Federation. He resigned as secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers and immediately assumed the work of president of the A. F. of L.

Election of James P. Noonan

The election of Mr. Green as president created a vacancy among the vice-presidents. As it is the custom that vice-presidents are designated according to period of service, all vice-presidents beginning with the fourth vice-president were advanced one designation, which left vacant the office of eighth vice-president. The Executive Council elected James P. Noonan, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, eighth vice-president.

SAMUEL GOMPERS MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

The Executive Council at its New York meeting authorized President Green to appoint a Samuel Gompers Memorial Committee. He designated the following to serve: Frank Morrison, Frank Duffy, Daniel J. Tobin, Matthew Woll and James Wilson.

At the first meeting this committee asked President Green, and he agreed, to serve as a member of the committee. In order that this committee might have an expression of opinion from the labor movement as to the kind of memorial desired, the presidents and secretaries of affiliated national and international unions were asked to serve as an advisory committee to the Samuel Gompers Memorial Committee, and were invited to participate in an advisory conference held in Washington. The conference was a splendidly attended representative group which gave thoughtful and helpful consideration to the problem. With a very fine spirit of love and appreciation of our late president, this conference presented many different suggestions of ways in which honor could be done his memory. The advisory conference favored the erection of a memorial monument and suggested that if a suitable monument could be properly placed on the

lot in front of the American Federation of Labor Building, that the Memorial Committee give that site very careful consideration.

The conference very clearly stated that this suggestion was purely advisory and that the conference favored the erection of a monument in Washington, the site to be selected later.

The committee having the work in charge has before it a number of carefully prepared plans submitted by experts of every walk of life. All of these plans will be given most careful consideration in order that decision upon the memorial may be fitting and satisfactory to the membership of the Federation.

NEW ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

The World War emphasized fundamental developments in industrial organization then taking form and direction because of the extraordinary focus upon industrial efficiency necessary to maintain an army over seas. War experience made plain the outstanding importance of morale and technology. Management first of all came to a clearer and fuller understanding of its own technical functions; it found itself at grips with the fundamentals that the human agent in production is the indispensable and the irreplaceable element and that exact information is the only intelligent basis for administrative decision.

Tremendous impetus was given to research in all fields which feed into production. The scope of the war development of research movement is typified by the National Research Council which, created as a war agency, has become a permanent organization, performing a constructive function wherever the scientific method is applicable. Chemical research has been the chief agency for industrial progress on the material side. On the human side, on the relation of workmen in the organization and processes of industry and commerce—that is the scientific study of man in relation to his occupation—personnel research develops the facts by which policies and methods may be evaluated.

During the wartime personnel studies and personnel departments in production acquired popularity. Much of the work done was superficial and of no constructive value, but out of it all came a wholesome appreciation that the problem of directing employees requires the same quality of managerial planning as is given to the material side of production. After all, a trained coordinate working force is an asset more difficult to replace than losses in machinery or materials.

To meet a developing demand for information on personnel in industry and commerce, the National Research Council sponsored the formation of the Personnel Research Federation.

Personnel Research Federation

The American Federation of Labor was one of the charter members of the Personnel Research Federation which has developed into an active research agency. With the opening of a permanent office and the provision for a full-time director, made possible by a modest budget, the Research Federation was incorporated and its constitution modified.

The Personnel Research Federation has been able to draw to itself the necessary information and contacts to become a clearing center for personnel research and is now in position to render practical service. At its regular semi-annual meeting held in Washington, May, 1925, the chief discussion occurred on the methods employed by the Russell Sage Foundation in its study of the company unions organized by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. The discussion in very pointed implications indicated what Labor had to gain from keeping in touch with research studies, the methods of investigation and the interpretation of research reports. The interest in the discussion of the C. F. I. study was heightened by the fact that the investigation showed how company unions depend upon trade unions for decisions of fundamental trade standards. The May meeting provided for a small standing committee to carry forward sustained study of the technique of personnel research. The A. F. of L. is represented on this committee.

As the undertakings of the Personnel Research Federation are developed we shall endeavor to keep in close touch, so that we may counsel in the formulation of plans and policies.

New Labor Problems

With the industrial changes that have come in the past few years our labor movement has found it has to meet different problems and a different type of opposition from employers who oppose the trade union movement. Made more intelligent in their methods by appreciation of industrial morale and the value of good health and safety of employees, such managements began introducing welfare work and so-called employee representation plans. The first of these efforts were crude and conspicuously paternalistic. More recent types are changed somewhat in form. Employers realize that the old methods can no longer be used successfully against trade unions. Therefore, instead of opposing labor organization without offering any counter proposal, they offer substitutes. Organization all recognize is a method essential for production procedure. The expressed and definite purpose of corporations which organize company unions is to prevent the organization of workers into trade unions. Among the more important of these agencies and methods are: Company unions or employee representation plans emanating from sources other than groups of workers; insurance provided by employers; employee ownership.

While these proposals may contain some element of betterment for wage earners yet when used to undermine and nullify the trade union movement, they become the agency for defeating the best interests of wage earners and industries as well as the country as a whole.

These methods therefore constitute new problems which our movement must study to establish the facts and findings, and the results of our studies will help us to find the best way of meeting the problems and the dangers they entail. Thus we shall develop the tactics and the methods with which to cope with our new problems. It is useless to continue to use tactics and methods adapted to organization of industry and methods of opposition based upon conditions that existed in previous decades. The unions that make progress against existing difficulties must be able to match brains against brains and information and resourcefulness against information and resourcefulness. It is necessary for us to have more exact and more comprehensive information as to our own union strength and effectiveness as well as to industry and trade.

Trade Union Statistics

We are, therefore, striving to collect and collate information on trade union membership that will enable us to gauge our progress and to plan for more effective organizing work. We hope to develop statistics for trades, for industries, and for cities, states and geographic and industrial districts. As the facts become available they will be published or made accessible in the most practical way.

Company Unions

The number of wage earners concerned and affected by company unions is confined to some transportation lines, some public utilities companies and in some private manufacturing industries. It is necessary for us to know how these company unions are operating so we may plan the best way of dealing with them. We know that company unions deny their members the advantages of national organization and the benefit of representative officials of that training which develops independent experts. The union has its origin in the needs and aspiration of workers and is necessary to enable them to render their full function service. It became necessary when management was divorced from the production side of industry—when machines replaced hand production. Some managements and employers resent unions as an invasion of the authority of management. From such has come support of "employee representation" plans or company unions with the hope of crushing unions by this method, a method which is more insidious than the old union-smashing tactics. Labor needs

to study ways of meeting this problem to determine whether it can not find more effective methods. If the representatives of the union control any employee representation plan offered by employers, it ceases to be a menace.

We shall first collect data on company unions and then on the basis of this information plan further investigation and how best to secure the cooperation of research agencies to institute helpful inquiries and investigations.

Employers' Insurance

With the expansion of insurance a number of industrial companies have endeavored to use various types of insurance to make employees "loyal" to the company, to undermine their independence, and to defeat efforts to secure wage increases.

Under the group plan of insurance, companies have taken policies for all their employees, paying the premiums as long as the workmen remained in their employ. When workers through their unions endeavored to get the benefit of the group plan, they found that insurance legislation provided that group insurance could be written for employers only.

Practically all trade unions have tried to give their members some kind of collective protection through union benefit systems. As comparatively few of these have been developed along insurance lines upon actuarial principles, the protection is in no way comparable to that obtainable through insurance. A number of trade unions have already organized insurance undertakings for the benefit of their members.

Insurance is essentially social in purpose and method. It is possible only through collective action. It is concerned primarily with service, not commodities.

For trade unions to organize their own insurance undertakings does not represent the entrance of Labor into commercial undertakings, but the application of scientific principles to benefit undertakings which are now for most part not managed in the most efficient manner.

In accordance with the direction of the El Paso Convention, Labor is now taking steps to enable wage earners to secure cheap but adequate insurance protection by ways other than through the beneficence of employers. A number of national and international unions authorized a committee to organize a Union Labor Life Insurance Company to be controlled by trade unions and to furnish insurance at reasonable rates sharing the profits of the undertaking with the policy holders.

Employee Ownership

Supplementing the use of insurance to weaken the ties binding wage earners to trade unions, has developed a wide-spread indiscriminate advocacy of public and employee ownership and the investment by the workers of their earnings and savings in stocks and other securities of various forms.

Employee ownership has been hailed as "industrial democracy"—the workers owning the shop or the railroad. Advocates of this panacea have paid no heed to the different kinds of stocks and securities, not all of which carry the right to vote in regular company meetings. In the case of holders of stocks conveying voting power, minority holders have little or no opportunity to influence decisions.

There are obvious technical grounds which deter scrupulous employers from urging their employees to invest in securities of the company which employs them.

The success of our trade union movement has created an investment problem for many of our trade unionists. The determination of safe investments is not an easy problem and requires expert advice. But if wage earners strive to make themselves increasingly efficient workmen and maintain effective machinery for collective bargaining, their wages will increase proportionately. If they develop, as we hope they will, habits of thrift and proper concern for future protection, they will accumulate savings and be looking for investment opportunities. With this situation we face the necessity, first, of knowing just what is happening in the form of public and employee ownership and thereupon developing constructive suggestions. If dependable investment information service is not available, they have no protection against sellers of questionable securities. It is possible that the labor banks may ultimately supply this need, or that

an agency or agencies controlled and directed by the trade union movement may be developed to gather and supply to the members of organized labor information regarding the value of investment securities.

Labor Banks

Another method by which trade unions have been meeting problems of investments and credit is the labor bank. This movement represents an effort on Labor's part to supplement the service rendered by the union through further mobilization and controlled usage of the earnings and economic resources of wage earners. The Federation as such has had no part in initiating banking undertakings, but it has been a close observer because the consequences of such movements affect the labor movement itself. If the undertakings succeed, they do credit to the resourcefulness and efficiency of the labor movement. If they fail, it means much more than financial losses—it means a weakening of union morale and disintegration of the movement itself.

Therefore, the Federation advises caution with regard to labor banks. Finances are the life-blood of our economic organization. To operate a bank efficiently requires something more than financial assets. The service of experts is indispensable. Labor banks must be doubly sure of their expert advice, because they have greater handicaps than the usual bank which is not seeking to give the rank and file of Labor those inside banking profits and advantages that are usually reserved for the privileged few.

We recommend that unions contemplating banking undertakings proceed with greatest caution; that they secure the experience of previous labor undertakings in this field to guide them aright and that they secure the services of the best experts available.

The A. F. of L. is now engaged in making a survey of labor banks.

Union-Management Cooperation

Labor believes that the best interests of all participating in production are promoted by cooperation and that seeming conflicts of interests may be harmonized in the light of more comprehensive information and experience from cooperation itself.

The first function which the trade union seeks to perform is that of collective bargaining. The establishment of this practice enables the group of producing workmen to have a voice in determining standards of work and pay. The principle of workers representation is thereby established and opportunity is afforded to these representatives to become experts in their field. In addition to possessing expert information these representatives must have that independence of the group with which they are bargaining that gives bargaining equality. This basic feature in the relations between trade unions and the employing group makes a fundamental distinction between trade unions and company unions and discloses one of the reasons why company unions are not an adequate substitute for trade unions.

After collective bargaining becomes an established practice, it can provide methods and agencies for rendering continuous service in interpreting and applying the terms of the working agreement and in meeting new problems. By developing this continuous service the functions of the union become increasingly interwoven in plant procedure. The field to which bargaining procedure is applicable is limited, however, to matters to be decided by joint agreement and judgment.

There is a still more important service that the union can render—that of participating in finding better methods of production and greater production economies. A group of workers can not enter into this type of cooperation unless they know the results of their work will not be used to their disadvantage. There must be mutual confidence and that stability that makes possible future planning.

A demonstration of the practicability and the value of this union function occurs in the Baltimore and Ohio development in union-management cooperation which has passed the experimental stage. Because of the success of the development of this road, the method is being applied to other railroads—the Canadian National, Chicago and Northwestern, and Chesapeake and Ohio. The development is the special contribution of the Railway Employees' Department to trade union methods and progress. It employs machinery and procedure developed from that used in the function of collective bargaining, and its prerequisites are strongly organized, well developed trade unions

and dependable, competent, expert advisors. The development itself must be carried on in the spirit of an educational undertaking.

The Baltimore and Ohio development is described in a pamphlet published by the A. F. of L., entitled, "Union-Management Cooperation," containing articles by B. M. Jewell, president of the Railway Employees' Department, and Otto S. Beyer, Jr., the engineer in charge of the undertaking.

This whole movement should be given most serious study and consideration. A number of management experts have recognized that the trade union is essential to the most scientific organization of industry and have contributed to information on this point as well as promoted discussion and understanding within their profession. Many of these experts are men and women imbued with a desire to render public service in addition to contributing to the development of industry and their profession.

We recommend that the Federation keep in touch with such engineers and industrial experts as may be helpful in developing the information and the procedure necessary to union-management cooperation so that there may be reciprocal benefit through exchange of views and information.

WAGES

The textile industry has raised the issue of wage reductions. That industry confronted by the problems of technical changes and over-expansion, has resorted to the expedient of wage reductions for the purpose of reducing production costs despite the innumerable demonstrations that high wage expenditures do not produce high costs.

High production costs usually indicate inefficient management and inadequate production records. The assay of industrial waste made by the Federated American Engineering Societies charged fifty per cent of industrial waste or misuse to management and only twenty-five per cent to workers. Obviously here is the big field for changes that will reduce production costs with benefits to all concerned.

On the other hand while wage reductions may reduce the total costs chargeable to that one item, the probabilities are that other items may be increased so as to more than counterbalance the effect of wage reduction on the total costs. The loss in morale may diminish production output. Lower wages mean lower living standards in turn reflected in loss of physical and mental well-being of workers.

Wage reductions diminish purchasing power of the group of workers in the textile industry which is reflected in the business of the whole community and extends out into the industrial fabric of the nation.

Wage reductions are a powerful factor in the vicious combination that initiates a period of business depression. The most prosperous and best managed production establishments do not attempt to meet industrial difficulties through wage reductions. It is the industry that is unable to solve its management problems by eliminating wastes and bad practices, and by finding the way to secure from every employee the most valuable service that he can contribute, that resorts to wage reductions.

The lowest production costs can be reached only through intelligent cooperation based upon full understanding of the work done. Workers competent to perform good work with commensurate wages, the best technical equipment with the use of power machinery wherever possible under efficient management, will contribute to the maintenance of production costs at the lowest possible figure.

The labor movement is economically sound in its protest against wage reductions and it is socially correct in opposing conditions that would lower the social standards of our nation. We urge upon wage earners everywhere that they oppose wage reductions.

UNION LABEL AND ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN

From year to year resolutions have been introduced at our annual conventions dealing with the union labels of the various organizations, urging the cooperation of all organized labor in demanding union label products, requesting the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor of these union labels and directing the attention

of the delegates and the convention to the need of persistent, constant and vigorous action in promoting the manufacture, demand and sale of union-made and union-labelled goods. In season and out of season the officers of the American Federation of Labor have used their utmost endeavors along these lines.

The union label and the need for cooperative, concentrated action were very comprehensively stated by a resolution introduced in the El Paso convention, the resolution sponsored by the delegates from the Cigarmakers' International Union and unanimously adopted by the convention.

At our meeting in February the officers of the Union Label Trades Department conferred with us regarding the plans for a comprehensive union label campaign of forty weeks, simultaneously inaugurated and conducted all over the country. Your Executive Council was impressed with the idea not only contemplated in the education of the workers regarding the value of the union label and the demand for union-labelled goods, but the great opportunity presented for carrying forward an organizing campaign. We approved the suggestion offered and joined with the Department in calling a conference of representatives of national and international unions, which met at American Federation of Labor headquarters on May 6th. The conference was attended by an officer or an official representative of sixty national and international unions as follows:

Bakers, Blacksmiths, Boilermakers, Bookbinders, Boot and Shoe Workers, Brewery Workers, Brick and Clay Workers, Bricklayers, Broom and Whisk Makers, Cap Makers, Railway Carmen, Carpenters, Cigarmakers, Post Office Clerks, Railway Clerks, Coopers, Draftsmen, Federal Employees, Fire Fighters, Fur Workers, Garment Workers, Glass Bottle Blowers, Hatters, Hodcarriers, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Lathers, Letter Carriers, Maintenance of Way Employees, Marble Polishers, Meat Cutters, Sheet Metal Workers, Mine Workers, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Molders, Musicians, Paper Makers, Piano and Organ Workers, Plumbers, Metal Polishers, Potters, Printing Pressmen, Plate Printers, Pulp and Sulphite Workers, Seamen, Stage Employees, Stereotypers, Stove Mounters, Tailors, Teachers, Teamsters, Railroad Telegraphers, Textile Workers, Tobacco Workers, Tunnel and Subway Employees, Typographical Union, Upholsterers, Wall Paper Crafts, Label Trades, Metal Trades, Executive Council.

The conference adopted the following.

That this conference endorse this campaign of organization, publicity and education as outlined and explained by the officers of the Union Label Trades Department and endorsed and approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and that we here assembled pledge ourselves to further this campaign in every way in our power, both financially and otherwise; and that the officers in charge of this movement stand instructed by this conference to send out a call to all national and international organizations of labor for contributions and donations to immediately begin the work of the campaign.

The plan of work is:

1. It is proposed to divide the country into five districts, each to be covered by a unit of four people, consisting of advance agent, machine operator, entertainer and lecturer.
2. The advance agent will arrange all meetings at least two weeks in advance of the arrival of the balance of the unit, the itinerary for which will be arranged by the officers of State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies, and he will also have a committee named to advertise the meeting.
3. The titles of machine operator and entertainer are self-explanatory as to their duties.
4. The lecturer will be in charge of the unit. Immediately after the opening of the meeting he will deliver a lecture on the need for and benefits of trade union organization. Following the showing of the moving picture he will lecture on the necessity of spending money earned under union conditions, only for the products of union labor. He will secure data from Central Bodies and other local Labor officials as to

which unions are in good shape, unions in poor condition, trades in which no organization exists, and what unions are not affiliated to the central body.

5. This information together with a list of all unions in all cities visited not affiliated to the State Federation of Labor, shall be reported each week to the Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department.

6. The lecturer will also endeavor to learn the character of and demand for union-made goods in each city and forward same to Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department.

7. The Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department will assemble this information for distribution to the national and international unions at interest, with the exception of the information relative to membership or affiliation of local unions to State or City Central Bodies.

8. Non-affiliation of local unions to State and City Central Bodies will be reported to the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the request that he urge the respective national and international unions to use their good offices in persuading local unions to affiliate with State and City Central Bodies.

9. The committee secured by the advance agent in all localities will be furnished literature by the American Federation of Labor, Union Label Trades Department and national and international unions, free of cost, for use in arranging meetings and for distribution at meetings.

10. Wherever a meeting can be arranged to be held under the auspices of Trade Union Auxiliaries, Women's Label Leagues or Women's Clubs, they will be held during the afternoon.

While the great war was in progress plans were put under way whereby a so-called "open shop" movement could be conducted. Since the signing of the armistice Labor has passed through several crises. One of these was the "open shop" drive; another was the period of unemployment; yet another was attempted reductions in wages in many trades but which Labor successfully resisted. Labor lost some in membership but Labor has regained and will more than regain what it lost.

No one can foretell when a new campaign against Labor may be undertaken or when another concerted effort at wage reductions may be attempted.

The plans for organization, education and publicity which we are now inaugurating will, we believe, make it possible for Labor so to strengthen its position as to enable it to meet all attacks.

At the time this report is being prepared, the campaign has not sufficiently progressed to make a report as to its success or otherwise. However, we anticipate making a special report upon this subject some time during the convention.

ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN WAGE EARNERS

At the request of a number of international officers of trade unions within whose jurisdiction a considerable number of women workers are employed, the President of the A. F. of L. is to work out a plan by which there can be joint planning and concentration or organizing activity under the leadership of the A. F. of L.

It is the purpose of this undertaking to avoid the creation of new agencies or new machinery with consequent additional expense and by the better utilization of resources and personnel to make more satisfactory headway in organizing women employed in industry.

The participating organizations will detail organizers to the localities selected from time to time and the A. F. of L. will designate a representative to act as the coordinating agent and will serve as the clearing center for information and literature.

THE STRIKE OF RAILWAY SHOPMEN

A magnificent stand in defense of a fundamental principle is the continuing strike of the railway shopmen against the Pennsylvania and Long Island Railroads. The strike began with the nation-wide movement in 1922, against intolerable conditions resulting from the activity of certain railroad executives to undermine the shopmen's union standards and so reduce wages and destroy working conditions. Although the

strikes on all of the other railroads have been settled, no adjustment could possibly be made with the Pennsylvania Company.

The Pennsylvania early declared against the principle of genuine collective bargaining and prepared a plan of company dominated employee representation, which it forced its employees to accept. The striking shopmen have consistently refused to accept this substitute and are continuing their demand for their right to representation of their own choosing. The Long Island Railroad which is operated as a property of the Pennsylvania, follows the Pennsylvania labor policy.

A remarkable focus upon the contrast between company unions and trade unions has resulted from the fact that the Baltimore and Ohio, which is in many respects a competing road, took the initiative to end the 1922 strike by entering into an agreement with the representatives of the shopmen's unions. Previous to the strike there had been conferences between the B. & O. executives and representatives of the shopmen's unions on stabilization of employment and cooperation to work out better shop practices and eliminate waste. A preamble providing for such cooperation was written into the 1923 agreement and has resulted in the most important development of union-management cooperation which has challenged world-wide attention. As a result, the B. & O. has been rendering constantly improved service at lower maintenance costs. On the other hand repair costs on the Pennsylvania have increased, its labor difficulties have grown apace, and a once superbly equipped and operated system is losing popular favor.

The Pennsylvania management has been so implacable in its opposition to trade unions, that discussion of underlying fundamentals and relative effectiveness of company unions as contrasted with trade unions has been stimulated in many circles.

To those trade unionists who are making the sacrifices necessary for the protest in the name of the whole trade union movement, the American labor movement owes a debt of gratitude. We appreciate the character and integrity of those who have not yielded in the struggle and we pledge them Labor's support in every possible way. We shall try to bring to the attention of all wage earners and our friends the issues involved in the struggle, so that they may know how best to support the striking shopmen in the most practical way.

STEAM ENGINEERS' EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION

The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers made application for extension of jurisdiction to include Marine Engineers. We took the application under consideration for a considerable period of time. At several meetings of the Executive Council, hearings were accorded to the representatives of the two organizations. A decision was deferred from time to time in the hope that the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association would reconsider its withdrawal of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

In view of the evidence presented, the Executive Council was constrained to the belief that the best interest and general welfare of the trade union movement and the men involved would be advanced and conserved by granting the request of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers for extension of its jurisdiction over marine engineers, with the proviso that the existing agreement between the Steam and Operating Engineers and the International Longshoremen's Association be adhered to.

TEAMSTERS—RAILWAY CLERKS

We reported to you at our last annual convention the decision we had reached as to the jurisdictional disagreement between these two organizations. That decision was:

That jurisdiction over the men involved in this dispute properly belongs to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America; that both organizations be notified to this effect and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be instructed to disassociate from its membership all drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen, and garage employees who are not mechanics, and helpers (the term helpers meaning all men who load and unload wagons and trucks) by transferring them to the International Brother-

hood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America or disassociate them from membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Since the El Paso convention the Teamsters have repeatedly complained that the Railway Clerks have disregarded the decision. We have exerted every effort to bring about compliance with the decision of the El Paso convention. At our suggestion President Green attended and addressed the convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in Kansas City, May 4.

The President of the American Federation of Labor presented to the delegates in attendance upon the convention the action of the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor and the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor relating thereto. The officers and delegates were requested and urged to comply with the decision of the convention of the American Federation of Labor relating to the jurisdictional disagreement which had arisen between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

The convention referred the matter to the Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. The Executive Board thereupon declared:

That the Grand Executive Council of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, decides that our Brotherhood is not infringing on the rights of the Teamsters' organization in admitting to our organization employees of the American Railway Express Company and the Southeastern Express Company.

That when a question as to the classification under the duties of an employee arises which would occasion a jurisdictional dispute on the employee in question, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America shall designate a representative and the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees shall designate a representative to meet and investigate in detail such duties, reporting back to their respective chief executives their findings.

At our meeting at headquarters the latter part of July we gave this entire situation our most careful consideration. By our direction, President Green addressed a letter to the officers of the Railway Clerks, reciting the various endeavors which have been made by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to induce the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to comply with the decision of the Executive Council, and advising them that in the event of their failure to comply prior to the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council will be constrained to recommend to the convention that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor until it shall have complied with the Executive Council's decision.

At the time this report is being drafted and printed we have not been advised as to the action of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

TEAMSTERS—STREET AND ELECTRIC RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

The convention of the American Federation of Labor which convened last November directed that a conference between the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America be called within ninety days, with the purpose in view of reaching an adjustment of the jurisdictional dispute which prevailed regarding jurisdiction over bus drivers and bus chauffeurs. The convention further directed:

In the event of a failure to reach a settlement by conciliation or agreement, then a board of arbitration shall be immediately convened to consist of three members, one appointed by each of the parties to this case, the arbitrators so appointed to choose the third. In the event of the failure of the arbitrators to choose the third within ten days, then the President of the American Fed-

eration of Labor shall appoint the third member of the board. The entire subject matter shall then be referred to the board of arbitration so constituted for adjustment, and its decision shall be final and binding on both parties.

Pursuant to this action, an invitation was extended to the representatives of both organizations to attend a conference. This conference was called within ninety days after the adjournment of the El Paso convention. We were advised by the representatives of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees that it was quite impossible to attend the conference. This necessitated a change in the date. Consequently a meeting between the representatives of the two organizations was held on March 12, 1925. No agreement was reached at this conference. The matter was reported and considered at a meeting held during the month of May, at which the following decision was reached:

That we call upon the President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees and the President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America to appoint arbitrators to consider the controversy existing between the two organizations in accordance with the decision of the El Paso Convention and the supplemental action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The officers of the two organizations were informed of the decision and requested to appoint arbitrators as required by the action of the El Paso convention. President Tobin of the Teamsters responded by appointing an arbitrator. In the reply from President Mahon of the Street Railwaymen, he called attention to the statement made by his delegation to the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor that no definite action could be taken by his organization until its next convention which will meet in Montreal, Canada, beginning September 14, and that for this reason his executive board could not appoint an arbitrator.

This entire situation was considered and discussed by us at our meeting at headquarters the latter part of July when, under authority and by our direction, President Green addressed a letter to President Mahon expressing our disappointment over the delay in carrying out the decision of the El Paso convention and requesting him, in behalf of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to call upon his convention for immediate action and decision upon the appointment of an arbitrator as directed by the El Paso convention.

As this report will be in print before action by the convention of the Amalgamated Association is taken, your Executive Council will submit to you a supplemental report sometime during the convention.

MACHINISTS AND BLACKSMITHS vs. STREET AND ELECTRIC RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

Conforming to the directions of the El Paso convention the representatives of the contending organizations, including representatives of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor in response to an invitation from President Green, met in conference at A. F. of L. headquarters, March 12; President Green and Secretary Morrison representing the American Federation of Labor.

The conference failed to reach an understanding or agreement. The officers of the Machinists expressed the belief that the Executive Council should assume jurisdiction. They requested a hearing at our May meeting. All parties at interest were notified of the request. Unfortunately the representatives of the Street and Electric Railway Employees were unable to be present.

The representatives of the Machinists and the Blacksmiths were in attendance at the May meeting. They again presented their respective claims of jurisdiction. We again requested further conference between those whose interests are involved in this jurisdictional controversy. A further conference was held at headquarters on July 29th.

As a result of this conference the following recommendation was made to us:

- That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor undertake through President Green to call into being a Conference and Adjustment

Committee; this committee to consist of three members, two of which are to be selected by the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees respectively and the third to be selected by the American Federation of Labor through its President and if possible one who will be agreeable to both organizations; this committee to visit such places as may be selected by the two organizations concerned or by the President of the American Federation of Labor; that this committee shall be authorized to negotiate an understanding and agreement between the organizations referred to herein, but that it shall not be authorized and shall not be empowered to make any decisions; and that in the event no understanding or agreement is reached all representatives shall present their respective findings of facts and reports to the President of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of having the Executive Council give the matter further consideration.

We accepted the recommendation and communicated it to the officers of the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

In the dispute between the Blacksmiths and the Street Railway Employees, considerable progress was made in bringing about an understanding and agreement between the organizations at interest. It developed there were two or three points of difference which at the moment could not be adjusted. It was understood however, that further efforts would be made to reach a settlement, and this course is being pursued.

COOPERS—CARPENTERS

By Resolution No. 9, the delegates from the Coopers' International Union of North America to the El Paso convention recited the jurisdictional controversy between that organization and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, over the question of tank builders and erectors.

The President of the American Federation of Labor was authorized to bring the contending parties together in conference that an effort might there be made to settle all differences in conformity with the course followed by them in the past when disputes of a similar nature arose.

The conference was held in Chicago on April 15, at which Vice-President Wilson represented the American Federation of Labor. It developed at the conference that in the past the officers of the two organizations had met and had been able to adjust any misunderstandings between them without having recourse to a resolution of protest to a convention of the A. F. of L. It was suggested that this plan be followed in this and in all future disputes. The representatives of the Coopers agreed to present to their Executive Board this method of conference with the Carpenters in the settlement of this and future differences and disputes.

BRICKLAYERS AND MASONS—PLASTERERS

In every way within our power during the year we endeavored to establish amicable relations between these two organizations. We regret that we were not successful. However, with your approval, when time and circumstances seem opportune, we will continue our efforts.

COAL RIVER COLLIERIES COMPANY—MINE WORKERS

By Resolutions Nos. 46 and 72 protest was made to our last annual convention against the attitude of the Coal River Collieries Company of West Virginia whose stockholders are largely members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, towards the United Mine Workers of America, and the anti-union policy of that company condemned.

The convention directed the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use its good offices to secure a settlement. In the event of failure of such negotiations, the Executive Council was instructed to advise the membership of the

American Federation of Labor of all the facts in the case. We placed the matter in the hands of the President of the American Federation of Labor to exercise his good offices in an endeavor to reach a more amicable understanding. President Green appointed a committee consisting of Secretary Frank Morrison, Vice-President Martin F. Ryan and Vice-President James P. Noonan, to meet in conference with Chairman Stone of the Coal River Collieries Company and President Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America.

The committee met Chairman Stone in Cleveland, January 23. It was then decided to request a conference with President Lewis. Further conference was held at American Federation of Labor headquarters, February 25, between President Lewis and four other officers of the United Mine Workers, Chairman Stone and six other officers of the Coal River Collieries Company, Secretary Morrison and Vice-President Ryan representing the Executive Council.

That conference resulted in an agreement being reached that a committee of two representing the United Mine Workers of America and two representing the Coal River Collieries Company should be appointed with power to act, to meet in conference for the purpose of reaching an agreement satisfactory to both parties. The committee of four was appointed.

This committee failed to agree and reported its disagreement to the sub-committee of the Executive Council appointed by President Green.

Thereupon the sub-committee submitted its report to President Green, which we incorporate as part of this report, as follows:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 1, 1925.

MR. WILLIAM GREEN, *President,*
American Federation of Labor
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:

The undersigned members of the A. F. of L. Executive Council were appointed by you to make effective Resolution No. 72 of the El Paso Convention.

The resolution set forth in substance that the Coal River Collieries Company operating mines in Little Coal River in West Virginia and North Eastern Kentucky, the stockholders of which are largely made up of members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, with Warren S. Stone, deceased, then President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and chairman of the company's board of directors; that the company refused to enter into a contract with the Miners on the basis of the Jacksonville Agreement; that the company discharged members of the United Mine Workers for affiliating with the union of their craft, and that the company evicted miners from their homes.

The following is the action and instructions of the El Paso Convention:

Your committee finds that a strike has been in effect at four mines of the Coal River Collieries in West Virginia since April 1 of this year, due to the failure of this company to renew its wage agreement with the United Mine Workers of America. We find further that the officers of the United Mine Workers have made repeated but fruitless efforts to reach a settlement with Warren S. Stone, chairman of the board of directors of this corporation, who assumes responsibility for its labor policy. We find also that this coal company has served eviction notices upon the union men who are on strike and has resorted to the employment of strikebreakers.

In view of these facts, and as a further constructive effort, your committee recommends the following:

That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to exercise its good offices to secure a settlement of this unfortunate controversy at the earliest possible date; that in the event of failure of such negotiations the Executive Council be instructed to advise the membership of the American Federation of Labor of all facts in the premises.

Your committee held a conference with Warren S. Stone and other officers of the company at Cleveland, Ohio, January 23, 1925, and at this meeting arranged for a conference between Warren S. Stone, President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, with your committee, at Washington, D. C., on February 25, 1925. Conference was held at A. F. of L. headquarters, where it was agreed that President Lewis should appoint two men to represent the United Mine Workers, and President Stone appoint an equal number representing the company, with full power to act.

President Lewis appointed Percy Tetlow, President, and W. C. Thompson, Secretary-Treasurer, District No. 17, where the difficulty existed. President Stone appointed J. T. Dunnigan, President and Manager, and G. G. Hoffman, Assistant Treasurer of the Coal River Collieries Company.

It was agreed that this committee should hold its meetings in West Virginia and report back to the sub-committee of the Executive Council the result of its efforts.

Your committee, under date of June 29, 1925, received the following joint report, under date of June 9, 1925:

HUNTINGTON, W. VA., June 9, 1925.

THE A. F. OF L. COMMITTEE,
FRANK MORRISON, Chairman; JAMES P. NOONAN, MARTIN F. RYAN.
GENTLEMEN:

In re: Matters pertaining to United Mine Workers and Coal River Collieries.

The undersigned committee appointed at meeting of your committee in Washington on February 25 last beg leave to report as follows:

We have had various conferences with reference to the above matters and regret to say that we are unable to reach an amicable agreement between both parties and therefore request that we be relieved from further consideration in the matter.

(Signed) PERCY TETLOW,
WILL C. THOMPSON,
FOR UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.
(Signed) J. T. DUNNIGAN, President;
G. G. HOFFMAN, Assistant-Treasurer,
FOR COAL RIVER COLLIERIES.

Each committee made a separate report, which we herewith attach.

The reports of the two committees set forth in detail the statement of their respective positions in regard to this controversy.

The notification that the committees failed to agree did not reach the chairman of your committee until June 29, 1925.

Warren S. Stone, chairman of the board of directors of the company, died on June 13, 1925.

A meeting of your committee was called for the 27th of July, for the purpose of meeting in conference with President Prenter, who, we had been advised, had an engagement to be in Washington on the 27th and 28th of July.

Conference was arranged and held at A. F. of L. headquarters with President Prenter. He informed your committee that he would reply to any communication received from the officers of the Federation requesting information regarding the connection of the Brotherhood of Engineers, or any of its activities, with the Coal River Collieries Company.

Your committee, therefore, suggests that, as President of the American Federation of Labor, you communicate with President Prenter of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and ask him what relations the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Bank, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Investment Company, have now, or ever had, with the Coal River Collieries Company, and whether or not the officers of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers are in a position to use their influence to have this company and its stockholders operate their mines under union conditions.

We find the following facts:

1. That over 70 per cent of the stock of the Coal River Collieries Company is owned by members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers;
 2. That Warren S. Stone was President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and chairman of the board of directors of the company;
 3. That the Miners declared a strike against the company upon the refusal of its officers to pay the union scale;
 4. That the United Mine Workers made every effort possible to reach a settlement;
 5. That the Coal River Collieries Company served eviction notices upon the union men who were on strike;
 6. That they evicted union men and their families from the company's houses;
 7. That they employed non-union men to take the places of the union men on strike;
 8. That a committee of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had several meetings for the purpose of reaching a settlement, but without success;
 9. That T. C. Songer, chairman of the general committee on adjustment of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers on Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, is now chairman of the Board of directors of the Coal River Collieries Company.
- In conclusion, your committee finds that the United Mine Workers are justified in their demand that the Jacksonville scale should be paid by the Coal River Collieries Company.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed)

FRANK MORRISON, *Chairman*,
MARTIN F. RYAN,
J. P. NOONAN,
Committee.

LEGISLATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

A pamphlet giving the legislative achievements of the American Federation of Labor has been issued. It shows that since 1906, 208 laws in the interest of labor were enacted by congress.

It also gives a history of the non-partisan policy and the benefits that have come from it. Copies of the pamphlet have been sent to all state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions.

LABOR LEGISLATION

Summary of Legislation Considered in the Second Session of the Sixty-eighth Congress, From December 1, 1924, to March 3, 1925

Favorable Legislation Enacted

- An increase of \$68,000,000 for postal employees. Public No. 506.
- Unpaid claims to the Bethlehem Steel Company employees of \$1,600,000. Private Law No. 280.
- Authorizing the President to reduce vise fees or abolish them altogether, a saving of millions to the citizens of the United States. Public No. 464.
- Substantial increases in wages for 330 employees in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Public No. 631.
- Raising the compulsory education age of the District of Columbia from 14 to 16 years. Public No. 361.
- Ratification of treaty recognizing Cuba's ownership of the Isle of Pines. March 13, 1925.
- Authorizing appropriation for participation in bicentennial of the birth of George Washington. Public Resolution No. 38.

Bills Favorable to Labor that Failed to Pass in the Second Session of the Sixty-eighth Congress

- Making Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday in the District of Columbia.
- Providing for Philippine independence.
- Providing civil government for Porto Rico.
- To abolish the Railroad Labor Board.

Providing railroad companies to furnish cars built of steel or with steel underframes for transportation of baggage or express. (Passed the Senate.)

Providing for transfer of Classification Board to U. S. Civil Service Commission.

Liberalizing civil service retirement law. (Passed the Senate.)

Prohibiting transportation of labor in interstate commerce to points where a lockout or strike is in progress, without advising the person so transported. (Reported with amendments.)

Minimizing unemployment throughout the United States by developing public works during periods of depression.

Department of Education.

Hostile Bills Defeated in Both Sessions of the Sixty-eighth Congress, from December 3, 1923, to March 3, 1925

Registration of aliens and controlling them as followed by Germany in pre-war days.

Providing for deportation of certain aliens.

Conscription of labor in wartime.

Proposed amendment to constitution making it more difficult to change that document.

Sunday blue law for the District of Columbia.

Authorizing President to direct Marine Band to play at fairs where employment has been refused union men.

Governmental reorganization.

Department of Education and Relief which would be dominated by military bureaus.

Anti-picketing in the District of Columbia.

Providing officers of the United States, civil and military, including retired, may be specially assigned to duty in any branch or division of government whenever authorized by the President.

Establishing a federal court of "conciliation" having power to hear and determine industrial disputes affecting operation of interstate commerce, the court to be composed of three judges to be appointed by the President.

Taking police power from the states and putting it in the hands of the federal government in controversies in which aliens are involved.

Blanket "equal rights" amendment.

Registration of Aliens

A bill for the registration and finger printing of the 8,000,000 aliens now in the United States and all who come hereafter was introduced in the last session of the sixty-eighth congress by Representative Aswell of Louisiana.

No action was taken upon it but it will be pressed in the next congress. The bill is based on pre-war German laws. Besides registering and being fingerprinted all these aliens must re-register every year for five years. They pay a fee of \$10 when first registering and \$5 at the time of each of the other registrations.

Here are some of the provisions of the bill which are so objectionable that it is impossible to believe any American would sponsor such an un-American measure:

If an alien leaves the district in which he is registered, "he shall report at such times and places and give such information in regard to his movements as may be required by regulation."

Each registration of identification shall contain a photograph of the alien, his fingerprints and other information.

If the alien is arrested or convicted for any offense such cases must be entered on the registration certificate.

In an emergency the President in the interest of national defense may by proclamation require all or any part of the aliens registered to report at such times and places as he shall designate.

Whenever an alien changes his name, or his physical appearance is changed materially, he must report it to the post office in the district in which he is registered.

Keepers of hotels, lodging houses or boarding houses must report any alien in their employ and in the case of new guests, lodgers or employees report must be made within twelve hours after their arrival. This applies to corporations, partnerships and other associations as well as individuals.

An inspector may enter any place in which he has reason to believe an alien is present and demand of any person any information necessary to carry out the provisions of the act and to arrest or detain any person who refuses him entry or refuses to give such information.

If the alien after registering for five years can read, write and speak the English language understandingly and has complied in all other respects with the naturalization laws he can be admitted to citizenship.

Some of those who are supporting the measure contend that it should include all persons in the United States. The law does not apply solely to adults as the bill provides that all aliens under sixteen years of age may be registered by their parents or guardians, but upon reaching the age of 16 years they shall register in person.

Protests were filed by the American Federation of Labor and no action was taken on the bill.

Constitutional Amendment

The American Federation of Labor has contended for many years that instead of making it more difficult to amend the constitution it should be made easier. However, in the last session of Congress, Senator Wadsworth and Representative Garrett of Tennessee introduced a joint resolution proposing to make it more difficult to amend the constitution.

It provided that after more than one-fourth of the states had refused to ratify a proposed amendment no state could change its vote. At present the constitution makes no provision for declaring an amendment defeated. Its sole provision is that when three-fourths of the states ratify an amendment the Secretary of State must so notify Congress.

Another provision of the bill provided that "any state may require that ratification of the legislature be subject to confirmation by popular vote," but it did not provide that in the event a legislature refused to ratify, the people would have an opportunity to express their will.

No public hearings were held. The committee on the judiciary of the Senate and House unexpectedly reported the bills favorably. It was rushed through the Senate, reported favorably in the House and was designated one of the preferred measures of the administration.

By direction of President Green strong protests were made to all members of the House both by letter and personal appeals. Finally Representative Longworth announced that as a sufficient number of votes could not be obtained for the bill it would not be considered by the House. Friends of the bill gave the credit for its defeat to the American Federation of Labor.

Muscle Shoals

During the first session of the 68th Congress the House of Representatives passed a bill providing for the leasing of Muscle Shoals to Henry Ford. Senator Norris introduced a bill in the Senate providing for government ownership of the plant. Senator Underwood offered a substitute authorizing the President to lease the property to private corporations. This passed the Senate. Both bills went to conference and with some slight changes the Underwood substitute was agreed to. The House was asked to recede from its stand. Congress adjourned before any action was taken by either House on the conference committee's report.

However, the House during the closing hours of the session adopted a joint resolution requesting the President on the authority given by Section 124 of the national defense act to appoint a commission "to make such investigation as in his judgment is necessary to determine the best, cheapest and most available means for the production of nitrates and other products for munitions of war and useful in the

manufacture of fertilizers and other useful products by water power or any other power."

The President was also requested to ascertain through the Commission the most favorable conditions under which Muscle Shoals may be leased but that it "should not be disposed of for other purposes until Congress shall have taken action upon the recommendations of the President."

It is understood that no hearings will be held by the Commission but that the advice of many people will be requested.

Bethlehem War Claims

Labor was successful in securing the passage of a law in the 68th Congress providing for the payment of \$1,600,000 in wages to employees in the Bethlehem Steel Company who had been conceded the increase by the War Labor Board in 1918. The board by its decision empowered the United States government to pay the difference between the wages then being paid by the Bethlehem Steel Company and what was judged fair and adequate. The war ended but the money was unpaid and the War Department decided it was necessary for Congress to empower the government to pay the claim. The bill was finally passed by an overwhelming majority and signed by the President. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor were active in securing its passage.

Exclusion of Aliens

There is a well defined agitation to break down that portion of the immigration law prohibiting the admission of aliens ineligible to citizenship. The first was the enactment of a law in Japan prohibiting ownership of land by any national whose country refuses to permit Japanese to own land.

Foreigners in Japan could not own land heretofore, but if they were members of corporations they could lease it. Various other moves have been made through American lawyers acting for large corporations of Japan. One of the efforts seeks to counteract the effect of the exclusion act by negotiation for a treaty that would permit Japanese to come into the United States. The El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor declared its "unalterable opposition to substituting 'exclusion by treaty' for 'exclusion by law.'"

The Japanese have been able to gain the assistance of powerful influences in the United States and there is grave danger that schemes will be invented to break down that law. It is doubtful, however, if Congress will take a backward step or that the Senate will approve of a treaty that would be so inimical to the interest of our people.

The Supreme Court on May 25 decided that a Japanese who had served in the United States coast guard for ten years was not entitled to naturalization under the law extending citizenship privileges to aliens who served in the army, navy and coast guard in the war. It also decided that Chinese wives could be brought to the United States by Chinese merchants ineligible to citizenship but not by American citizens of Chinese parentage.

Department of Education

The Sterling-Reed bill providing for a department of education failed of passage. The most effective opposition to the bill came from those who object to further federal aid to the several states for any purpose. This was said to have increased enormously. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924, it was \$144,264,373. There was also strong objections from private and parochial schools.

The Executive Council believes that an entirely new bill should be prepared to submit to Congress in which the features so effectively objected to could be eliminated. It is believed that if a bill providing simply for the creation of a department of education and the outlining of its functions was introduced it would have more influential support.

An administration bill proposed the creation of a Department of Education and Relief to contain the bureau of pensions, bureau of education, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Howard University (colored), Freedman's Hospital (colored) (all now in the Department of the Interior); public health bureau (now in the Treasury Department); federal board for vocational education (an independent body); Columbia Institution for the

Deaf, United States Veterans' Bureau and the National Home for Disabled and Volunteer Soldiers.

This bill was opposed because the dominant influence in such a department would be military and political. The educational functions would be completely obscured and thus made less effective.

Objection was also made to placing the federal board for vocational education in such a department as that proposed. It is supervised now by the departments of agriculture, commerce and labor. Rehabilitated persons can find employment in these industries only. The American Federation of Labor has declared in favor of the board being independent of all political influences.

Corrupt Practices Act

The corrupt practices act passed by Congress and signed by the President confines its provisions to elections only. It does not include a primary election or a convention of a political party.

The treasurer of a political committee must file with the clerk of the House between the first and tenth of March, June and September of each year, and also between the tenth and fifteenth and on the fifth day next preceding the day when a general election is to be held at which candidates are to be elected in two or more states, and also on the first day of January, a statement containing all the receipts and expenditures and names of the persons. It provides that every person who makes an expenditure of \$50 or more within a calendar year for the purpose of influencing an election in two or more states shall file with the clerk a similar statement to that required of the treasurer of a political committee.

Retirement Law

The "invisible government" was successful in defeating the liberalization of the retirement law by which 450,000 employees of the government would have benefited. The Senate passed the amendment unanimously and it would have passed the House with few if any votes against it if the pressure from a hidden source had not placed obstacles in its way. The committee on civil service reported the bill favorably to the House but the rules committee refused to grant a rule for its consideration. The steering committee also disapproved of a rule being granted. At this stage President Green sent a communication to each member of the steering committee and also to Nicholas Longworth, leader of the majority and speaker-elect of the next Congress, urging that permission be given for a vote on the measure.

Newspaper statements were made that the entire administration was in favor of the bill and that Secretary Work of the Interior Department had been appointed by the cabinet to take up the matter with Director of the Budget Lord. That was in January. Director Lord, however, failed to furnish the data requested by the civil service committee regarding the provisions of the bill.

March 3, Representative Longworth intimated that the bill would not be permitted to go before the House, and the Washington newspapers on March 5 said that the bill had not passed because the President was opposed to it.

Members of the steering and rules committees when urged to vote in favor of a rule for the consideration of the bill said that they could do nothing because the administration was opposed to the legislation. Newspapers generally said the bill was defeated to carry out the President's crusade for "economy." On March 4, President Coolidge signed a bill providing for an increase of \$2,500 a year in the salary for members of Congress and a substantial increase for cabinet members, the judiciary and the President's private secretary.

While Labor believes that the members of Congress were justified in raising their own wages, it believes the reasons for the approval by the President of the increase and his refusal to approve the liberalization of the retirement bill are so inconsistent that they can not be satisfactorily explained.

Taking Police Power From the States

A bill for the "better protection of aliens and for the enforcement of their treaty rights" never came out of committee because of the opposition of labor. It was the

same bill introduced by Senator Kellogg in the 67th Congress which was instrumental for his defeat for Senator in Minnesota. The bill, if it had become a law, would have brought the government and federal courts into all labor controversies. An argument used in favor of the bill was that the state courts were more apt to deal justly with persons prosecuted than would the federal courts. Therefore its sponsors desired to take away the police power from the states and place it in the federal courts.

The bill was known as H. R. 7081 and was presented by Representative Moores of Indiana who afterwards was defeated for renomination.

Postal Employees Wage Increase

After several years of struggle 250,000 postal employees were granted an increase in wages amounting to about \$300 a year each. While termed an increase it is not. Although their wages had been previously raised \$600 from those paid in 1913 their purchasing power before the additional \$300 increase was \$166 less than in 1913. The new increase therefore was only \$134 more than they received in 1913 so far as purchasing power is concerned.

A similar bill was passed in the first session of the 68th Congress and was vetoed by the President. The veto was sustained by one vote less than a two-thirds majority in the Senate. Senator Dial, a "lame duck," was credited with defeating the measure, which was so necessary for the employees affected.

While the law enacted contains the same provisions regarding the wage increase it also provided for increases in rates. The American Federation of Labor always has insisted that the postal department is for service and not for profit. But antagonists of fair wages for employees in the postal department use the small deficiency that usually occurs as a subterfuge to hide behind in fighting adequate wages for the employees.

Deportation of Aliens

In every Congress, bills are introduced for the purpose of deporting aliens. While some particular crime or crimes are alluded to that in themselves would not bring opposition, still the usual jokers appear in them. These would permit the deportation of alien wage earners engaged in industrial disputes.

Such a result would have been obtained in the last Congress if the deportation bill passed by the House had become a law. It ostensibly provided for the deportation of aliens who had violated the anti-narcotic, prohibition or white slave acts. If any alien had concealed an alien liable to deportation, whether he knew of that fact or not, would be deported. The bill failed in the Senate.

Isle of Pines Treaty

The Isle of Pines treaty proposed more than twenty years ago was ratified by the Senate by a vote of 63 to '14. President Green directed that every effort be made to aid in the ratification of this treaty. In a letter to representatives of Cuban labor in January, President Green said that after a careful investigation he was satisfied that the Isle of Pines belonged to Cuba and that whatever could be done by the American Federation of Labor to give justice to Cuba would have his hearty cooperation. He said that labor of the United States did not believe in taking away from any nation any portion of its territory. That was one of the arguments which prevailed upon the senators to vote in favor of the treaty.

Sunday Blue Laws

So much opposition arose to the Sunday blue law bill for the District of Columbia introduced by Senator Jones of Washington that it received no support in the Committee on the District of Columbia. It was especially objectionable to trade unions as it prohibited the renting of halls for commercial purposes. It would prevent the holding of union meetings on Sunday. It was declared to be "another interference with personal liberties, depriving the people of the exercise of their rights to spend Sunday in the manner best suited to their belief."

Immigration

Representative Box of Texas introduced H. R. 11072 providing for placing under the quota provision of the immigration law of 1924 all immigrants from countries in the western hemisphere. This would apply to Canada and Mexico. Representatives of labor in Canada made earnest protest.

The object of the bill was to prevent the immigration of too many Mexicans into the United States, but as it affected Canada the Executive Council believed that some other means should be used to bring about the result desired and at the same time conform to the wishes of the labor movements of Mexico and Canada.

Representative Perlman and Senator Copeland of New York introduced a joint resolution providing that aliens that intended to emigrate to this country prior to the enactment of the 1924 law and who had secured their visas from the United States consular office should be admitted regardless of quota regulations. The persons referred to were then in various ports of deportation in Europe. No action was taken on this bill.

Newspaper reports printed in the last few months state that the Austrian government desires to send 50,000 of its nationals to the United States in addition to the quota provisions. The Austrian government would finance the work. This is one of a number of countries that seeks to get rid of worthy citizens but may at the same time open an avenue through which to get rid of its undesirables.

Sales Tax

No question is of more importance to the workers than taxation. There is a well defined agitation for a reduction in the federal income taxes, the greatest to be on those best able to pay the tax. It is believed, however, that the objective of those who are endeavoring to reduce taxation for the well to do is a forerunner of agitation to introduce a sales tax, otherwise a buyers' tax. The supporters of the sales tax say that the people would not know they were paying a tax and therefore there would be no complaint.

One supporter of the sales tax in a public editorial said:

"A sales tax properly directed will raise all the revenue we need and nobody would feel it."

The fact is it would relieve the well to do from taxation and place the burden upon those least able to bear it.

The sales tax would be oppressive. It would be felt in the homes of the poor where on every penny spent for the necessities of life a tax would have to be paid. That is, the price of the article purchased would be increased in proportion to the amount of the tax. Besides the vendor, who would pay the tax to the government, would be in a position to add to the tax and withhold the difference for his own benefit.

The Executive Council has repeatedly warned the people of this contemplated scheme of taxation and unless they awaken to its dangers it may be slipped through Congress.

Compulsory Education

Public No. 361 provides for compulsory school attendance in the District of Columbia. Every child between the ages of 7 and 16 must attend a public, private or parochial school or be instructed during the time the public schools are in session. Any child between the ages of 14 and 16 years who has completed satisfactorily the eighth grade course of study or a course of study deemed by the board of education equivalent thereto may be excused by the superintendent of schools from further attendance providing he is actually, lawfully and regularly employed.

An effort was made, after the law was enacted to provide night schools for children who worked in the daytime but who had not passed the eighth grade. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared at a meeting called by the superintendent of schools and entered strong objections. It was opposed because it would be dangerous to the health of children to work during the day and attend school at night. This plan was withdrawn and it was decided that all children under 16 who had not passed the eighth grade and were at work should cease their employment and attend day schools.

Ship Subsidy

A ship subsidy in a new dress is proposed by the chairman of the United States Shipping Board. He suggested that the government pay what he termed a retainer of \$20 a month to seamen employed on United States ships. The seamen were to become members of the merchant marine reserve.

Protest was made against this method of bringing about subsidy legislation in the interest of American ship owners. It was contended that if the ship owners lived up to the seamen's act in the employment of skilled seamen and its other provisions there would be no need of the subsidy. There can be no doubt that if such a subsidy were granted the ship owners would get it and not the seamen, as the ship owners would simply reduce the wages of seamen so that with the added \$20 a month the wages would be the same as now.

Contempt of Court

Several bills were introduced to prohibit injunctions in labor disputes, but they all died in committee. The Supreme Court decision providing for jury trials in contempt cases growing out of labor disputes was said to have had an influence on the failure to act. The bills presented, however, were not satisfactory to labor.

Commercial Arbitration

Public No. 401, enacted by the last Congress, makes valid and enforceable written provisions of agreements for arbitration of disputes arising out of contracts, maritime transactions or commerce among the states or territories or with foreign nations.

The law provides that a written provision in any maritime transaction, or a contract evidencing a transaction involving commerce, to settle by arbitration a controversy thereafter arising shall be valid, irrevocable, and enforceable, save upon such grounds as exist at law or in equity for the revocation of any contract; that if any proceeding is brought before any federal court upon any issue referable to arbitration under an agreement in writing the court shall stay the trial of the action until such arbitration has been had in accordance with the terms of the agreement.

The bill as originally presented appeared dangerous to the seamen and other wage workers employed in the maritime service. Protests from the American Federation of Labor and the International Seamen's Union brought about an amendment which provided that "nothing herein contained shall apply to contracts of employment of seamen, railroad employees or any other class of workers engaged in foreign or interstate commerce." This exempted labor from the provisions of the law, although its sponsors denied there was any intention to include labor disputes.

Revision of Copyright Law.

H. R. 11258, authorizing the United States to join the World Copyright Union, failed of approval by the committees on patents of both houses. If the bill had become a law it would have resulted in the printing of American books for foreign distribution in foreign countries and books of foreign authors printed in foreign countries to come into this country duty free. Vice-President Matthew Woll appeared for the printing trades and opposed this and other features of the bill. It was killed in committee.

Conscription.

Many ideas for the conscripting of labor and all material resources have been advanced in Congress, but none of them apparently have been able to meet the objections urged against them. The question is a live one, as a radio campaign in favor of conscripting labor was in progress for sometime.

The Executive Council has followed the principle on this question outlined by the El Paso Convention. It was contended that it would be inimical to the rights, freedom and democracy of the people of the Republic of the United States to permit conscription in any form during any period except during a state of actual defensive war.

District of Columbia Citizenship

The resolutions passed by the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor declaring in favor of full citizenship and the right of local self-government for the people of the District of Columbia were submitted as directed to all members of the committees on the District of Columbia of both houses of Congress.

A new obstacle has arisen to this worthy object. Through some means unknown an agitation was started to select an advisory council to the three commissioners of the District of Columbia. This council was finally chosen by the various citizens associations of Washington. It consists of seven members. After their election several of them issued statements declaring their opposition to suffrage for the people of the city of Washington.

Charges have been made that the advisory council was intended to defeat any movement for suffrage for all the people and has given to its members influence and powers that may or may not be to the advantage of the District of Columbia.

Protection for Longshoremen

For many years the longshoremen have endeavored to secure legislation providing for workmen's compensation. Several laws have been enacted but declared unconstitutional. The matter was taken up with Senator Pepper, who introduced S. 4282 providing for damages for longshoremen when injured or relief for their heirs in the event of death by accident or disease caused by employment within the United States upon the navigable waters thereof or upon a dry dock or marine railway.

Senator Pepper is confident that his bill will be declared constitutional and will give the necessary remedy for present conditions. It was introduced too late to be acted upon, but will be re-introduced in the next Congress.

Workmen's Compensation

Private insurance companies conducted a bitter and misrepresenting campaign against a workmen's compensation bill for the District of Columbia and it failed of passage. They objected to the compensation fund being controlled by the government. When it is understood that 40 per cent of money paid to insurance companies by employers to protect them under the workmen's compensation law is profit it can readily be seen why they were so anxious to defeat the Fitzgerald bill.

During the last session of Congress Representative Fitzgerald, chairman of the subcommittee handling the measure, was too ill to take an active part in furthering its interest. This permitted Representative Underhill, who had introduced a measure in the interest of the insurance companies, to prevent favorable action. The Fitzgerald bill will be re-introduced in the next Congress and another effort made to have this meritorious legislation enacted.

Registration of Trade-Marks

S. 2679, as reported to the Senate by the committee on patents on February 10, 1925, included a provision for the registration of union trade-marks or labels. The bill did not come to a vote. A bill introduced in the House by Representative Lampert, which contained the same provision, also failed of action. The bills will be re-introduced in the next Congress and their passage urged.

Bureau of Engraving Wage Increase

Through the influence of the American Federation of Labor 330 employees of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing were granted a wage increase beginning March 16, 1925. Those benefited were painters, carpenters, pressmen, bookbinders, compositors, bricklayers, blacksmiths, electricians, machinists, plumbers, steamfitters and others.

Director of the Budget Lord had refused to recommend the increase and it was placed as a rider on the deficiency bill.

International World Court

The Senate will vote December 17, 1925, on all resolutions submitted before that body providing that the United States should participate in the world court. The sentiment in the Senate appears to be in favor of participating in the permanent court of international justice.

Vise Fees

A bill authorizing the president to reduce vise fees or abolish them altogether in the case of any aliens desiring to visit the United States who are not immigrants but who are citizens or subjects of countries which grant similar privileges to citizens of the United States became a law. This legislation was urged by the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Porto Rico

A bill introduced in Congress provided for an investigation of alleged frauds committed in the election held in Porto Rico in November, 1924. The violations of election laws during that election, it was charged, were so flagrant that the people wanted the perpetrators exposed and provision made for honest elections in the future. Secretary of War Weeks opposed the sending of a commission to Porto Rico and the bill failed of passage.

H. R. 6583, providing a more ample civil government for Porto Rico, attracted much attention, but failed of passage. Hearings were held by the judiciary committee of the House and the bill was reported favorably, but it was impossible to have it acted upon by the House. It provided for the election of a governor and vice-governor in January, 1928.

"Lame Ducks"

Senator Norris, of Nebraska, and Representative White, of Kansas, introduced a companion joint resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution to make "lame ducks" impossible in Congress. They provided that newly elected members should take their seats the first Monday in January following their election in November and the President should be inaugurated the third Monday in January. The joint resolution passed the Senate by the necessary two-thirds majority. The House bill was reported favorably but failed of passage.

If such an amendment were ratified it would prevent defeated members taking part in legislation. As they soon would be out of a job some of them readily comply with pressure brought to bear upon them to vote against the interest of the people.

Farmers' Relief

H. R. 12348, providing for the creation of a federal cooperative marketing board and the registration of cooperative marketing clearing houses and terminal marketing organizations, passed the House but failed in the Senate.

It was opposed by the farmers on the ground that it did not give them the right to do anything other than what they have a right to do under the present laws. At the same time it would place cooperative marketing associations under federal control.

Mothers' Pension

H. R. 9432, by Representative Reed, of West Virginia, provided for the establishment of a bureau for children's aid for the District of Columbia. One of the features of the bill was a provision to pay an allowance to the natural guardians of dependent children in order that they may be sustained and educated in their natural homes. Inasmuch as the natural guardians of most dependent children are their widowed mothers, the pension would be paid them. Although it failed of passage, it was believed that it can be enacted into law in the next session.

Washington Bicentennial

Congress approved of a celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington, to be held February 22, 1932. Securing the legislation this early was to give sufficient time to complete all arrangements before the date for the celebration.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the committee on the library and urged its passage.

"Bureau of Efficiency"

Efforts to have the "bureau of efficiency" abolished and its functions placed under the Civil Service Commission failed through the opposition of Senator Smoot and others.

Steel Baggage and Express Cars

During the first session of the 68th Congress a bill passed the Senate prohibiting railroads from using wooden express or baggage cars. The chairman of the committee on interstate and foreign commerce of the House refused to even hold a hearing on the bill.

Lincoln's Birthday

A bill providing that February 12 should be known as Lincoln Day in honor of the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln passed the Senate but was defeated in the House. Representative Kindred, of New York, immediately introduced a new bill, but it was not acted upon.

Tax Exempt Securities

H. J. Res. 315, proposing an amendment to the constitution giving Congress the power to levy and collect taxes on now tax-free securities, was reported favorably in the House but failed of passage. It provided also that states would be given power to tax such securities.

Women's Blanket Amendment

The "national woman's party" failed to obtain serious consideration of its proposed amendment to the constitution to give "equal rights to women." Representatives of the A. F. of L. appeared, as did representatives of a number of women's organizations, in opposition. It was pointed out that if such an amendment to the constitution were ratified it would make null and void all legislation by the federal Congress or state legislatures for the protection of women employed in industry.

Transportation of Strikebreakers

H. R. 7698, by Representative Wolff, of Missouri, provided a penalty against employers of labor or their agents or private employment agencies to induce men to go from state to state on the promise of employment unless they informed the applicants there was a strike at the point where they were to be employed.

It was reported favorably by the committee on labor but failed to come to a vote because of the objection to its consideration on a day when unanimous consent was required.

Marine Band

Bills introduced in the first session of the 68th Congress by Senators Broussard, of Louisiana; Trammell, of Florida, and Representative Moorehead, of Nebraska, conferred authority upon the President to grant permission for the Marine Band to visit and play at expositions and fairs in the various states. The law of June 3, 1916, prohibits any enlisted man in the active service of the United States in the army, navy or marine groups, whether a non-commissioned officer or private, to be detailed to engage in any exposition or performance in civilian life for pay when the same will interfere with the customary employment and regular engagements of local civilians in their respective arts, trades or professions.

The object behind the efforts made to secure the use of the marine band was to increase profits by having the government pay the expenses of the band which would play without charge. The bills died in committees.

National Conservatory of Music

H. R. 7915, by Representative Weller, of New York, provided for the establishment of a national conservatory of music for the education of pupils in music in all of its branches, vocal and instrumental.

This measure has been advocated by the American Federation of Musicians for many years and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. No action was taken.

LEGISLATION IN THE STATES

The El Paso convention directed the officers of the American Federation of Labor to obtain copies of all bills introduced in the various state legislatures by Labor, including the opinions, if any, of attorneys who drafted the bills. Copies of these bills and the opinions of the attorneys were to be made and forwarded to the officers of all other state federations of labor. The object was to acquaint the labor officials of the various states with what legislation was being sought.

An effort was made to carry out these instructions. Repeated letters were sent to the officials of the states in which the legislatures were in session requesting the information provided for by the El Paso convention. Only a few states sent in such bills and with one exception none accompanied them with the opinions of attorneys. The titles of the bills obtained were sent to the secretaries of all state federations of labor with the information that if the entire bill was required it would be mailed to them. No applications were received for copies of bills introduced in the various states.

It has been the custom to obtain information from the various states as to the laws enacted affecting labor. Out of the forty-two states in which the legislatures met information was received from twenty-seven states.

The Executive Council will continue its efforts in this direction in the hope that the officials of the various state federations of labor will find a way to give the information desired. There is a danger, however, in the sending of bills introduced in one state legislature to the labor officials of all other states. They may contain such proposals as would not be applicable in some of the other states. Furthermore, the fact that the bills were sent by the officials of the American Federation of Labor would be accepted as a guarantee that they were suitable for presentation in the legislatures of other states.

The Executive Council should be empowered to pass judgment on such bills. The instructions of the El Paso convention were that all bills should be sent to the various states. There was nothing that would give the Executive Council the power to refuse to send those that might contain something inimical to the labor movement in one or more of the other states than that in which the bill was introduced. Most of the bills apply to local conditions.

It is believed that there are outstanding measures that should be introduced in the various states, such as the state-use system for the labor of inmates of penal institutions, an anti-injunction measure and workmen's compensation. The American Federation of Labor has a distinct policy on these questions. Model bills on these pressing questions could be sent to all the state federations of labor to present to the legislatures. A number of anti-injunction bills were presented in the various states. It would be impractical to transmit these to other states because they did not come up to the standard fixed by the American Federation of Labor.

Important legislation enacted and bills defeated in the following states are given:

Arizona.—Enacted a workmen's compensation law which would require an amendment to the Arizona state constitution for it to become effective. While the proposed law is not all that is desired it contains a number of good features and the amendment should be adopted.

Arkansas.—A bill permitting women and children to work any number of hours a day in canning factories passed the senate but failed in the house. After ratification

of the child labor amendment by both houses the senate rescinded its action but the house refused to accede. A bill permitting the unlimited leasing of convict labor passed the senate, but was defeated in the house. Bills providing for free text-books and to permit the leasing of convicts to shirt factory concerns failed of passage.

California.—Strengthened semi-monthly pay day act by making failure to pay a misdemeanor and provides an additional civil penalty of \$10 for each failure to pay each employee semi-monthly. An appropriation of \$16,276 was made for vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry. A similar bill was vetoed by the governor two years ago, but he approved the present bill. The regular annual appropriation of \$35,000 also became a law. Collection of wage claims of employees from contractors on public works was given priority over other assignments. The child labor law was strengthened. Conducting unsafe places of employment and unsafe equipment were made misdemeanors. An amendment to the workmen's compensation law provides a penalty if the employer fails to secure payment of compensation to an injured employee when the employer is self-insured. Allowance for funeral benefits under the act was increased from \$100 to \$150. Another amendment gives compensation claims preference over all other debts of the employer or his estate or the insurance carrier.

A number of bills passed by the legislature were vetoed by the governor. Among these were bills regulating advertising during strikes; old-age pensions; collection of unpaid wages; preferences for citizens on public work; regulating private trade schools and private employment agencies; credit unions; labor liens on lumber and logs; protection for Alaska cannery workers; sanitary facilities for moving picture operators; nomination of presidential electors; strengthening part-time education law and teachers' tenure.

Bills were defeated providing for jury trials in contempt cases; anti-blacklisting; one day's rest in seven; for liens upon crops by farm laborers; strengthening women's eight-hour law relating to work taken from factory to the home; closing public schools on Labor Day, and several amendments to the workmen's compensation act.

Colorado.—Appropriated \$3,000 for vocational rehabilitation of persons injured in industry. A bill to repeal the primary law passed the legislature but was vetoed by Governor Morley.

Connecticut.—Secured favorable amendments to the workmen's compensation act with provision for \$21 maximum. A bill providing for one day's rest in seven for women and children became a law and the latter were prohibited from working in shoe-shining parlors or pool rooms under 16 years of age or after 6 p. m.; factory inspectors were increased; only 3 per cent can be charged for small loans. A bill to permit women to work in ice cream parlors until 11 p. m. instead of 10 p. m.; compulsory labor bills and a bill compelling motormen to obtain a license to operate a trolley car were defeated. While the forty-eight-hour bill for women was defeated, the attention given to it promises that in time it will pass. All legislation directed against Labor was defeated.

Delaware.—No legislation in favor of labor was introduced owing, it was reported, to the members of the legislature being so reactionary.

Georgia.—Enacted laws providing for automatic fire doors to protect firemen and permitting voters absent from the state to vote. A pernicious railroad detective bill was defeated.

Idaho.—Owing to the opposition to Labor in the legislature of Idaho the Idaho State Federation of Labor did not make any attempt to secure legislation.

Illinois.—Enacted a law forbidding the issuance of injunctions restraining wage workers from striking, from picketing or from persuading others to join them. A judicial primary law was enacted which provides that all judges in Cook County (about half the number in the state) must seek nomination in the primaries. Important improvements were made in the workmen's compensation act, the compensation rights being increased and the scope of the law widened. A pernicious state constabulary bill and all attempts to give the courts arbitrary powers were defeated.

Iowa.—Laws enacted providing for credit unions and bringing all employees under the workmen's compensation act. An anti-picketing bill was defeated.

Maine.—Amended the workmen's compensation act to provide a maximum of \$18 per week. Several anti-labor measures were defeated. These provided for creating a

state police which would be detrimental to organized labor; a state bureau of criminal identification and investigation (an espionage system); prohibiting asking for higher wages or ceasing work to obtain them; inducing others not to do business with a person who refuses to employ or discharge anyone or alter a mode of business, and substituting the convention system for the direct primary. The legislature refused to accept the Smith-Towner maternity act and old-age assistance.

Minnesota.—A number of bills were presented in the interest of wage earning men and women, but a much larger number of bills opposed to them were introduced.

A law was enacted providing for the organization of credit unions. Bills providing for the double platoon system for fire fighters; uniform text-book commission and the printing of text-books by the state of Minnesota; part-time schools; teachers' tenure; a state printing plant; one day's rest in seven, and increasing the maximum compensation for injuries from \$20 to \$21 were all defeated. Amendments to the barbers' act passed both houses, but were vetoed by the governor. Efforts to repeal protective laws for women and children failed. One of them limits the hours of labor of female employees to fifty-five hours per week and the other exempted women in canning factories from the operation of the law. A bill introduced by a woman member authorized a state board of control to establish and operate in connection with any of the state institutions factories for the manufacture of wire fencing, overalls, shirts, automobile plates, wire nails, fiber furniture, etc. It also provided that the unfortunates in these institutions could be contracted out to private individuals. This was defeated. An attempt to repeal the law which created the Industrial Commission of Minnesota was also defeated.

Missouri.—Enacted a workmen's compensation law. Both the State Federation of Labor and the employers' associations were favorable to the law but unfortunately certain interests in order to defeat it obtained a petition signed by a sufficient number of people who demanded that the law be submitted to the referendum. Three former referendum votes had defeated workmen's compensation in Missouri. The vote will not be taken until November, 1926. While the great majority of labor representatives and the rank and file are in favor of the law a few have joined those who would try to defeat it through the referendum. A professional organization was hired to obtain signatures to the petition and they are said to have received 10 cents a name. Bills limiting the hours of women to nine; providing properly heated and lighted wash houses, and prohibiting "one-man" cars were defeated.

Montana.—Amended workmen's compensation act by increasing benefits to \$15 per week based on 50 per cent of weekly income. Raised age limit of minors to 18 years and fixed hospital maintenance. A provision to include occupational diseases was defeated. The Montana State Federation of Labor considers its workmen's compensation act "a disgrace to the state." Measures to repeal women's eight-hour law and abolish primaries were defeated; also an anti-picketing bill.

Nebraska.—Three amendments that would weaken the workmen's compensation act passed the legislature but were vetoed by the governor. They limited doctors' bills to \$200, limited total disability to \$400 and provided that the disabled could waive rights any time during disability.

New Jersey.—Limited the power of courts in contempt cases and reduced the time of compensatory injuries from 10 days to 7.

New York.—Fifteen bills approved by the New York State Federation of Labor became laws. An appropriation of \$81,000 was made to administer a workmen's compensation law amendment reducing the waiting period of seven days until July 1, 1925, when the annual appropriation will contain provisions for the full fiscal year to July 1, 1926; regulating work periods and air pressures in compressed air work in tunnels and caissons; providing first payment of compensation shall be due on the fifteenth day after injury and that notice of contest must be filed within eighteen days; providing that the amount allowed for maintenance of industrial cripples may be more than \$10 a week; that awards for compensation shall bear interest from thirty days after being made and providing for the waiving by employer and insurance carrier of the bar of limitation of one year within which to file notice of claim; the State Industrial Commission was authorized to seize articles illegally manufactured in tenement houses; no minor under 16 years of age shall be employed in a factory or mercantile establishment

more than eight hours a day or forty-four hours a week; permitting labor unions to purchase group life insurance for their membership; establishing central rural schools from public moneys and enlarging the school districts, the state to pay half the cost of transportation of pupils from home to school and return; rural school teachers assured better pay. A law was enacted over the protest of Labor permitting the issue and sale of unissued stock to employees of railroad and other corporations through a plan that apparently requires continuity of service to enable employees to become full owners by a series of corporation finance payments.

North Carolina.—Efforts to repeal the laborers' lien law and direct primaries were defeated; also a bill prohibiting the employment of persons under 16 years of age more than eight hours a day. For many years Labor has tried to have the legislature enact a workmen's compensation act. It failed again in the last session. A state constabulary bill was defeated.

North Dakota.—Amended workmen's compensation act to include occupational diseases.

Ohio.—A penalty clause was incorporated in the law requiring the labeling of convict-made goods from other states sold on the market. A number of amendments were passed to the workmen's compensation act which still further improve the Ohio law. Through the efforts of the Ohio State Federation of Labor the legislature was compelled to hold hearings on bills declaring "yellow dog" contracts void. A number of corporations in the state require all applicants for employment to waive all rights before they are given jobs. It gives employers the right to change the wage scale at will and the employee pledges himself not to join a union. In some cases they must pledge themselves not to join a union after leaving the employ of the corporation. Owing to the political influences of corporations the bills were defeated in committee. A bill providing for the appointment of state highway police was defeated.

Rhode Island.—Enacted a law for the protection of building trades workmen during the erection of buildings. A law creating a state police was enacted over Labor's protest.

Tennessee.—In 1917 Tennessee enacted a law providing that the convict contract system would be abolished at the expiration of contracts then in existence. These expired in 1919. The contractors had contracted for the labor of prisoners up to that time. The legislature then contracted for the product of the labor of the prisoners on a piece basis. An effort to have convict contract labor abolished in the last legislature failed. The Tennessee workmen's compensation law provides for payment on a basis of 50 per cent of the weekly wage, but limits the maximum payment to \$12 per week. Efforts to amend these and other features of the act were defeated. "One-man" street cars were prohibited in cities of 30,000 and over. Hereafter loan sharks must give bond and interest charges are limited to 2 per cent per month. Railroads were required to equip locomotives with back-up headlights, and the state child labor law was amended so that children must have health certificates before being allowed to work.

Texas.—Provided for issuance of permits to work for children between the ages of 12 and 15 years if they are able to read and write and have a certificate from a physician showing they are physically able to work; employment between 10 p. m. and 5 a. m. is prohibited. While an improvement over the previous Texas law it is still far below the standard set by many of the states. A proposal to amend the constitution to allow the garnishment of wages for debt was defeated and an illiteracy bill proposing to create a corporation to look after adult education in Texas which permitted the acceptance of donations outside of Texas was opposed by Labor and defeated. Several undesirable amendments to the workmen's compensation law were defeated. A proposed amendment to the state constitution providing that to obtain free text-books parents would be required to take a pauper's oath was defeated and proposal to tax students in all higher institutions of learning \$100 a year failed of passage because it would deny to the children of wage earners the opportunity of obtaining a higher education. An appropriation of \$600,000 for vocational education to be supplemented by a similar amount from the federal government passed the legislature but was vetoed by the governor.

Vermont.—Increased the allowance for surgical and medical services in workmen's compensation act from \$100 to \$200 was defeated.

West Virginia.—A loan shark law was enacted that prohibits usury. A bill that would have made all cessations of work unlawful and authorizing judges to issue injunctions was defeated. It would have legalized injunctions in labor disputes and given the judges power to try all violations for contempt without a jury. A bill prohibiting deputy sheriffs to be appointed and paid for by private individuals or companies failed of passage. A bill providing for free text-books was defeated. Amendments to the workmen's compensation bill were adopted, one of them increasing the amount an injured employee could receive from \$300 to \$800. A bill to license barbers was defeated.

Wisconsin.—A step to do away with private detective agencies was taken by the Wisconsin legislature in enacting the following law:

That no private detective agency and no private detective shall operate in this state without first obtaining a license from the secretary of state and giving a bond to protect anyone who may be injured by their activities.

Agencies are required to pay a license fee of \$200 and give a bond of \$10,000 if approved by the fire and police commission of the city in which application is made. Detectives pay a fee of \$2 and give bond of \$2,000.

Wyoming.—Prohibited the employment of children under 16 years of age in any extra hazardous employment. Fourteen laws affecting coal mining were enacted. Among them provisions for shot firers in all gaseous mines; shot inspectors in all coal mines; providing safety cables on cars of man trips; prohibiting smoking or any fire making device in mines where safety lamps are used; determining type of safety lamps; warning devices on all mine locomotives, and raising the standard of ventilation. Several favorable amendments were made to the workmen's compensation act. A bill prohibiting the employment of prison labor under contract and substituting the state-use system was defeated.

A. F. OF L. NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

When the Executive Council made its supplementary report to the El Paso convention it was not in a position to give statistics as to the number of candidates for the United States Senate who had been supported and the number elected in 1924. Twenty-one candidates (7 Republicans and 14 Democrats) were supported and 15 of them were elected (7 Republicans and 8 Democrats).

State federations of labor, city central bodies, local unions and general and volunteer organizers should make every preparation for the election in November, 1926, of a new Congress. Thirty-three members of the Senate and 435 members of the House of Representatives are to be elected. The non-partisan political campaigns in the congressional elections in the last four years have been so effective that it is hoped as much if not more vigor will be injected into the coming congressional election.

The most effective work in choosing friends of labor and the people and defeating foes of labor and the people is in the primaries. Thirty-three states will hold primaries for the nomination of Senators and 48 states will nominate members of the House of Representatives in their respective districts.

From information received as early as in May of this year political fences already were being erected by aspirants for Senators and Representatives. The Executive Council has kept in touch with the various labor officials of the several states and in other ways to learn who were being favored and by what interests.

Immediately after this convention the Executive Council intends to enter into the various campaigns for the purpose of supporting those who can be depended upon to be true to the people, for if they are true to the people they will be true to Labor. The records of all members of Congress will be sent to the various central bodies and local unions and such information given as will aid the wage earners in knowing for whom to vote.

As no president is to be elected, the election in 1926 is considered by many as an "off year." But Labor must not fail or lose interest in the nomination and election of candidates friendly to labor. Nothing ever has been gained by putting off until to-

morrow to do what can be done today. Therefore, it is hoped that the central bodies, local unions and the great rank and file will rally to the support of the campaign that will be outlined by this convention and by the Executive Council for next year's political contest.

During the presidential campaign of 1924 Labor deviated somewhat from its former procedure in that it favored the exercise of every possible means for the purpose of making it easier for independent candidates to be placed on tickets in the various states.

The practice of the American Federation of Labor has been to investigate the labor records of all candidates in the primaries and support irrespective of party those most favorable to Labor and the people. After nominations are made the same procedure is followed in the elections.

Another suggestion growing out of that campaign was that the Executive Council should devise a plan to bring about the cooperation with the American Federation of Labor of other progressively-minded groups composed of persons who were not by reason of their occupations or stations in life eligible to membership in the trade union movement.

In summing up the non-partisan political history of the year the El Paso convention declared that for the American Federation of Labor to be true to its mission it must be as free from political party domination now as at any time in its history. This means that the American Federation of Labor non-partisan political policy in the future will be along the usual definitely-outlined paths.

Legislative committees of the various central bodies and local unions will during the campaigns automatically become non-partisan political campaign committees.

In conducting all non-partisan political campaigns the American Federation of Labor will maintain control within itself of the decisions to be made and the procedure to be followed. The Executive Council, however, believes that it should accept the support that is freely given of any group that has for its purpose the carrying out of the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the El Paso convention that the non-partisan political campaign activities should be extended to the women voters in general is most practical. The Executive Council believes this should be accomplished through the rank and file of the local unions and the working women in industry. Members of trade unions and their sympathizers should urge the women members of their families to vote both in the primaries and in the elections. They also should be urged to extend their solicitation to the women who sympathize with the efforts of Labor to elect candidates who will be true to the people.

It has been apparent for several years, and attention was called to it by the Executive Council at the El Paso convention, that it is found difficult in some states to carry out the non-partisan policy in voting. Some ballots have many names upon them and under different party designations. A believer in the non-partisan principle may desire to vote for candidates on several tickets. The desire is often defeated by the rules covering the marking of ballots, which in the various states are not uniform.

It is recommended that all state federations of labor and city central bodies make a study of the laws in their respective states covering the primaries and elections in order, if necessary, to secure legislation that will make them more responsive to the will of the people.

They are also urged to devise ways and means of educating the people as to the proper way of marking the sometime extensive ballots. After such investigation the officials of state federations of labor and central bodies are requested to communicate with the President of the American Federation of Labor in order that he may if necessary give such advice as will be helpful in changing the laws to make it less difficult to mark ballots intelligently.

That the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor has borne fruit is evidenced by the remarkable number of remedial laws that have been secured from Congress and the many laws inimical to Labor that have been defeated. Since 1906 two hundred and eight laws urged by Labor have been enacted and several hundred detrimental to Labor and the people have been defeated. During the last three Congresses 54 bills that would have been detrimental to the interest of the people including Labor were defeated.

It has been noticeable in the last few years that influential men in the dominant political parties are conducting a campaign to abolish primary elections. The object is to return to the old nominating system by which candidates were selected in conventions composed of delegates chosen by political bosses. These efforts have been defeated in several states, but the agitation will not be discontinued on that account. There is no doubt that the campaign for this purpose will be kept up for years, and it will demand the most careful watchfulness of voters to prevent such a revolutionary backward step.

State federations of labor and city central bodies are urged to enter most vigorous protest where any attempt is being made to abolish the primary elections. The primaries were established for the purpose of giving the people the right to say who shall be nominees for public office. The convention system, on the other hand, takes out of the hands of the people the selection of candidates and gives it to a few persons.

It is apropos at this time to remind the delegates to this convention and the officers and members of all national, international and local unions that the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor has passed through the crucible of experience and has proved to be the best plan yet adopted for Labor to voice itself politically.

During the years since the non-partisan political policy has been followed by the American Federation of Labor it has seen many independent or third party movements come and go. Generally, they existed only for one election. In a few cases, but very few, the leaders would endeavor to inject new life into their political organizations at the following election, but with little success.

The people generally are beginning to realize that hide-bound partyism does not benefit them. All too frequently they have learned that pledges in party platforms are not always respected, but have been used simply as a stepping stone to office. They have therefore reached the conclusion that the only method they can follow that will bring about the election of men who will be true to the people is through a non-partisan political policy. It is noticeable that in every election the votes for candidates who have been true to the people show increases over the previous years. In many congressional districts the farmers have joined with Labor in its non-partisan policy.

The Executive Council believes that as a result of its non-partisan political policy the launching of third party movements has been proved wasted effort and injurious to the desire to elect candidates with favorable records. The 1922 and 1924 political campaigns definitely determined this fact. Experience therefore has taught Labor that to be successful, politically it must continue in the future as in the past to follow its non-partisan political policy.

The Executive Council is confident that if every member of organized labor interests himself or herself in carrying out that policy, a Congress will be elected next fall that will favor legislation so much needed by the people and desired by Labor.

Getting out the votes and having them cast for friendly candidates will be the duty of the rank and file and officials of all labor organizations and their sympathizers.

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS AND OLD AGE PENSIONS

A considerable amount of information upon these important subjects has been secured and will be compiled and published at the earliest possible date. This also includes information regarding trade union benefits.

COMPENSATION

The Committee on Compensation submitted its report on compensation legislation and the report has already been published in pamphlet form. The report deals with the principles of compensation legislation and presents model provisions for each of the principal features necessary for an adequate compensation law and gives the legislative status of each provision with comments thereon. The committee's recommendations deal with the following; scope of coverage of compensation legislation, injuries, waiting period, medical service, funeral expenses, percentage, weekly maximum and minimum, compensation periods, second injuries, alien non-resident dependents, administration,

settlement of claims, accident prevention, other remedies, insurance, interstate commerce.

It is hoped that the findings and recommendations of the committee will prove helpful in focusing attention upon this question and making available the best standards developed through experience with compensation legislation.

We are deeply conscious of the very great need of securing the enactment of compensation legislation in all states. We realize, however, how impossible it is to secure the immediate passage of ideal workmen's compensation legislation. The opposition to the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation during the initial stage is so great as to prevent the enactment of workmen's compensation laws that approximate the standard set by the American Federation of Labor. For these reasons we urge State Federations of Labor to work for workmen's compensation legislation that will establish the principle even though all provisions may not be satisfactory. If the principle is established through the enactment of a workmen's compensation law the act, thus passed can be perfected through amendments.

CONVICT LABOR

Bills for presentation in Congress and in the various states to eliminate the competition of products of convict labor with free labor have been prepared. The federal bill is based on two laws that have been passed by Congress and declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. It provides that any products of the labor of convicts shipped from one state into another shall come under the laws of the latter state the same as if manufactured therein.

In 1890 Congress enacted a law "to limit the effect of the regulations of commerce between the several states and with foreign countries in certain cases." This provided that all fermented, distilled, or other intoxicating liquors, or liquids, transported into any state or territory, or remaining therein, for use, consumption, sale or storage therein, shall be subject to the operation and effect of the laws of such state or territory enacted in the exercise of its police powers, to the same extent and in the same manner as though such liquids, or liquors, had been produced in such state or territory, and shall not be exempt therefrom by reason of being introduced therein in original packages or otherwise. In declaring this law constitutional, the Supreme Court said:

Congress has not attempted to delegate the power to regulate commerce or to exercise any power reserved to the states, or to grant a power not possessed by the states, or to adopt state laws. It has taken its own course and made its own regulation applying to these subjects of interstate commerce one common rule whose uniformity is not affected by variations in state laws in dealing with such property. No reason is perceived why, if Congress chooses to provide that certain designated subjects of interstate commerce shall be governed by a rule which divests them of that character at an earlier period of time than would otherwise be the case, it is not within its competency to do so.

A similar law enacted in 1913 was also declared constitutional by the Supreme Court, which said:

This Act, which in substance prohibits the shipment or transportation from one state to another of intoxicating liquors in violation of any law of such state, is a valid exercise of the power of Congress.

It is therefore believed that should Congress pass the bill it is proposed to introduce, constructed on the lines of the two laws declared constitutional, that if enacted into law it will also be approved by the Supreme Court.

A bill providing for the state-use system to be presented in the various state legislatures where that system is not in effect is based on the best features of the New York, Ohio and Illinois convict labor laws. It provides that the inmates of all penal institutions shall be employed in the manufacture of articles for the exclusive use of the state or its political divisions. The enactment of the proposed federal law referred to will be an incentive to the various states that have other systems now to adopt the state-

use system for self-protection. It also will prevent the transportation into a state of the products of convicts of other states to the detriment of free labor. It will destroy the contract system and any other method in effect that permits the products of convicts to be placed on the market. Both the federal and state bills exempt eleemosynary institutions.

The last report available shows that in 1923, 36 per cent of the inmates of penal institutions were employed under the state-use system.

The superintendent of federal prisons has announced that he will present a bill in Congress providing for establishing the state-use system in the three federal prisons at Atlanta, Leavenworth and McNeil Island. The object is to manufacture products for the departments of the government, none to be sold on the market.

PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Since our last report on this subject at the El Paso convention consistent efforts have been made to correct the condition of employment for the employees of the United States Government on the Canal Zone and to reduce the number of colored aliens employed there by our government.

The illness of President Gompers delayed the conferences, but on January 22, 1925, the Canal Zone Committee, with Mr. A. J. Berres acting as chairman, by request of President Green, met with Secretary of War Weeks and presented a letter signed by the entire committee which was dated October 20, 1924, and a letter of transmittal from President Green.

After a discussion of the points at issue Secretary Weeks said that he was willing to do what was right and that he would like to refer the entire matter to the new governor for his comments. This was agreed to by the committee with the understanding that it would be expedited as much as possible.

During the conference it was brought out that the main points to be settled were: Whether the conditions of which the employees were deprived (by executive order of President Harding) January 1, 1922, should be restored or whether the differential in compensation (allowed on account of tropical service and loss of opportunity in the United States) should be increased to offset the loss of the above-mentioned conditions; and the question of the employment of aliens.

The secretary said that he was not ready to give an answer to the grievances submitted by the committee. He wished to say, however, that he had in mind the presentation in Congress of a retirement proposal for employees in the Canal Zone. This he said, would be more liberal than that in effect in the District of Columbia, because climatic conditions in the Zone were more prejudicial to the workers than in the United States.

In accordance with the agreement reached at the conference January 1, 1925, Secretary Weeks forwarded all papers to Governor Walker for his comments, which were received by the secretary at the time he was stricken with the illness from which he has not yet fully recovered, so the matter is still in abeyance. However, the secretary sent his private secretary to the Canal Zone during August to investigate and report on the conditions that exist there. This taken in conjunction with his attitude and statements at the conference mentioned above indicate that a settlement satisfactory to labor may be hoped for. It is recommended that efforts be continued until the relief so necessary to the employees on the Canal Zone is obtained.

CHILD LABOR

Organized labor must awaken to the fact that unless every member of the rank and file and their officials as well as sympathizers with labor make an extraordinary effort the proposed child labor amendment will not be ratified.

Great sums of money are being expended in propaganda and the payment of lecturers to so misrepresent the object of the amendment that the people will be deceived into opposing that most humane protection for our children. Both houses of four states and one house of two states have ratified the amendment; both houses of twenty-

two states and one house of seven states have rejected the amendment; four states have indefinitely postponed action. The record up to date is as follows:

<i>Ratified by Both Houses</i>	<i>Ratified by One House</i>	<i>Rejected by Both Houses</i>	<i>Rejected by One House</i>	<i>Postponed Indefinitely</i>
Arkansas	New Mexico (H.)	Connecticut	Idaho (H.)	Indiana (S. & H.)
Arizona	Montana (H.)	Delaware	Louisiana (H.)	Iowa (H.)
California		Florida	Michigan (H.)	Montana (S.)
Wisconsin		Georgia	Nevada (H.)	Wyoming (S.)
		Kansas	North Dakota (S.)	
		Maine	Ohio (H.)	
		Massachusetts	Oregon (S.)	
		Minnesota		
		Missouri		
		Nebraska		
		New Hampshire		
		North Carolina		
		Oklahoma		
		Pennsylvania		
		South Carolina		
		South Dakota		
		Tennessee		
		Texas		
		Utah		
		Vermont		
		Washington		
		West Virginia		

According to a decision made by Congress in 1868 a state that has once ratified a proposed amendment can not withdraw consent after it has been reported to the Secretary of State. In that year thirty of the thirty-seven states had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, but three states later on withdrew their consent. This left twenty-seven states, which was less than a three-fourths vote. The Secretary of State referred the matter to Congress and it passed a resolution that the amendment had been approved by thirty states. Where a state has rejected an amendment, however, it can change its vote, according to information received at the Department of State. In the form prescribed for informing Congress that an amendment has been ratified there is no space given to the states that voted against it. Therefore the only duty of the Secretary of State is to notify Congress when a sufficient number of states have ratified an amendment. He does not report the states that refuse to ratify.

With these facts before us the Executive Council has kept up a continuous agitation in the various states for the amendment to be made a political issue in the next election of members of the various legislatures. The Supreme Court has decided that there are only two methods of ratifying an amendment—"by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states or by conventions in three-fourths of the states, the choice of method being left to Congress." Congress designated the legislatures. The Supreme Court also has decided "that the function of a state legislature in ratifying a proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution, like the function of Congress in proposing such amendments, is a federal function, derived not from the people of that state, but from the Constitution." Another decision of the Supreme Court of importance is as follows:

"The action of the General Assembly of Ohio ratifying the proposed Eighteenth Amendment can not be referred to the electors of the State, the provisions of the state constitution requiring such a referendum being inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States."

While the joint resolution for the proposed amendment was before Congress the opposition to its passage was slight. It was confined mostly to a representative of the publicity organ of textile mill owners of the south and a lawyer from New York who

represented certain clients opposed to the measure. The amendment was approved by the House of Representatives by a vote of 297 to 69 and in the Senate the vote was 61 to 23. But no sooner had the amendment been submitted to the states than a most stupendous publicity campaign of vilification, misrepresentation and falsehood began. The Farmers' States Rights League, Inc., is a paper organization. The president is a textile mill owner, the vice-president the head of a textile bank and the publicity agent is a representative of a textile newspaper. This comprises practically the whole membership. Through propaganda sent by it to the various state legislatures and paid advertisements inserted in farmers' papers it was able to deceive many. Continual circulation of the truth by the American Federation of Labor and organizations sympathetic with the efforts of the labor movement to protect child life is gradually acquainting the people with the real situation. The Executive Council believes that every candidate for a legislature in the United States, whether the amendment has been acted upon or not, should be questioned as to his stand on that humane addition to our Constitution.

The opponents of the amendment are using every means to have a referendum in the states where the legislatures are almost certain to ratify it. They believe that in a referendum they can so misrepresent the amendment that the people will give a majority against it. Like all other great movements we find many professional orators, who are ready at all times to take either side of a question for pay, lined up against the amendment. This was the case in Massachusetts. But as the Supreme Court has decided that an amendment can not be referred to the electors of a state because it would be inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States it is believed that no other state legislature will resort to that subterfuge to throw a responsibility upon the people which the Supreme Court declares rests solely in the legislative body.

Many communications to national and international unions, state and city central bodies and local unions have been sent out during the year. The letter sent to state federations of labor is as follows:

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:

The organized propaganda that has been used to defeat the child labor amendment demands that labor shall take a firm stand on this most important issue.

The criticisms of the amendment have been so false that the people are gradually learning the truth. They have found that the charges made against the amendment are not only pure invention but absolutely ridiculous. For instance, it is said that the amendment would prohibit any person from doing any kind of work until eighteen years of age; that the daughters under eighteen can not perform family duties or that the sons would be forced into idleness, not even being permitted to do the chores necessary around the home.

Congress passed two child labor laws, neither of which was objected to by other than the industrial exploiters of children. Since the last child labor law was declared unconstitutional the employment of children in industry has increased greatly. State laws are not being enforced because the exploiters of children have sufficient influence to minimize the activities of inspectors.

I hope your state federation of labor at its coming meeting will take a strong stand for the ratification of the child labor amendment by the next session of the legislature of your state. So much misinformation is being given out in reference to what can be done with the amendment that it is necessary for you to give the people the true facts.

Congress can not either withdraw or repeal the amendment, it is the property now of the state legislatures and will remain there until ratified. States which have ratified the amendment can not reverse their action, but states which have refused to ratify can at any time change their vote in favor of ratification. According to the Supreme Court "a proposed constitutional amendment can be ratified by two methods only—by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states or by conventions in three-fourths of the states, the choice of method being left to Congress." In a decision on the question of referring the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment to the referendum the Supreme Court said:

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"The action of the General Assembly of Ohio ratifying the proposed Eighteenth Amendment can not be referred to the electors of the state, the provisions of the state constitution requiring such a referendum being inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States."

Let me urge you, therefore, to set aside a day or part of a day of your convention for the discussion of this amendment. If a standing committee is appointed to include the officers of your state federation of labor, to acquaint the people with the value of the amendment it will be a great incentive to its ratification in states that have not yet voted and for the changing of the votes in those states that have refused ratification. You will be opposed by well organized propagandists, but as they must rely on falsehood instead of truth I feel you will be successful in exposing them.

I would appreciate very much if you would keep me informed of what you are doing and what you intend to do in the interest of the amendment. This question should be submitted to all candidates for the legislature to be elected in your state at the next election. You should know whether they are with the exploiters of children or against them.

The American Federation of Labor is much interested in the protection of child life. It has fought for them every day in the forty-four years since its organization. I feel that you and your associates can be depended upon to continue the struggle. Let your slogan be:

SAVE THE NATION'S CHILDREN FROM INDUSTRIAL EXPLOITATION.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) **WILLIAM GREEN,**
President, American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council believes that the consideration and discussion of the various phases of the opposition to the child labor amendment should be made a special order at one session of the convention to the end that the character and source of the opposition be exposed and condemned.

Enforcement of state laws is gradually weakening and the number of children that are being exploited in industry has increased amazingly.

RAILROAD LABOR LEGISLATION

The report of last year described the efforts made by the railroad labor organizations supported by the American Federation of Labor to abolish the Railroad Labor Board and to enact the Howell-Barkley bill, to provide for settling railroad labor relations through conference agreements, board of adjustment decisions of grievances, government mediation, and voluntary arbitration when necessary. The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce reported the bill by a vote of 9 to 3 to the first session of the sixty-eighth Congress. Its supporters had brought it on the floor of the House through the committee discharge rule and supported the bill during the ensuing filibuster of its opponents by a majority on over twenty roll-calls. Such was the situation when Congress adjourned June 7, 1924.

Although there were pronouncements in three political party platforms upon which the three principal candidates sought public support in the presidential election of 1924 favoring the principle of voluntary adjustment of personnel relations of railroads, the Howell-Barkley bill was not enacted by the second session of the sixty-eighth Congress. There was no action on the Howell-Barkley bill nor amendment of existing law. This inaction occurred despite the recommendation of the President for the amendment of the labor section of the Transportation Act.

Since the close of the sixty-eighth Congress without action upon the Howell-Barkley bill, various efforts have been made to bring about cooperation between those supporting the bill and public officials representing the administration, to agree upon a redraft of the Howell-Barkley bill embodying such suggestions or amendments as have been offered and appear acceptable to the proponents of the bill. Certain efforts

have also been made to bring about some cooperation between the organizations and the railroad executives looking toward the same end, but there have been no substantial developments. In view of the various efforts which have been made and given some publicity, we want to make it plain that the organizations supporting the Howell-Barkley bill have given no consideration to any suggestions for a substantial change in the principles underlying the bill or the machinery proposed to translate those principles into legislative and administrative action. It is the purpose of the railroad unions that the Howell-Barkley bill substantially in its present form (as modified by some acceptable amendments made in the Senate) will be offered for consideration in the sixty-ninth Congress when it assembles.

Railroad Labor Board

Experience in the last year with the Railroad Labor Board has served to emphasize the futile and mischievous character of that body and further to justify the condemnation of the Transportation Act and of its creation—the Railroad Labor Board—has been which repeatedly voiced by the American Federation of Labor. The following cases are of interest:

Western Wage Movement of Engineers and Firemen

In the spring of 1924 a committee of locomotive engineers and firemen representing their respective organizations on practically all the western railways met with a conference committee of managers in an attempt to negotiate a settlement of the employes request for application of the New York Central wage increases to the western roads, these increases then being in effect on practically all the eastern roads. This group negotiation was terminated by the conference committee of managers in May, 1924, whereupon the committee of employees endeavored to open negotiations with the separate carriers. The railways attempted to prevent individual carrier negotiation by bringing the matter to the Railroad Labor Board which thereupon attempted to assume jurisdiction of its own motion, although there was no controversy which would justify their action. To maintain their liberty of contract and to prevent the railroad labor board from acting unlawfully in aid of the program of the railway managers to delay and hamper negotiations, the representatives of the employees refused to appear and testify before the board. The board then began two test cases to compel the union officials to appear and testify. Upon petition of the board, Judge Wilkerson, sitting in Chicago, summoned D. B. Robertson, President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, a resident of Cleveland, to appear before the court and when Mr. Robertson denied the jurisdiction of the court in Chicago to entertain suit against him, a resident of Cleveland, Judge Wilkerson entered an order overruling his objections and commanding him to appear before the Labor Board and testify.

Mr. Robertson appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States where the case was argued on March 17, 1925, by Donald R. Richberg, General Counsel for the Railway Department of the A. F. of L. and of the unions involved, and on June 8, 1924, the court handed down the unanimous opinion reversing Judge Wilkerson and holding that the board could not compel a witness to testify before it by action in the District Court sitting in Chicago.

The board also filed a petition with Judge Wilkerson for an order on J. McGuire, Local Chairman for the Engineers, to appear before him. Mr. McGuire being a resident of Chicago, the sole question in his case was as to the power of the labor board to compel testimony. It was the contention of his counsel that testimony could not be compelled before a board whose functions are wholly advisory without depriving the witness of liberty and property without due process of law. Judge Wilkerson overruled these objections and ordered Mr. McGuire to appear. His case has also been appealed and is pending in the Supreme Court of the United States.

While this litigation was in progress, the board heard evidence from the railways alone and in the fall handed down a decision ordering the New York Central increases to be put in effect on the western roads but with such modifications of the rules as would deprive the men of all benefit from the ruling. Meanwhile the engineers' and firemen's organizations had persisted in demanding conferences with the individual

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railroads and finally took a strike vote on the Southern Pacific lines. After the organizations were supported by an overwhelming vote in favor of a strike, a conference was arranged and a settlement agreed upon with the Southern Pacific lines which was satisfactory to the organizations. This settlement included the granting of the New York Central increases without the detrimental changes in rules sought by the railroads. Following this settlement, road after road made similar terms with the organizations until the western wage movement finally culminated in the application of the New York Central increase to the entire west. In this wage movement, it will be noted that the Railroad Labor Board occupied an obstructive position entirely favorable to the desires of the railroads and hampered and delayed the employees in their efforts, but in the end the decision of the board was disregarded by both railroads and employees. The board was defeated in its efforts to bring the courts to its aid and once more demonstrated that it is worse than useless as an agency to promote peace and provide justice to railroad employees. It is of special significance to note that in the brief filed in behalf of the board by the United States attorney and special assistants to the Attorney General, the position is taken that the public members of the board were not supposed to be neutral and that the chairman of the board, whose bias was made clearly evident, was not disqualified because of his lack of impartiality. Government counsel made the assertion, "He is not supposed to be any more neutral than are members of the labor and management groups." Thus, the fiction of "impartial arbitration" was exploded in the very house of its friends.

Court Decisions Hold Labor Board Without Power

The Pennsylvania Railroad has successfully challenged the authority of the Railroad Labor Board. When the telegraphers of the Pennsylvania Railroad voted by 4256 to 318 for members of their national union to act as committeemen under the Pennsylvania Railroad's own company union plan, the railroad then discharged every committeeman who would not renounce his obligation to his organization. Although the Railroad Labor Board has fulminated against this indefensible action, the railroad has not changed its policy.

The shopmen's union also brought suit against the Pennsylvania Railroad to compel conferences in accordance with the apparent mandate of the Transportation Act. This case reached the Supreme Court, together with a similar case that was brought by the clerks, early in the present year and in March the court handed down an opinion to the effect that there was nothing compulsory in the Transportation Act, that railroads did not have to obey the act if they did not want to, that they were not required to hold conferences with their employees either by the act or by orders of the railroad labor board. Thus again, the Transportation Act has been shown to be a useless piece of legislation for the promotion of industrial peace on the railroads.

Another instance of disregarded orders of the Railroad Labor Board is the case of the Chicago and Alton. The shopmen of this road practically unanimously designated their national unions to represent them. The receivers acting under the authority of Judge Carpenter of the Federal District Court in Chicago refused to receive these representatives in conference. In the latter part of 1924 the employees presented a petition to the court asking that he order the receivers to comply with the express directions of Congress. This matter is still pending before Judge Carpenter.

INJUNCTION ABUSES

The attempted regulation and control of group activities of wage earners by the equity courts has continued unabated. Indeed the courts in the exercise of their equity powers have constantly become more bold and therefore more dangerous. There is now scarcely any realm of activity of trade unions which is free from the regulative and prohibitive orders of our courts.

A comparatively new judicial system of government has been developed which is not confined to the regulation and control of labor and of trade unions. It is fast finding growth in our civil and social as well as industrial relations. The equity jurisprudence of our land is rapidly increasing to a degree that endangers our concepts of a legislative and democratic government. Sacredness of property seems to be

the predominating consideration in our present organized society through the dominance of equity courts which are the special pleaders and protectors of property. In so doing they have restrained and limited concepts and opportunities for human welfare and human aspirations.

The issue clearly presents itself: Shall our present legislative bodies be the source of all legislation or shall our equity courts be permitted to take their places?

We have been continually advised that the equity powers of our courts were designed solely to protect property rights against losses where there exists no remedy at law. We have been further advised that the law division of our courts was intended to conserve the rights of our citizens to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. With the passing of time our courts have constantly enlarged their concepts of protecting the rights of an individual arising from ownership of property.

Today our equity completely ignores the division of rights into those things which concern human welfare and progress and those which have to do with rights of persons to own property. They find no relations too remotely removed from rights to possess and enjoy property, to prevent them from exercising jurisdiction. 'As a result equity courts are developing a dominance that will completely subordinate courts of law and thereby those political principles which they represent. This tendency jeopardizes all constitutional guarantees of freedom and of choice of action. In addition, our Legislatures have failed to provide adequate remedies at law in order to limit this power by our equity courts.

Reference to the constitution of the United States clearly indicates that the framers of our government never intended to vest such vast powers in the American judiciary as are now being exercised by the equity courts. Section 1 of article III of our Constitution provides that the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The constitution defines the limits of judicial power. There is vested in Congress the authority to determine the power to be exercised by the inferior federal courts. The judicial power remains dormant until some act of Congress shall call it into action by designating the particular tribunal or tribunals which shall be authorized to exercise it, and, in exceptional cases especially enumerated in the constitution, the distribution of this power is entirely within the control of Congress.

Congress has the power likewise of withdrawing this authority, even in pending cases. It is therefore evident that Congress is at fault as much as our Federal Courts in permitting this development to continue. What is true of our national government is true more or less of our several state governments.

Wage earners have suffered through the extension of equity jurisdiction more than any other single group. We have sought relief for years. Heretofore we have attempted to so define the rights of Labor and trade unions and to remove some of Labor's activities from the operation of the equity powers of our courts. Attempts made to define collective rights of wage earners and to safeguard constitutional guarantees have been declared almost uniformly unconstitutional or have been so interpreted by our equity courts as to destroy their effectiveness whenever such legislative enactments conflicted with alleged property rights. We now propose that Congress and the several state legislatures shall fully and competently exercise the authority given to them by constitutional provisions and define the powers of equity courts so as to prevent them from exercising powers not specifically delegated. We propose that our national and state legislatures shall by proper legislative enactment confine equity jurisdiction to the determination and protection of titles to tangible properties and to questions arising therefrom and that all other judicial questions, especially those pertaining to contracts of employment, individual or collective, or arising out of industrial relations, shall be confined exclusively to law courts. It is imperative that the masses of our people shall be governed by the laws as prescribed by our legislatures and not as they may be determined by the equity courts. This procedure will in nowise disturb existing rights, real or alleged, tangible or intangible, personal or property, but will require our courts to respect all personal rights and assure the great mass of our people full protection in their constitutional guarantees. If enforced, this procedure will prevent the abuse and misuse of the injunction writ.

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It will place the power of regulation, if regulation is at all essential in our industrial relations, in the hands of our state and national legislators where it rightfully belongs, and take it out of the hands of the courts wherein it was never intended to be vested. The censorship of individual and collective conduct by dictum or decree of our equity courts is no more desirable than domination of an individual or mass conduct by mandate of a king, czar or kaiser. Absolutism in our judicial system is to be tolerated no more than absolutism in any other branch of our government.

While we recommend calling upon our national and state governments for the regulating of our courts in accordance with the original concept of the framers of our government, we reaffirm our advice to trade unions that they continue to protest the legality of injunctions to regulate industrial relations at all times and declare their activity wholly without the jurisdiction of the equity courts. We likewise urge trade unions and trade unionists to refrain from involving themselves in legal procedure, especially in the so-called equity monstrosity of our judicial system.

FARMERS AND LABOR

The Executive Council has kept in close touch with the desires for legislation for the farmers. While every means that can be conceived by certain selfish interests are being used to create friction between labor and the farmers they have not been successful. Of course there are many millions of farmers, many of them so isolated that they do not know what labor is doing in their interest.

The Executive Council desires to emphasize its recommendation of past years that the central bodies and local unions give as much encouragement as they can to the principles of cooperative marketing.

All experts are convinced that the solution of many of the difficulties of the farmer is in cooperation. It will benefit the wage earners also.

Therefore, we urge all state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions to give earnest support to any practical movement that will aid the farmers.

LEGAL INFORMATION BUREAU

The work of the Legal Information Bureau has expanded during the past year in order to make its services more comprehensive and more valuable.

The initial work of the Bureau is the gathering of legal decisions and information on legal proceedings. By collecting these materials in the central office a clearing center is created for the information of lawyers and unions and for the compilation of data that will disclose legislative and legal trends. The more significant decisions are published in our Legal Information Bulletin so that the data may be readily available for all whom it may serve. The establishment of a legal information clearing house is the most economical measure for meeting the legal needs of trade unions. A central clearing office avoids duplication of work which was formerly necessary by individual unions and their lawyers and it also reduces the probability of valuable and pertinent information escaping the attention of persons dealing with problems to which it would apply.

In addition to the gathering and publication of important legal decisions, the Bureau has initiated the work of studying and analyzing legal decisions in order to secure the necessary information for service in legislative drafting and for guidance in developing principles underlying proposed legislation. In doing this work the Bureau is not encroaching upon the legislative field but is only bringing to bear upon legislative principles that discriminating study and careful analysis that must precede adoption of legislative policies and the advocacy of legislative measures. The field of legislative research is concerned with legal principles and not activity to promote enactment of legislation.

It is further necessary, in addition to meeting the economic attacks upon trade unions, that our movement be in a position to cope equally well with legal attacks through hostile legislation and through court proceedings and decisions. Legal proceedings may harass a trade union so that economic effectiveness is impossible. Legal attacks upon trade unions generally follow well developed methods and channels.

This makes it most desirable that the important experiences of trade unions with legal difficulties be made available to unions dealing with similar problems. Because of the fact that trade unions in opposing these legal attacks are struggling to establish and define the legal rights of a great group of our citizenry, complete and informing records of what is involved in these contests serve an educational purpose with respect to those in the legal profession, the public and our own membership.

In order to define and establish Labor's rights, it is necessary to convince lawyers, law makers, and judges of the correctness of our position. In addition it is often desirable and even necessary to convince the general public. Not only are we the advocates of new and larger conceptions of rights but we are often the defenders of rights already established of which others would deprive us. It is indispensable, therefore, that we have a central source of information for advice and counsel in this work so necessary to the maintenance and the progress of our trade unions.

In defending Labor's economic rights we find that often our unions are involved in controversies in which civic rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States are an issue. By judicial interpretation and judicial orders in equity precedents are created which if unchallenged would undermine our whole structure of civil liberties necessary as bulwarks of liberty in any field.

We recommend that the Bureau give all possible attention during the coming year to ways and means of maintaining civil liberties to all of our people.

In addition to furnishing information through printed agencies, the Legal Information Bureau in the past year has been of service in specific proceedings and problems. We have been able to supply lawyers and labor representatives with citations enabling them to substantiate Labor's contention. This type of service makes it possible for lawyers handling Labor's cases to perform their work with greater authority because supported by expert information. In the past the cause of Labor has suffered greatly in the courts because of the lack of legal advisors specially equipped to handle Labor's cases with an understanding of Labor's legal difficulties and economic procedure.

Labor's defense and intelligent procedure in the legal field has resulted in focusing attention on the problems involved in such a way that courts and legislators are developing a better understanding of economic problems.

In connection with the Legal Information Bulletin, which is published periodically, there will be published an index giving references to all cases covered by the various issues in the bulletin.

EDUCATION

The following is the report of the A. F. of L. Committee on Education, the members of which are Matthew Woll, chairman; C. L. Baine, John P. Frey, George W. Perkins, and John L. Lewis.

Labor has given a marked emphasis to education work during the past year.

Education is the method by which we develop individual capacities and abilities, learn to evaluate our experiences, and develop the principles by which we order our lives. It is a marvelously dynamic thing which builds up differences between individuals and between groups. Recognizing that education is a continuing process paralleling life experiences, Labor has divided its educational work into two parts; one dealing with education of youth, the other, with education of adults. The first part of this program is under the direction of the A. F. of L. Committee on Education. The second part is conducted through the Workers Education Bureau.

For the youth of the country, we help to promote a public school system, and state universities; for adults, we are committed to the principle of voluntary educational undertakings.

The wage earners of America in their organized capacity feel a responsibility for contributing to the development of existing educational institutions.

We were persistent in demanding a public school system for educating the youth of our country and have constantly demanded wider educational opportunities for all. We believe it ought to be possible for persons in every vocation and walk of life to have within themselves reserves and equipment intelligently to adjust themselves to changes in life and work and to utilize every experience for the development of a richer and more potential personality.

Committees on Education

Labor believes that the public school system should provide full and varied educational opportunities for the youth of the country. In order to insure to every boy and girl at least a minimum training, compulsory education laws have been enacted. A rather considerable body of fundamentals has been adopted by the American Federation of Labor from time to time dealing with the various phases of education. These principles are concerned with proposals which the organized labor movement feels is essential to the best service from our public schools. In order to see that this educational program is carried out as well as to contribute to the development of our public school system the A. F. of L. Committee on Education has continued its efforts to secure the appointment of cooperating committees on education by every central labor union and state federation of labor. Two hundred and thirteen of these committees have been reported to our national office. State federations of labor have educational directors or departments. These committees are the agencies responsible for carrying into effect, locally, policies and undertakings recommended by the A. F. of L. for the education of both youths and adults. They are also to become responsible for undertakings of the Workers Education Bureau.

These committees have been urged to secure labor representation on local school boards and on boards of directors of local libraries, to promote adequate appropriations for school purposes, particularly teachers' salaries. These committees have been asked to secure data on text books for social studies in use in their communities. The data will be used in the continuation of the survey of social text books which was authorized by the El Paso convention.

Educational Policies

Upon technical educational problems, the Committee on Education wishes to advise local committees on education to observe every precaution against accepting the advice of those whose judgment is biased, or who are influenced by issues in which their interests are concerned. It has unfortunately happened that by making independent local decisions, there is conflict of attitude upon important specific proposals. There is the same advantage to be gained from consultation and mutual agreement upon educational issues as in economic matters.

Work-Study-Play or Platoon System. The Committee on Education has endeavored to secure from representative members of organized labor in localities where the work-study-play method was in use, data and opinions on this method of organization. Reports or data have been received from New York City, the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Detroit Federation of Labor, Mount Vernon, New York, Birmingham, Alabama. These reports show there is no unity of opinion among organized labor groups upon the value of this method. This is to be expected because of the fact that the plan itself is as yet in an experimental stage. Two main principles are involved, one educational, and the other administrative. The first is departmentalization, the second is an effort to use school buildings and school equipment most economically.

To make a decision on this problem Labor needs data that will indicate in what grade departmentalization ought to begin. This is a problem that should be approached as a technical educational problem to be determined after scientific study upon the basis of fact. Labor needs to protect itself against the injection of personal opinion and propaganda into the problem.

The problem of the most efficient use of school buildings and school equipment is also one that must be determined upon a basis of study and after having in mind always that the ultimate purpose of education is the bringing of greater possibilities for a richer and fuller life to all and that ultimate decision should not be determined solely by financial savings.

Junior High Schools. Our attitude upon this method of school organization must be based upon a study of results. Our Committee on Education is seeking data for the service of local committees. Until statistical evaluation of the 6-3-3 method of administrative division as opposed to the 8-4 is available, all decisions will be based on opinion rather than fact.

Intelligence Tests. This method is as yet so completely in the experimental stage that no judgment can as yet be formed as to its educational value. The committee will continue to gather information and keep in touch with results of experiences. Most of the tests measure only information and a special level of intelligence rather than mental power.

Vocational and Trade Education. The suggestion has been repeatedly sent from the central office that trade unions see to it that local undertakings in trade and vocational education have the advantage of the continuous advice and supervision of representatives of trade unions concerned with the field in which instruction is given. It is not sufficient to have a labor representative on the national representative committee directing the work of the Federal Board but in each city, state and municipality there should be similar representative groups on which labor is fully represented.

Vocational and trade education should be a cooperative undertaking between the school and industry with comprehensive management and organized workers. Certain types of studies can best be taught in the school but the application of special trade instruction is given best in the shop where industrial equipment is available. We can not call attention too emphatically to that vitally important feature of the Cincinnati plan which provides for an educator to coordinate the work done in the school with that done in the shop.

Trade training is a problem that concerns the trade unions vitally. By performing their full part in the tripartite control of training done through public schools, the unions can maintain constructive regulation of apprentices preparing to come into their industries. All local unions or local industrial groups such as building and metal trades councils are urged to interest themselves in local vocational and trade training for apprentices. The first step is the establishment of tripartite control. Some unions provide schools for their own apprentices and such undertakings are greatly to be commended. We hope that work of this nature will be initiated by all trade unions.

Social Studies

Because social studies constitute the initial medium through which boys and girls first begin to develop balanced understanding of life and history it is vitally important that these texts be written from the point of view that comprehends all of the forces contributing to the development of history and national life.

As we have frequently pointed out, too many of these texts have been written by those who have only a limited understanding and experience. This has resulted in misinterpretation of economic factors, particularly the labor movement.

Some years ago Labor undertook a survey of social texts for the purpose of disclosing the prevailing practice of ignoring fundamental forces that were changing the lives of the common people. That survey proved stimulating and was instrumental in helping a number of writers to develop more comprehensive points of view. Since these text books become primary sources of information for millions of students, it is of basic importance that there be sustained efforts to point out shortcomings and to help writers to interpret history and national life more correctly. The El Paso convention authorized the Committee on Education to continue this study and that work is now under way. Local committees on education are gathering factual data on social text books for the study.

The labor movement in its fullest implications represents a development and an upward progress of the masses of each nation. The organization is the lifting power that makes possible higher standards of life and work and enjoyment of wider opportunities. It is the record of great national forces making for peaceful progress and the achievements of peaceful constructive effort that Labor wishes to call to the attention of writers of texts used in public schools. Our purpose is to contribute constructive suggestions, not to promote propaganda on behalf of any group or movement.

Uniform Education Laws

A basic step in assuring better educational opportunities for all is to enact in all states compulsory educational laws prescribing educational requirements. We suggest that the A. F. of L. draft a model compulsory education bill to be recommended to

affiliated central bodies. By securing educational legislation that will require school attendance we will at the same time materially reduce the possibility of child labor.

Workers Education Bureau

The Workers Education Bureau of America through which the American Federation of Labor has been carrying on its adult education for its own membership may now be said to constitute an essential part of the Educational Service of the American Federation of Labor. The four years and more of service of this bureau for the most part in the closest cooperation with the A. F. of L.—have been years of constructive accomplishment. If these years have been in any sense years of apprenticeship for the Bureau they may now be said to be finished and the Bureau enjoys in full measure the confidence and good will of the officials, as well as the rank and file of our American labor movement, the record of succeeding endorsements by the conventions of the A. F. of L. culminating in the El Paso plan is one which is as impressive as it is important.

As a further measure of endorsement of this action at the El Paso convention, the President of the A. F. of L. addressed a letter to all international unions calling their attention and that of all the affiliated unions with the A. F. of L. to the significance of this El Paso plan to the trade union movement.

The response to this program and this general proposal was most remarkable. In the first six months of 1925 the following forty-one unions undertook active affiliation with the Workers Education Bureau on the El Paso Plan:

- Associated Actors and Artists of America.
- Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America.
- Journeyman Barbers' International Union.
- International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.
- Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers International Union.
- Cigar Makers International Union of America.
- National Federation of Post Office Clerks.
- United Cloth Hat and Cap Workers.
- Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.
- Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.
- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America.
- International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.
- National Federation of Federal Employees.
- International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.
- International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada.
- United Garment Workers of America.
- International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.
- International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
- Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.
- American Flint Glass Workers' Union.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.
- Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.
- International Longshoremen's Association.
- International Association of Machinists.
- International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers.
- United Mine Workers of America.
- International Molders' Union of North America.
- Sheet Metal Workers International Association.
- International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.
- Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.
- United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada.
- Metal Polishers' International Union.
- National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.
- Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.

Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.
 Switchmen's Union of North America.
 Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.
 American Federation of Teachers.
 International Typographical Union.
 United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.
 Two or three other unions have agreed to join presently, while the following four-
 teen unions are in regular affiliation with the Bureau:
 International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.
 Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America.
 International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.
 International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.
 United Hatters of North America.
 American Federation of Musicians.
 Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.
 Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada.
 International Seamen's Union of America.
 Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.
 The Commercial Telegraphers Union of America.
 United Textile Workers of America.
 Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union.
 Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

Fourth National Convention—Workers Education Bureau

The decision of the El Paso Convention which marked in so many ways milestones in the history of American workers' education and the relation of the American Federation of Labor thereto, and in consequence of the action taken by various international unions pursuant to the El Paso plan were ratified by the fourth national convention of the Workers Education Bureau, held in Philadelphia on April 17, 18 and 19, 1925. To the convention came delegates from trade unions and study classes all over the country. In terms of the number of delegates and the variety of centers represented, it was a most representative national gathering. The convention incorporated the provisions of the El Paso plan into the organic law of the Bureau. The constitution was so amended to give functional representation to national and international unions as such, to the American Federation of Labor, to study classes and workers' colleges as well as to local unions.

The new constitution provides for an executive committee of eleven members including a president and secretary of the Bureau. The members of the executive committee are selected as follows: Three representatives of the national and international unions affiliated to the Bureau; three represent the American Federation of Labor; one represents affiliated state federations, central bodies and local unions; and two represent workers' study classes, trade union colleges and other workers' educational enterprises. The president and secretary are elected from representatives at large. The representatives of the A. F. of L. are Matthew Woll, George W. Perkins, and John P. Frey. The executive committee elected Matthew Woll, chairman; Fannia M. Cohn, vice-chairman, and Thomas E. Burke, treasurer.

Significant of the constructive inter-relation which workers' education can develop with labor movements of other countries was presence of fraternal delegates from Mexico, Vincent L. Teledano of the Mexican Department of Education, and Canuto Vargas, labor attache of the Mexican Embassy in Washington.

Workers' Colleges, Study Classes and Educational Committees

The past two years have witnessed a substantial growth of educational activity in industrial centers all over the country. The actual development of workers' colleges and study classes has shown signs of a very healthy growth during the past two years. The more spectacular and less substantial period of growth has given way in many localities to the slower and more permanent development.

During the past year it is estimated that well over 30,000 working men and women

have been studying regularly in these colleges and study classes, and a far larger number have been reached through mass lectures in shop and trade union and mass meetings. The total that have been reached in this manner is approximately 300,000. Educational centers, classes and committees are located in the District of Columbia and forty-one states. This marks a measurable increase over our report of a year ago and represents the nucleus upon which the movement in America will be built.

Publications. The publications which have been prepared by the Workers Education Bureau and are in the state of preparation by the Bureau for American workingmen and women, is an achievement of a high order. They now constitute twenty-five volumes prepared in simple but scientific manner for workers.

Workers' Bookshelf

- Volume 1. Joining in Public Discussion. By Alfred Dwight Sheffield.
- Volume 2. The Control of Wages. By Walton Hamilton and Stacy May.
- Volume 3. The Humanizing of Knowledge. By James Harvey Robinson.
- Volume 4. Women and the Labor Movement. By Alice Henry.
- Volume 5. The Labor Movement in a Government Industry. By Sterling D.

Spero.

- Volume 6. A Short History of the American Labor Movement. By Mary Beard.
- Volume 7. Readings in Trade Unionism. By David Saposs. (In press.)

Workers' Education Bureau Series

Proceedings of Conventions of the Workers Education Bureau, 1921, 1922, 1923.

Workers' Education Pamphlet Series

- 1. How to Start Workers' Study Classes. By Broadus Mitchell.
 - 2. How to Run a Union Meeting. By Paul Blanshard.
 - 3. Workers' Education. By Arthur Gleason.
 - 4. The Voluntary Basis of Trade Unionism. By Samuel Gompers.
 - 5. The American Federation of Labor. By Matthew Woll.
 - 6. Child Labor. By William Green.
 - 7. How to Keep Union Records. By Stuart Chase. (In press.)
 - 8. The Women's Auxiliary and Workers' Education. By Theresa Wolfson. (In press.)
 - 9. The Public Library and Workers' Education. By E. C. Lindeman. (In press.)
- The following volumes and pamphlets are in active preparation:

The Workers' Bookshelf

- Cooperative Railroad. By Otto S. Beyer, Jr.
- Economic Institutions. By Willard Thorpe.
- Policies of American Trade Unions. By Leo Wolman.
- Our Ancient Heritage. By Alexander Goldenweiser.
- Case Book on Industrial Arbitration. By George Soule.
- Cooperative Movement. By Dr. James Warbasse.
- Workers' Health. By Dr. Emery Hayhurst.

Pamphlets

- Workmen's Compensation. By Thomas Donnelly.
- Workers' Health. By Dr. George M. Price.
- The Labor Injunction. By John P. Frey.

These accomplishments which form but a part of the service of the Workers Education Bureau to the American Federation of Labor and the American labor movement make us sanguine for the future. No such similar service has been rendered the American labor movement up to the present; no organization could have been more effective in our opinion in the period of its existence. We commend this Bureau for its high service to our movement and we recommend that provision be made for increasing its support from the trade union movement, so that it can fulfill with even greater effectiveness its educational service to workingmen throughout our land.

Education Week

During Education Week last fall for example, the Workers Education Bureau prepared a selected reading list on labor problems which was sent out by the educational

committee of the American Federation of Labor to nearly nine hundred central bodies in as many industrial centers throughout the United States. The educational committees of the central bodies were requested to take this reading list to their local librarians and determine how many of the volumes listed were on the library shelves. The results of this inquiry were most interesting, and indicate, though not conclusively, how little provision is made in many of our libraries for carrying books that deal understandingly with the labor problem. The experiment will be repeated.

Library Cooperation

Libraries are educational agencies which render supplementary service to educational institutions and undertakings and make available educational opportunities for individuals. The American Library Association is interested in giving the fullest public service possible. Its interest in workers' education movements is manifest in its reports and publications and its invitation to the Workers' Education Bureau to have a representative address the convention of the A. L. A. held in Seattle in July, 1925.

A joint committee of the A. F. of L. and the A. L. A. has been created to promote educational service through public libraries. As an initial undertaking this committee will cooperate in putting upon library shelves technical trade books of greatest value to workers.

Research

In compliance with the request of the president of the American Federation of Labor the Workers Education Bureau will direct studies of specific problems upon which the labor movement needs additional data and dependable research information.

Samuel Gompers' Fellowship

Conferences have been had with the Mexican Federation of Labor for the purpose of developing plans to carry into effect the Gompers Fellowship proposal, approved at the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in El Paso, Texas, last year. In order that this interchange of scholarships shall be of real service to the trade union organizations of both countries those having been awarded scholarships shall be required to carry on their trade union studies under the direction and guidance of the educational committee of the labor movement of the country they are visiting. It is not intended that scholarships shall include attendance at any school or educational institution. It is proposed that the scholarship shall embrace a study of trade union principles, methods and procedure, attendance at meetings, conferences and conventions, research into trade union activities and industrial facts, etc.

We recommend that the E. C. be authorized to arrange for the necessary funds for the undertaking.

International Summer School

The secretary of the Workers Education Bureau delivered a series of lectures to the International Labor Schools at Prague and Stockholm and also the International Summer School conducted at Geneva.

Assistance to Graduate Students

Opportunity to consult labor information and records gathered and filed in our national archives has been granted during the past year to six graduate research students. In addition, much information and assistance have been given through correspondence. Labor is glad to give this research assistance in order that publications and studies dealing with labor problems shall have a correct basis in fact.

We recommend approval of this report.

RECREATION

The last two conventions have endorsed the work of the Playground and Recreation Association of America and the Executive Council in its May meeting endorsed in principle the program of fundamentals advocated by this association. This program

and the whole problem and opportunity which leisure presents to wage earners were referred to the committee on education for study and future report.

Even first efforts to survey the scope of the problem and find sources of information and agencies concerned, reveal the ramifications involved and the fundamental importance of the undertaking. Recreation, or more properly, re-creation, is essential to completeness of life. Play is something more than a pastime—for the child it is a creative method by which one learns about things and people; for older persons it combines imagination, pleasure and the satisfaction of individual desires and aspiration. But for all ages play is necessary to balance and for re-creation, and play should make it possible for every individual to meet the threefold needs of his nature—physical, mental, and spiritual. Constructive use of leisure is preparation for creative work.

Our modern municipal life through both its work and its home environment makes necessary collective planning and endeavor to make available opportunities for recreation. The obviously primary steps are to provide school and municipal playgrounds and recreation centers. These should be provided both for present needs and with regard to probable future population, growth and city development. In addition to planning for the material side, there must be centers through which recreation activities are organized and directed. This phase of the problem brings us to consideration of the primary elements of city life. Modern cities are demonstrations of our mechanical triumphs, material progress and quantity production. But they have lost unity of living and coherence of group life. Size forbids a community center in the real sense. Unless there is some way for people to do together the same things, think of the same things, or together to consider mutual problems, there can be no real spirit of community.

The problem divides into two main parts: One providing recreation opportunities that will counteract the effects of the modern city, and the other looking to future developments of community life.

With the rapidly increasing production of electric power and the perfecting of long-distance transmission technique so that distance is practically a negligible factor, a revolutionary development is initiated. Power and machine tools will be as available on the farm as in the town. The farm will apply the practices of a machine shop and the factory may be located in green meadows. We are in the beginning of a technical revolution that will work as far-reaching reorganization of society as did the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century.

In order to meet this transition in a constructive way we must have all of the facts of industrial and social life upon which to base recreation plans. For recreation in the largest sense concerns not only leisure hours, but the spirit and surroundings under which we live and work. There are groups and undertakings concerned with city planning, regional planning, garden cities, that are now developing policies and plans that will determine future developments.

Recreation is only one of the uses for which leisure may be utilized. There are innumerable cultural opportunities which people of all groups desire and need. To realize our democratic ideals, we must provide equality for such opportunities for all. This involves planning the material side of municipal growth as well as for cultural institutions. Much of municipal planning has been left to commercial interests. More recently we have seen the necessity of planning on a basis that comprehends the whole life of a region that possesses a unity of fundamental elements.

With material and industrial development should go the enrichment of the lives of the human agents. In addition to planning for efficient development, Labor is anxious that there should be thought for beauty of surroundings in living and industrial environment. We want our community life to have balance, fitness, purpose, and culture that can grow only out of intelligent control over the environment and forces of life. We realize that we need to conserve natural resources and beauty as the essential environment for civilized life which comprehends both work and leisure.

The Executive Council has directed the committee on education to study this whole problem.

INFORMATION AND EDUCATION WORK

A. F. of L. Publicity Service

The machinery for this work has been simplified during the year without, however, limiting the scope or diminishing the amount of work done. We realize the importance of an informed public opinion. Labor must make available the facts and the interpretations necessary for the accomplishments of that purpose. It is necessary to meet informational as well as educational needs. Well-directed publicity is essential to getting Labor's story in the daily press, which is the chief agency for reaching the masses of the citizenry.

In addition to preparing news releases of the more important events and achievements of the A. F. of L., to the daily press each week a release featuring an outstanding development of the labor movement is sent to the labor press. We are strictly adhering to the policy of making publicity dependent upon achievement and the means for letting the labor movement and the public know tendencies and developments. This service to the labor press is without charge.

American Federationist

In a more comprehensive way, sustained recording of Labor history is carried on through the *American Federationist*.

As the functions and activities of the American Federation of Labor have become more numerous and more important, there has developed need for reflecting more fully tendencies and developments that are of significance to the whole labor movement.

Changes have been made in form, type and general appearance of the magazine that contribute to the effectiveness of plans to that end.

Our official magazine should serve as a clearing center for information on labor endeavor and progress in all its phases. The magazine seeks the cooperation of all officials and members of organized labor who have information to contribute as well as the assistance of all concerned for bringing a better and richer life to the workers.

American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service

The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service is published each week and is widely distributed among labor publications and among the representatives of the organized labor movement. Labor papers are supplied with this weekly service. It consists of information relating to the trade union movement and of industrial, legislative and judicial matters which affect labor generally.

We are confident the labor press and many officers of local unions, central and state bodies, national and international unions appreciate the service rendered them through the publication and distribution of the Weekly News Service. We believe it to be not only of great potential value, but of practical value in the distribution and dissemination of news articles relating to Labor's activities and Labor's policies.

Pamphlets and Organizing Literature

To supplement these educational methods, carefully selected material has been published in pamphlet form. The titles of pamphlets added to our supply this year are:

Memorial Pamphlet: The Voluntary Nature of the Labor Movement. By Samuel Gompers.

Standards for Compensation Legislation, data and comment. By William Green, Frank Duffy, and Matthew Woll.

Labor and the Courts. Statement adopted by El Paso, 1924, convention.

Wages. By Matthew Woll.

Child Labor. By William Green.

Modern Trade Unionism. By William Green.

Trade Unions Reduce Industrial Waste. By William Green.

Union Labor Insurance.

Union-Management Cooperation. By B. M. Jewell and O. S. Beyer.

Union Benefits. By Matthew Woll.

Legislative Achievements.

In addition to these some of the organizing literature that has been in effective use for a considerable period of time has been revised somewhat in form and matter and made available for organizing work. We have also made effective use of the literature published by the Workers' Education Bureau.

Legal Information Bulletin

The Legal Information Bulletin is also a part of our informational and educational activity. Through its medium our officials, membership and press are told of decisions favorable and unfavorable to Labor. Several bulletins have been issued and have met with appreciative response.

History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book

The second volume of the History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book was published in December. It contains the proceedings from 1919 to 1923, both inclusive.

There are about 335,000 words in the book. About 300 of these books had been sold up to August 1.

Officials of national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions will find the Encyclopedia most helpful in studying the actions of the American Federation of Labor conventions on any subject that had come before them. The two volumes are educational works and the only kind published by any labor movement in the world. It is hoped that the rank and file also will obtain copies of the books as within their pages they will find every principle which the labor movement has followed and through which such remarkable success has been attained.

Library

During the past year the library has received, exclusive of trade union official journals and other periodical publications, over four thousand books, pamphlets and documents of permanent value in the broad field of labor and economics. The year's accessions include 650 labor and industrial laws covering nearly every country in the world.

It was President Gompers' expressed desire that the A. F. of L. library should ultimately receive the books in his home library and his office library. In accordance with this oft-expressed wish a large number of books which he had secured and accumulated during his lifetime were placed in the American Federation of Labor library. Many of these books are of historic interest, going back to the pioneer days of the American labor movement. Taken together, the two collections constitute an accession of great value in the literature of labor and economics.

In the work of preparing the analytical subject index of the *American Federationist* over 5,000 articles have been indexed.

The American Federation of Labor library renders informational service to all of our offices that is of greatest value in our editorial work. It is indispensable to have both specific data and sources of information. Our library tries to have information on current publications and works and has the advantage of similar services from the Library of Congress, the library of the Department of Labor and special libraries in the District, which is increasingly becoming an important research center.

It will be possible for our library to render modest informational service to the officers of national and international organizations and we seek opportunity to render this assistance.

AMERICAN LEGION

Governmental records and the archives of the various trade union organizations show in what numbers members of trade unions gave active service during the world war. Since then the roster of the American Legion will demonstrate in what proportion trade union membership parallels American Legion membership. It is but natural, therefore, that on the fundamental matters of good citizenship, on what affects the welfare and well-being of the people generally, the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion have stood shoulder to shoulder. This is particularly true upon

the questions of the adoption of the child labor amendment, upon immigration, upon the furtherance of education, upon the promotion of Americanism.

While it is not to be expected that we should agree upon all the policies and declarations of our respective organizations, yet the year which has just closed showed no diminution of the spirit of friendly, helpful cooperation in matters upon which our beliefs and ideals are in accord.

Following the custom which was established when first the American Legion was organized, the commander of the Legion extended an invitation to the president of the American Federation of Labor to attend and address the convention of the American Legion which this year convenes in Omaha, Nebr., upon the same date as that upon which this convention of the American Federation of Labor opens.

President Green's presence in Omaha not being possible and President George L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union being so closely associated with the Legion and having served it in an official capacity, was appointed as the representative of the American Federation of Labor to convey to the Legion convention the felicitations of the American Federation of Labor and also to invite the Legion in turn to send one of its representatives to attend and address this convention.

In addition, in further demonstration of the friendly cooperative spirit between the A. F. of L. and the Legion, President Green accepted the invitation of Commander Drain to serve as a member of the Honorary Committee of the Legion which has for its purpose the creation of an endowment fund to be used for the care and maintenance of orphans of ex-service men.

In the best interest of all, we recommend continuance of this friendly cooperative relation.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

It is the duty of the International Labor Office established in Geneva, to carry out the provisions of the labor clauses of the Peace Treaty. The first document presented to the public by the Paris Peace Conference was a draft covenant of the League of Nations. Article XX of that covenant provided:

The high Contracting Parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their industrial and commercial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the League of Nations a Permanent Bureau of Labor.

To give effect to Article XX, on January 25, 1919, the Supreme Allied Council at Paris created the Commission on International Labor Legislation to deal with the all-important economic, sociological and human problems of peace and reconstruction. This is the first time in the history of governments when Labor has been recognized in a Peace Treaty.

President Wilson appointed Samuel Gompers as one of the delegates representing the United States on the Commission on International Labor Legislation.

The first session of the Commission unanimously elected Mr. Gompers as President. The Commission adopted and proposed for insertion in the Peace Treaty "Labor's Bill of Rights" which was amended by the Peace Conference and inserted in the Peace Treaty. That document is given in full in the proceedings of the Atlantic City, 1919, convention of the A. F. of L.

A new building has been erected in Geneva as the future home of the International Labor Office.

The Washington Branch of the International Labor Office suggested to us that American Labor would desire to have some share in the new building. Having all these matters in mind we decided to appeal to the affiliated national and international unions for contributions sufficient to furnish a room in the International Labor Office, the total amount of such contributions to be not less than \$1,000. We are happy to report that the national and international Unions responded to our appeal. At the time of making this report the total amount contributed is \$1,455. In the course of time the office room will be furnished, a photograph will be taken thereof and published in the *American Federationist*.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Pan-American Federation of Labor

The Fourth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor was held in Mexico City, Mexico, December 3-9, 1924, inclusive.

The Mexican Federation of Labor invited the American Federation of Labor convention, held in El Paso, Texas, to visit Mexico and hundreds of delegates with their wives and friends went to Mexico to take part in the ceremonies of the inauguration of President Elias Calles. The American delegates and visitors received the most generous hospitality from the Mexican government and the Mexican Federation of Labor.

The inauguration of President Calles immediately followed the Congress. Calles, the choice of Mexican labor for the presidency, was the first president for decades to reach that office by constitutional procedure. He represented a national movement in Mexico and was the exponent of constructive reform of the government and social institutions. The labor movement he held necessary to that end.

More than any previous Congress, this one marked the Pan-American Federation of Labor as an established organization, indispensable to the progress of the workers of the American Republics and to good relations between the American peoples. This convention established the fact that Pan-American labor has carried its international movement beyond the stage of experiment.

The Mexico City convention always will be memorable for its work and for the fact that it was the last gathering of organized labor over which Samuel Gompers presided. The great leader of American labor gave his last effort to the workers of Pan-America, his last concern was for the solidarity, stability and constructiveness of their movement. His last public appearance and public work was in occupancy of the presiding officer's chair on the rostrum of their convention.

This convention laid down one of the clearest statements of trade union policy ever written as its declaration of purpose and principle and this declaration was adopted by unanimous vote. The Pan-American labor movement is committed to a policy of constructive trade unionism of unmistakable clarity and logic.

There are evidences among many of the groups of people in a number of Latin-American countries of a feeling of apprehension regarding the attitude of the United States toward them. Certain commercial undertakings have not always been guided by high ethical standards, and their acts have been interpreted as indicative of the attitude of our whole nation by politicians and others whose personal interests would be served by such perversions.

Our American Federation of Labor seeks to bring to Latin America the idealism and the humanism of our nation. Through the Pan-American Federation of Labor we hope to achieve this purpose.

The one hope of release for oppressed peoples is through the growth of the labor movement. The labor movement offers the one opportunity for bringing to these oppressed and frequently almost benighted peoples the freedom that will permit education and free expression of opinion.

The history of European peoples is repeating itself in Latin America to a considerable degree. The trade union movement is and must be basically economic or industrial, but there can be no free functioning economic movement in Latin America until political despotism has been removed. In more than one Latin-American country the arm of the state is used to prevent organization of the workers. Venezuela is a notable example of this condition. It is a sad commentary on the state of affairs in that country when it must be reported that the seat of the Venezuelan labor movement is New York City.

On the other hand, Mexico, having achieved political freedom through the overthrow of political autocracy, has developed a labor movement that might well be the pride of any country. Until the political despotism was dethroned in Mexico there was no open, free labor movement. There were only secret, fearful groups. There must be opportunity for freedom of expression, through speech and the press before there can be a real trade union movement in any country.

The development of freedom in Mexico and the building of a great trade union movement has so changed the thought of the people of that country that it would be today impossible to provoke misunderstanding between the two peoples through the misrepresentation of any group. The two labor movements, representing the backbone of both population, understand each other and have every confidence in each other. It is that condition that the Pan-American Federation of Labor aims to create throughout all Latin America, bringing the peoples together in understanding from the frozen northern boundaries of Canada to the last outpost of civilization at the southern tip of South America.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor conceives it to be its duty to promote freedom and democracy on these two united continents and in that freedom to erect a trade union movement that will guarantee freedom and democracy.

The labor movements of the United States, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Santo Domingo, Guatemala, Colombia and Porto Rico were represented by a total of twenty-six representatives.

Fraternal delegates present were: A. B. Swales and C. T. Cramp, representing the British Trade Union Congress; Peter Grassman, representing the German Federation of Trade Unions. These delegates conveyed fraternal greetings to the Congress. Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers Education Bureau, brought a message from the workers' education movement.

The Cuban representatives could not reach there in time to participate in the deliberations of the Congress.

The delegation representing the American Federation of Labor was composed of Samuel Gompers, James Duncan, Frank Morrison, Matthew Woll, Martin F. Ryan and John P. Frey.

Important decisions of the Congress occurred upon resolutions. Of primary importance was the declaration dealing with the nature and activities of the trade union movement. This declaration will serve as a guide to many of the workers in Latin-American countries where the movement is just taking shape and direction.

The Congress approved the principle that Labor ought to be represented in connection with the consular service of all countries. The Congress endorsed the principle underlying the Pan-American Union as of importance in developing effective world organization and urged upon the labor movements of Latin-American countries to promote the best development of the Pan-American Union and recommended to national labor organizations that they endeavor to secure representation on their national delegations participating in the Latin-American financial conferences.

The Congress placed itself on record as opposed to secret treaties.

The Congress recommended that an effort be made to help the trade unionists of Pan-America develop constructive policies for dealing with the immigrants from Jamaica and Barbadoes, brought to Panama for the construction of the Panama Canal.

The Congress elected the following officers: Chairman, Samuel Gompers; Vice-Chairman, Luis N. Morones; Treasurer, Matthew Woll; English-speaking Secretary, Chester M. Wright; Spanish-speaking Secretary, Canuto Vargas.

It was decided to hold the next Congress in Washington in 1925 in deference to the late Samuel Gompers, but his death following this Congress, as related elsewhere, made necessary the selection of another chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Accordingly, a meeting was held in the American Federation of Labor Building on February 20, 1925, in which the labor movements of the United States, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Venezuela and Porto Rico were represented by delegates. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, was duly elected chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor by unanimous vote, upon nomination made by the Mexico Federation of Labor. On the second meeting held on February 23, 1925, he was duly installed as chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Canuto Vargas, Spanish-speaking secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, having been appointed as Labor Attaché to the Mexican Embassy at Washington by the President of the Mexican Republic, resigned his position as secretary. The Mexican Federation of Labor was requested to nominate a successor and proposed the name of Santiago Iglesias, President of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor, for

Spanish-speaking secretary of the Federation. He was appointed and arrived in Washington July 21, 1925, to take charge of the office.

Following the conference between the Mexican Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor on Immigration a meeting of the Executive Committee was held in Washington, D. C., August 28, at which all officers were present. As the meeting was the first held since the death of the first president of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, the first action was to authorize the secretaries to draft memorial resolutions.

The meeting considered the possibility of developing plans to organize the workers of all Pan-American countries and directed that everything possible be done within the resources of the Pan-American Federation. So far as the resources of the Federation will permit and so far as its influence can be made felt through correspondence every effort will be made to carry out the declarations of the Mexico City Convention.

The Executive Committee discussed fully the financial resources of the movement. It was decided that the question of deciding the date of the next convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor should be postponed until after the Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L.

Mexico

In addition to the activity reported under the section on Pan-American Federation of Labor the following international records are of historical importance as disclosing American Labor's concern for international justice and peace.

When the Secretary of State issued a public declaration which seemed likely to jeopardize the amicable relations and good will existing between the peoples of Mexico and the United States, the President of the American Federation of Labor sent the following letter of inquiry to the Secretary of State:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 15, 1925.

SIR: It is with the gravest concern I have followed the statements issued by you on behalf of the American government and by President Calles on behalf of the Mexican Republic. Your statement came with most startling surprise because of the friendly relations of mutual faith and good will existing between the people of this country and the people of Mexico and the economic rehabilitation of Mexico which has been in progress in Mexico under Presidents Obregon and Calles.

As you know, no other group of American citizens has done more to make possible a situation in Mexico under which constructive development is possible than the American labor movement. Because of the sense of very grave responsibility that I feel as the official representative of the American Federation of Labor, I wish to be in a position to decide wisely policies concerning not only the millions that constitute the labor movement of the United States, but our fellow workers in the labor movement of Mexico. At the earliest opportunity that it has been possible for me to do so, I am seeking from you such additional facts and information as will make it possible for me to interpret your public statement on relations with Mexico. If it is not incompatible with the best interests of our country, I should appreciate it very much if you will let me have specific instances of cases of failure to secure proper indemnification of property losses in Mexico and especially would I like to have the details of the specific instance cited in which the Mexican government at the request of Labor took over property for which no compensation has been made. Of course, I know there are exigencies of state which make it impossible at times for an official to disclose information but as the matters of complaint to which your statement makes reference are concerned wholly with adjustment of property claims there seems to be no impropriety in the request hereby submitted.

I am seriously concerned that there should be even the implication that our government would lend aid and support to a movement against the constitutional government of Mexico. It is unthinkable that our government

should contribute to the development of a situation that might lead to military intervention in Mexico and I hasten to seek information that may clarify the situation.

Respectfully,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

Honorable FRANK B. KELLOGG,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

President Green had conferences with Secretary Kellogg in which the whole international situation with Mexico was fully discussed.

Because American Labor deems it essential that understanding and good will be maintained between the peoples of Mexico and the United States, a conference between representatives of organized labor seemed expedient to prevent misunderstanding attending the declaration of Secretary Kellogg. In addition to this purpose, there was need to discuss another problem in which labor interests were vitally concerned, a greatly increased Mexican immigration into the United States stimulated by the operation of the selective immigration law, which gives exemption to native born Mexicans from quota restrictions. President Green felt that constructive results would be forthcoming through discussion of resulting immigration problems by the organized labor movements of Mexico and the United States. He proposed to the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana a conference on immigration, suggesting that if an agreement could be reached between the two labor movements much could be done by advising workers as to how to protect their own best interests through voluntary cooperation and pursuance of any policy agreed upon and also that the labor movements could recommend to their respective governmental authorities whatever policies Labor might determine were for the best interests of their respective nations. The Mexican Federation of Labor accepted the conference suggestion and a conference was held in Washington, August 27, 1925.

The Mexican delegates to that conference were Luis N. Morones, Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor of Mexico, Eduardo Moneda, Secretary of the Confederacion Obrera Regional Mexicana; Alberto Mendez, Orizaba Federation of Labor. The representatives of the A. F. of L. were William Green, President, and also Chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor; Frank Morrison, Secretary, and Matthew Woll, Vice-President and Treasurer of the Pan-American Federation of Labor; Santiago Iglesias and Chester M. Wright, Secretaries of the Pan-American Federation; Canuto Vargas, former Secretary and now labor attaché to the Mexican Embassy and Clemente M. Idar, organizer, A. F. of L. were also invited to participate in the discussions of the conference.

The conference lasted through two days and adopted the following recommendation:

Time and experience have demonstrated that the progress of mankind, ethically, spiritually and economically, is best achieved under the great principles of freedom, democracy and the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

History shows the constant tendency of man to congregate in groups and the beneficial results of such groupings are clearly discernible throughout the ages. Groups everywhere strive to create their own cultures, to cultivate their own lands, to create their own institutions and establish their own customs. Always they seek means of protecting their group integrity and the integrity of their boundaries.

We hold that the ultimate condition of mankind should be such that all men should enjoy the greatest possible right to travel freely to every part of the world in pursuit of happiness and well-being. But we assert that there is an obligation, universal in character, which makes it obligatory upon every person to refrain from so ordering his movements or his conduct as to endanger the standards and conditions of life and the progress achieved on the part of any group which he may seek to enter. And groups have the right to protect themselves against such intrusion.

There is, we maintain, a further obligation upon every individual which makes it a duty to work within his own group for the safeguarding of the standards and conditions built up elsewhere; and instead of seeking improvement elsewhere at the expense of others it is his duty to work for improvement within his own group. The duty of his group is but an enlargement of his individual duty, identical in principle. Nationhood is but another term for group.

Thus we have presented to us what we know as the problem of immigration and emigration, complex and difficult, but resting in its entirety upon the principles which we have just stated.

Our conference considered both of these problems as joint phases of a single problem. Furthermore, the problem was considered in its relation to the economic organizations of the workers with their voluntary character and methods and in its relation to the state with its machinery for action in the political sphere.

On the subject of immigration we feel deeply the necessity for careful consideration by every nation of the effect of incoming peoples on moral, physical, political and economic integrity.

Hitherto nations throughout the world, including our own nations, have sought only to exclude other peoples, either partially or wholly, wisely or unwisely. Nations have acted solely on the defensive. They have failed to recognize their own obligations to restrain their own people from moving across boundaries in such a way as to menace the conditions of life and the institutions of other peoples. We believe we can now set up at least in the Western Hemisphere this great principle of self-restraint and we recommend to this conference the establishment of that principle. In this way there is brought into being an abandonment of the principle of compulsion and the adoption of the principle of voluntary action which underlies our labor movements and governs our action as trade unionists.

We call upon the American Federation of Labor and the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana to press their respective governments for adoption and enforcement of this new principle of voluntary restraint.

While we recognize clearly that at all times each nation must be the final judge of what constitutes a menace to its standards and its institutions, we are confident that the labor movements of our two nations, working in cooperation and with a common ideal in mind, can arrive at conclusions and agree upon measures that will meet the requirements of the time. Human progress is always best safeguarded by agreement and cooperation and we believe this field is a proper one for the exercise of those qualities.

We appreciate fully the instructions which impose upon us the duty to prepare specific recommendations as a basis for legislative or executive action on the part of our respective nations. We are, however, of the opinion that definite recommendations can not be set forth at this time. There are various reasons for this, chief among them being our lack of sufficient detailed information.

We find another road to our goal and we ask for it consideration. We recommend, therefore, the creation of a joint commission to represent the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana and the American Federation of Labor for the continuous study of immigration and emigration, and problems arising therefrom, to work through the Pan-American Federation of Labor, for the continuous study of the question and for the preparation of satisfactory detailed recommendations or measures for submission to the governments of the respective countries by the respective labor unions.

As an immediate means of safeguarding and improving the moral, material and civil conditions, of the workers of both countries we urge and recommend that workers crossing international boundaries immediately join the union of their trade in the country to which they go and abide faithfully by the laws and rules of the movement to which they go and we pledge our efforts to the full to bring about observance of this principle by our

respective affiliated memberships. In that manner we can give a large measure of protection to the economic, social, civil and political institutions of both countries and assist in the development and advancement of our respective peoples in accordance with their own requirements and ideals. We shall by this means also promote mutual good will, respect, understanding and confidence.

In conclusion we believe it appropriate to include in this report a renewal of our long-standing pledge of brotherhood, mutual good will and confidence and lasting friendship. As the years have passed we have witnessed the great mutual advantage of our faith in each other. We have learned to place in each other implicit faith and confidence and we have seen the great practical results which have had their genesis in this fraternal relation, as well as the great spiritual satisfaction which it has given to us. Upon each succeeding occasion we come together in better understanding and with fuller knowledge and we look to the future with confidence and supreme faith. It is with pride that we face the world in this harmony of understanding and idealism, calling upon the workers of all countries to know each other and to give their energies to the promotion of human progress through a common idealism and mutual understanding and good will.

The above agreement was unanimously approved and signed by the following:

Representing the American Federation of Labor:	Representing the Mexican Federation of Labor:
WILLIAM GREEN	LUIS N. MORONES
FRANK MORRISON	EDUARDO MONEDO
MATTHEW WOLL	ALBERTO MENDEZ
SANTIAGO IGLESIAS	CANUTO VARGAS
CHESTER M. WRIGHT	ROBERTO HABERMAN
CLEMENTE N. IDAR	

After adopting this declaration the conference instructed the chairman of the Pan-American Federation to appoint a commission of four to carry out its purpose. It was agreed that Mr. Green take up with the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana by correspondence designation of two representatives of Mexico and upon receipt of that information announce the commission.

China

A traditional relationship of good will between the United States and China has made for friendship between our two nations. Because of the spirit of its national culture, China has long been non-military and self-sufficient. Century-old practices and traditions remain regardless of changes in the outside world. The national wealth of China and the potentiality of her trade induced foreign nations to attempt to get trading footholds in China. The efforts of Great Britain to establish trading advantages led to the opium war which established the precedent of treaty ports. Treaty ports were virtually taken from under the jurisdiction of the Chinese government and given to foreign nations. Foreigners living within these ports were subject not to Chinese law but to the law of their own countries. These foreign nationalities built up vested trade interests in and about these ports. There also developed the practice under which the tariffs on imports into China are collected by foreign countries. These two practices constituted a serious invasion of the sovereignty of China and have contributed to a situation that makes impossible the establishment of an effective national government for China. The treaty ports have grown to more than forty-nine in number. The course followed by the United States with regard to its indemnities growing out of the Boxer uprising laid the foundations for a strong feeling of friendliness to the United States and the education of many of the youth of China in American schools.

Since the revolution that overthrew the Chinese ruling dynasty, an effort has been made to establish a Chinese Republic. Out of the rebellion came a division of the nation and two governments were established, one for North China and the other for

South China. For a time these were united under the one president, but the government proved inadequate and again divisions developed. However, there is a nationalist movement in the making in China with the development of which has grown resentment of invasion of Chinese national rights through treaties and other policies of force.

With the extension of the organization of industry and commerce to a world basis, the desire to exploit Chinese labor has steadily increased. The Chinese, with standards of work and life much lower than those in countries where power and machinery are used in industrial production and where organization of labor is powerful enough to protect the workers, have been cruelly exploited in factories built in treaty ports and elsewhere in China by foreign capital. The most revealing, efficient account of conditions of labor in Chinese factories is in the report on child labor in Shanghai made by the Child Labor Commission appointed by the municipality. The report disclosed shockingly degrading conditions of work and standards of pay. The commission which was composed of foreign and Chinese members, found a revolting system of child labor that practically constituted child slavery. In some instances it was found that factories negotiated with parents for the labor of their children paying them but a small sum per month, and taking charge of the children. Other children come to the factories with their parents. Some are employed regularly and others give what assistance they can to the parents. The twelve-hour workday is the rule. In cotton mills night work prevails—in the silk mills it is unusual. It is quite common to see children six years of age in the mills. In the silk mills one child is usually employed for every two adults.

The average wage in China varies from sixteen shillings to thirty shillings a month with a subsistence level of over thirty shillings a month. Skilled male textile workers at Shanghai earn from ten pence to one shilling six pence per day and women earn from nine pence to one shilling. The highest paid workers in China are locomotive engine drivers who earn twenty-five shillings a week. In central China the wages of skilled cotton operators vary from eight shilling to fifteen shillings a week (\$1.94 to \$3.65).

In 1923 the Peking government formulated a labor code but the code has remained ineffective. Two of the greatest obstacles to industrial labor reform are that there is practically no regulation of labor in any port in China, there is no system of education for children of wage earners, and labor organizations have hardly yet begun. The first trade unions were formed in 1919.

The International Conference called by President Harding for Washington in 1921 considered both limitation of armaments and the Pacific problem. Under the latter head both tariff and extra-territoriality were considered and a resolution adopted by the nine participating nations providing for the convening of a commission in ninety days to consider plans for the abolition of the practice of extra-territoriality in China. For various reasons these pledges were not fulfilled.

In the meanwhile foreign capital was being increasingly used in internal development in China both industrially and for the development of mineral resources. The financial problems of China were virtually taken over by the bankers' consortium. This consortium consists of seven British, nine French, thirty-eight American, and seventeen Japanese bankers. There has been growing in China a student movement consisting of patriotic Chinese educated both in the United States and in Chinese schools. There have been an increasing number of foreign colleges and universities established in China. Many of the most beneficent of these have been medical schools. Recent outbreaks in China have been the result of all of these influences for discontent. The recent bloodshed in Shanghai was precipitated by an industrial revolt to which the nationalist movement contributed.

Appreciating that the situation was of that nature which could be utilized by radical propagandists if constructive and humanitarian organizations did not offer a helping hand, President Green addressed the following letter to President Coolidge:

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
July 10, 1925.

SIR:

On behalf of the American labor movement I wish to urge for your favorable consideration and speedy action that the United States take the

initiative in calling an international conference to make plans to abolish extra-territorial rights in China.

Since the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments and Political Questions in the Pacific and Far East convened at our invitation in 1921 provided for the appointment of a commission to study this subject and that action was not carried out, there devolves upon us a responsibility for keeping the faith with China and the friends of international justice to see to it that the intent of that pledge is redeemed. For the declaration was in fact a pledge of help to China then struggling with the problems of reorganization as well as to countries participating in the conference which wished to assure China opportunities for self-development and reorganization.

There is every reason to believe that the fundamental cause for present disturbances in China is due to special privileges given foreign nations in treaty pacts and that the abolition of extra-territorial rights of foreigners is necessary to China's administrative integrity and sovereignty. The Chinese are an ancient and honorable people who have developed a distinctive culture or rare qualities and they have a right to demand the respect and deference accorded to national sovereignty.

Because of the fact that present political provocations have paralleled the coming of trade unions in Chinese industrial development, and the struggle of Chinese wage earners for industrial justice and civil rights is projected into the international problem, it is most important and necessary for fully balanced consideration of the whole question that representatives of wage earners participate in this inquiry. We urge that the initiative be taken by the government of the United States in calling an economic conference to consider the Chinese situation and that this provision for labor representation be incorporated in the conference invitation extended to the countries. Ratification of the Washington treaties by France makes a strategical opportunity for such action.

Our American trade union movement believes firmly that our Republic stands for ideals of human justice and equality of opportunity for all and that these ideals must direct not only national policies but our relations with other countries. The Chinese situation is an opportunity for further application of these ideals and Labor earnestly desires that our country act in conformity to the highest ideals of humanism and constructive program.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

HON. CALVIN COOLIDGE,
President of the United States,
White House, Washington, D. C.

The letter was given to the press and following its publication representative Chinese organizations sent messages of appreciation. Copies were also sent to representative trade unionists in Japan and in the Philippines with the request that the message be placed in the hands of Chinese trade unionists. A copy was also sent to the office of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

WARNING AGAINST COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES

Among the pitfalls threatening unwary trade unionists are communists organizations and activities operating under names adroitly designed to suggest identification with the bona fide trade union movement. By such deceptions a number of trade unionists and labor organizations have been misled into supporting efforts seeking to overthrow our unions and our purposes.

These organizations assume to speak in the name of labor and attempt to arrogate to themselves labor's functions, but it is the familiar attempt of the wolf to disguise himself as a sheep in order to make a more strategic attack on his prey.

Among such undertakings against which we hereby give specific warning are:

International Labor Defense Council, The American Negro Congress, the Irish Workers and Peasants' Famine Relief Committee, The International Workers Aid and the Workers Party. These choices of field activity are indicative of the methods of the communists. They seek out those races and groups with grievances and foster discontent in the hope of inciting uprisings and riots. They endeavor to destroy efforts for constructive development in order that there may be more discontent and hopeless rage against wrongs. Whether sincere in their belief in the need for world revolution or only maliciously promoting trouble, communists seek first the overthrow of the bona fide labor movement.

Communists carry on their propaganda through the following agencies: The Trade Union Educational League, which promotes communism under the deceptive title, makes virulent attacks on the trade union movement and its leaders; the Workers Monthly, which is somewhat more refined in methods but identical in purpose; The Amalgamationist, prepared for the printing trades; The Progressive Building Trades, intended to promote trouble among the workers in that industry; The Champion, which is the organ to promote the American Negro Congress and The Daily Worker, a daily newspaper. They also publish a long list of books including fairy stories for children which put communism in a form to lodge in children's minds.

We warn all trade unions against the above activities and publications.

In order to prevent similar communist trickery from capturing any trade union support, we urge all unions before committing themselves to undertakings with which they are not thoroughly familiar, to make inquiry first from the office of the American Federation of Labor.

Trade unionists should also be on their guard against not only the propaganda of communist and pseudo-labor organizations, but also against their efforts to collect money avowedly for purposes beneficial to Labor but actually for the benefit of individuals and purposes subversive to the trade union movement itself. The activities of the trade union movement are limited in many ways by lack of funds and whatever surplus money trade unions have ought to be contributed to agencies of which they have knowledge and in which they have confidence, rather than to take the chance of supporting a hostile movement by making contributions to organizations that are not vouched for by the legitimate labor movement.

We recommend to all trade union organizations that before they enter into commitments of any kind with organizations and movements of which they do not have personal information and which have not been approved by the American Federation of Labor, that they first make inquiry of the representatives of the American labor movement.

Caution saves serious mistakes.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO CANADIAN TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS

The El Paso convention elected Charles H. Moyer, president of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress at Ottawa, August 31, 1925. Owing to matters which developed in his own organization, requiring his undivided attention, Mr. Moyer tendered his resignation. We selected Vice-President James Duncan to fill the vacancy.

ORGANIZERS

Year by year in our annual report we have never failed to pay meed of tribute to the faithful, loyal, self-sacrificing work of the volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor. This report would be incomplete did we omit to record the expression of our gratitude for their untiring services in the cause of labor.

The volunteer organizers are paid no salary. They work at their trades and callings for the support of themselves and those dependent upon them. In their hours of leisure which otherwise would be devoted to amusement, relaxation, entertainment they go hither and thither seeking out those wage workers who have failed to identify themselves with the unions of their trades and callings, urging, persuading, admonishing them to stand by their fellows not only for the support of the organized labor movement but for the protection of their own interests by united effort in trade

union activity; encouraging the weak and hesitant, inspiring the indifferent and careless, preaching the gospel of organization and yet more organization.

This labor movement of ours is the result of sacrifices and concentration of heart and mind and soul to bettering humanity. In the summing up of the labor movement and its accomplishments, the appreciation and gratitude of organized labor can not be too generously given to these loyal, faithful workers, they who so patiently and untiringly have done so much to make possible our successes and to direct our movement along the road of progress.

LABOR PRESS

Improved labor conditions and the consequent social advancement of the masses are not brought about by acquiescence in the free play of so-called "economic laws," but by a deliberate effort on the part of organized labor. The official trade union publications are a necessary and growing power in this conscious effort for human progress.

The influence of the labor papers is not restricted to the organized workers, but affects the views and judgments of our entire people.

With many questions vitally concerning the workers and the public unsettled, with open and underground attacks on the labor movement and our fundamental American institutions persisting and developing, the labor papers become sentinels constantly on guard for the instruction of the masses and their protection from those predatory economic, political and judicial interests who are always at war against the cause of humanity.

Service to the labor movement and mankind is the purpose of the labor press. We commend their efforts during the past year and urge that wholehearted support be given them for the militant work now calling for the mobilization of all our powers.

LABOR'S MEMORIAL SUNDAY

More and more we as a nation and as a great, free, independent people, rich and poor, capitalist and labor, the learned and the ignorant, the wise and the foolish, the high and the low, without consideration of possessions, achievements, dignity of position or influence, on each recurring 30th of May gather together or take our solitary ways to those sorrowful paths beneath the cypress and the yews, there to pay our tribute of respect, love and reverent memory to those who have gone out into the Great Silence.

There is yet another day which we of the labor movement have by official act dedicated to reverent memories—the fourth Sunday in May, Labor's Memorial Sunday. It is on this day that the men and women of labor should meet and by appropriate ceremonies express their tributes of memory of those who have gone on before in the great work for humanity.

We urge continuance and greater observance of Labor's Memorial Sunday.

LABOR SUNDAY

Our convention in 1909 in response to the increased interest manifested by the clergy and the church in the study of labor problems, officially designated the Sunday preceding the first Monday in September as Labor Sunday. It is fitting that one special Sunday should be set apart dedicated to Labor, to the consideration of and meditation upon the great achievements which the people may yet attain, the lofty ideals to which they may aspire, the inspiration which is to be found in the contribution made by the organized labor movement to the safety, welfare and happiness of our whole people.

The goal of the labor movement acknowledges no limit, it seeks the complete human ideal, economically, ethically, spiritually. That the men and women of the church have come to a better understanding and a more sympathetic interest in the hopes and the aspirations of the labor movement augurs much for greater cooperation of effort among these two groups of our social life.

We urge that our people in all sections of the country should each year fittingly and appropriately observe Labor Sunday, the day preceding Labor Day.

LABOR DAY

On October 9, 1884, during our convention in Chicago, the first declaration was made for the inauguration, establishment and observance of Labor Day. That declaration

ration was in the form of a resolution unanimously adopted by the convention as follows:

Resolved, That the first Monday in September of each year be set apart as a laborers' national holiday, and that we recommend its observance by all wage workers, irrespective of sex, calling or nationality.

The American Federation of Labor, its officers and affiliated organizations were untiring in their efforts to have the Congress of the United States and the state legislatures take such action as would translate into legal form the convention declaration.

The federal law was enacted in 1894. That applied to the District of Columbia and the territories. All of the states have placed upon their statute books laws making the first Monday in September a legal holiday, known as Labor Day, except Wyoming and Wisconsin. This is made by proclamation from the governors year by year.

Labor Day is now one of the great national holidays. There is no hamlet so remote, no village so small, but that Labor Day is observed in some form or another.

Having in mind the generally accepted aspect of Labor Day as a great joy-making holiday, apprehensive of its spiritual significance becoming more and more lessened, the Executive Council in 1914 gave expression to a declaration which, because of its application to conditions now as much so as when first uttered, we most solemnly repeat and urge the thoughtful consideration of every delegate here present, every affiliated organization and every member thereof. That declaration reads:

Shall Labor Day lose its distinctive character and become a mere holiday for general meaningless purposes and for the exploitation for private profit?

Labor Day belongs to the working people of America. It is for them to determine its value and significance. Those outside the labor movement test its strength and virility by the way in which Labor Day is observed. Their test is justified by the fact that the power of the labor movement consists in its appeal to the hearts, minds, and wills of the workers. Rouse the working people to a sense of their rights and interests, and the labor movement becomes an irresistible power for their realization.

In the labor movement as in every human endeavor we become familiar with the heart forces and the ideals that brought the movement into existence, and sometimes forget that these spiritual forces must be revived and nourished or they wither and die. Some labor organizations have fallen into this error. They have abandoned regular Labor Day demonstrations, parades, meetings, addresses, in the belief that such expenditure of time, effort, and money is wasteful. This is a most serious mistake.

Such labor demonstrations are not wasteful and they do pay even if only through publicity for the cause of Labor. Men and women marching shoulder to shoulder typify impressively the purposefulness and the unity of the labor movement. They are a physical demonstration of devotion to principle—a proof that none can fail to understand. Observance of the day is a means of educating public thought and agents for molding public opinion in regard to the principles and purposes of the labor movement. When our movement is understood it will be recognized and established as a potent agency for justice and humanity. The objections and opposition now interposed by employers will no longer be tolerated.

No human movement remains at one level—it must increase or it must decrease. As new members come into unions, they must learn the traditions and ideals of the cause of Labor. The spirit of fellowship and the brotherhood of man are the life of the labor movement. If this life be not nourished, the whole will become as a dead thing.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor urges that every central body plan to make observance of the coming Labor Day, demonstrate to the whole nation the dignity, strength, and importance of the labor movement, and to make the spirit of the day of such a nature that every worker shall appreciate more keenly the value of his union and shall be ready to perform his duties with greater enthusiasm and more perfect understanding.

Labor Day typifies a movement for life and humanity. Do not pervert it. Each city central body and all organized labor have a duty to perform.

We urge that that declaration again be given the heartiest commendation of this convention.

CONCLUSION

To recapitulate: We have reported on the work done and progress made by the American Federation of Labor under the following activities:

Union membership, which for the first time since 1920, shows an average increase over the preceding year of 12,318.

Financial statement, which shows \$213,053.80 in the general fund.

A. F. of L. Building with \$12,841.42 in the building fund.

Changes in Federation officers and appointment of Samuel Gompers' Memorial Committee.

Under International Relations, we relate our efforts through the Pan-American Federation of Labor and on behalf of justice for Mexico and China.

In the economic field we report our efforts to adjust problems arising between national and international unions, organization activity, and new industrial developments.

Under legislation we enumerate legislative proposals in which labor was concerned together with their present legislative status and our organization for non-partisan political action.

Under information and education we report our various methods of promoting an understanding of labor's fundamentals and methods both within and without the labor movement, the undertakings through which we seek to develop more educational opportunities for all and recommendations for a study of all that is involved in promoting recreation and leisure for all.

In the legal field we report our legal information service to labor unions and our efforts to develop a better understanding of labor's legal rights and interests.

We urge observance in spirit as well as in letter of labor's ceremonials and special days as well as constant vigilance in defending and promoting the trade union movement.

We make this report on our trust during the past year for the purpose of advising American Labor of past achievements as well as to indicate policies for the future. As Labor becomes increasingly potential in national affairs it is proportionately important that we plan wisely and purposefully upon a basis of carefully assembled information.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.

JAMES DUNCAN,
First Vice-President.

FRANK DUFFY,
Second Vice-President.

T. A. RICKERT,
Third Vice-President.

JACOB FISCHER,
Fourth Vice-President.

MATTHEW WOLL,
Fifth Vice-President.

MARTIN F. RYAN,
Sixth Vice-President.

JAMES WILSON,
Seventh Vice-President.

JAMES P. NOONAN,
Eighth Vice-President.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Treasurer.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor.

President Green announced that copies of the report of the Executive Council would be distributed.

Following is a list of subjects in the report of the Executive Council assigned by President Green to the appropriate committees:

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council

Steam Engineers' Extension of Jurisdiction.
Teamsters—Railway Clerks.
Teamsters—Street and Electric Railway Employees.
Machinists and Blacksmiths—Street and Electric Railway Employees.

Legislation:

Protection for Longshoremen.
Workmen's Compensation.
Unemployment Benefits and Old Age Pensions.
Compensation.
Railroad Labor Legislation:
Railroad Labor Board.
Western Wage Movement of Engineers and Firemen.
Court Decisions Hold Labor Board without Power.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Introduction.

Official Changes.

Death of Samuel Gompers.
Samuel Gompers Memorial Committee.
New Economic Developments:
Personnel Research Federation.
New Labor Problems.
Trade Union Statistics.
Company Unions.
Employers' Insurance.
Employee Ownership.
Labor Banks.
Union-Management Co-operation.

Wages.

Union Label and Organizing Campaign.

Legislation:

Contempt of Court.
Conscription.
A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign.
Panama Canal Zone.
Injunction Abuses.
Legal Information Bureau.
Warning Against Communist Activities.

Referred to Committee on Organization

Organization of Women Wage Earners.
Organizers.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies

Recreation.

Referred to Committee on Education

Legislation:

Department of Education.
Compulsory Education.
Registration of Trade-Marks.
Mothers' Pension.
National Conservatory of Music.
Child Labor.

Education:

Committees on Education.

Educational Policies.

Social Studies.

Uniform Educational Laws.

Workers' Educational Bureau.

Fourth National Convention Workers' Education Bureau.

Workers' Colleges, Study Classes and Educational Committees.

Education Week.

Library Cooperation.

Research.

Samuel Gompers' Fellowship.

International Summer School.

Assistance to Graduate Students.

Information and Education Work:

A. F. of L. Publicity Service.

American Federationist.

American Federation of Labor Weekly

News Service.

Pamphlets and Organizing Literature.

Legal Information Bulletin.

History, Encyclopedia and Reference

Book.

Library.

American Legion.

Labor Press.

Labor's Memorial Sunday.

Labor Sunday.

Labor Day.

Referred to Committee on State Organization

Legislation:

Porto Rico.

Lincoln's Birthday.

Legislation in the States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation

Legislative Achievements.

Legislation:

Favorable Legislation Enacted.
Bills Favorable to Labor that Failed to Pass.

Hostile Bills Defeated.

Registration of Aliens.

Muscle Shoals.

Exclusion of Aliens.

Retirement Law.

Deportation of Aliens.

Immigration.

Sales Tax.

Ship Subsidy.

District of Columbia Citizenship.

Vise Fees.

Farmers' Relief.

Steel Baggage and Express Cars.

Tax Exempt Securities.

Transportation of Strikebreakers.

Convict Labor.

Farmers and Labor.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations

Legislation:

International World Court.

International Labor Office.

International Labor Relations:

Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Mexico.

China.

President Green: It has always been customary for the conventions of the American Federation of Labor to present to the fraternal delegates who attend the convention special badges. It is a beautiful custom which we have followed without inter-

ruption for many years. We have special badges for the fraternal delegates attending this convention. One of the delegates from the British Trades Union Congress will not arrive until Tuesday or Wednesday, but Brother Ben Smith, M. P., is here and I will take advantage of this opportunity to present to him this special badge we have prepared for him. When the other fraternal delegates arrive we will present to them their special badges.

I now take great pleasure in presenting to Brother Ben Smith, of the Transport and General Workers' Union of Great Britain, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, this special badge; and to Brother Donald Dear, Vice-President International Association of Fire Fighters, Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades Labor Congress, a similar badge.

Resolutions

The following resolutions were introduced and referred to committees:

Requesting a Letter to Central Labor Unions Urging Them to Organize Laundry Workers

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union has not increased its membership during the past year, principally on account of the fact that it is not in a financial condition to place any organizers in the field; and

WHEREAS, A large majority of the City Central Labor Unions have an Organizing Committee, whose object is to organize the non-union workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to have a letter written to all City Central Labor Unions requesting them to bring to the attention of their Organizing Committee the possibility of establishing a Local Union of Laundry Workers in their city.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Opposing Any Effort to Foster Militarism

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegates M. Zaritsky, M. Zuckerman and N. Spector of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The 15th Biennial Convention of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The Citizens' Military Training Camps are run jointly by the employers through the Military Training Camps Association and the War Department, for the purpose of giving military training to and developing a spirit of militarism in the working people, so that they may be used as cannon-fodder to promote the imperialists' ambitions of Wall Street, many of whose leaders include labor hating open shop employers who are on the Advisory Board of the Military Training Camps Association; and

"WHEREAS, The Military Training Camps Association practically determines the policy of the training camps and uses them in an attempt to foster its open shop campaigns, and is trying to bribe the workers by offering them a month's vacation for the special purpose of attending these camps, because they consider the military training as a good investment to undermine organized labor; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That this 15th Biennial Convention of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union condemns all attempts to foster the spirit of militarism through a Citizens' Military Training Camp or other means; and, be it further

"RESOLVED, That our delegates to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor introduce a resolution to this effect"; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is pledged to promote international peace and good will among the nations upon the basis of full and unqualified national self-determination for all the peoples of the world; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 45th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor again goes on record as vehemently opposed to any attempt to foster the spirit of militarism, whether it be through the Citizens' Military Training Camps or through any other means.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Declare the National Woolen Mills of Parkersburg, West Virginia, Unfair

Resolution No. 3.—By Delegates Thomas Sweeney, C. N. Bolander and Gust Soderburg of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, That the National Woolen Mills, of Parkersburg, West Virginia, declared for a non-union shop on January 24, 1925, thereby locking out 184 members of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America; and

WHEREAS, All efforts on the part of the Union, and of the most highly respected citizens of Parkersburg have failed to induce the National Woolen Mills to recede from its determination of enslaving the workers in a so-called open shop; and

WHEREAS, An accommodating Judge issued a restraining order, forbidding the workers from peacefully advising any and all persons of the actions of the management of the National Woolen Mills, also known in the South as the Whatley, Inc., Tailoring Company; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Delegates to the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, October, 1925, deem it the duty of all Central Labor Unions, State Federations of Labor, Federal Labor Unions, and all National and International Unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, to render all assistance in their power to the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and its subordinate Local No. 350 of Parkersburg, West Virginia; and further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council issue instructions to National or International Unions of Clothing Workers affiliated to

the American Federation of Labor, that the National Woolen Mills of Parkersburg, West Virginia, is on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.
**Urging Assistance of Affiliated Unions for
 Organization Campaign Among
 Office Workers**

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Ernest Bohm of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646:

WHEREAS, To carry on an effective, persistent campaign of organization among office workers, the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 needs the full support of organized labor, and let it be said to their credit, practically every influential labor man and woman in New York City has given our organization his moral support. But because in a few instances labor men have asserted that our membership is made up almost entirely of workers employed in offices of unions, labor banks or offices closely allied with labor, that none but such offices have been organized, and that the union has accomplished nothing for other office workers, we believe it is our duty to bring the following facts to your attention:

The B. S. & A. U. 12646 has carried on considerable educational work among the office workers. Every well informed labor man realizes the difficulty of organizing the "white collar" workers, and while we have in our union a very small percentage of the 500,000 office workers employed in New York City, our agitation has been effective in a number of instances.

During the past year tens of thousands of circulars, especially directed to office workers, have been printed and distributed. From time to time considerable newspaper publicity was obtained. Wall Street was "invaded" by a corps of girls, members of the union, to advertise the union. Open air meetings have been held in the financial district.

If results were to be judged only by the number of clerks who joined the union, it would appear that the agitation had been almost a failure. But we have some accomplishments to our credit.

Our attack on the "bonus" plan created a furore in the financial district. The Journal of Commerce on November 21, 1924, carried a long article discussing the attitude of the banks and the union, and stated in a caption: "Question Urgent Due to Plans for Unionizing." Charles E. Mitchell, President of the National City Bank, employing about 3,000 clerks, was forced as a result of the discontent to give up the bonus scheme, and, instead, raised the salaries of his clerks.

Most of the open air meetings conducted by the union were alongside of the New York Stock Exchange. We learned that the management, finding their clerks restless, also increased salaries, and formed a company union, to keep them from joining a bona fide labor organization.

If additional proof was required that our meetings were effective, it can be found in the fact that a Deputy Police Commission-

er, a stock broker, ordered policemen to stop our meetings.

And we did get some direct results, organizing clerks in several offices having no connection with organized labor, one of them being the Bank of Athens, on Pine Street, one block from Wall Street, where about 20 clerks obtained substantial increases in pay, and forced the management to engage additional workers to do away with overtime.

Only a few years ago the office employees of the Bush Terminal called upon us for assistance. We held a meeting with them, and were about to present their grievances to the employers, when they learned of the movement, and granted the increase.

About the same time the office workers in the Maiden Lane district, employed in the jewelry business, asked for our aid. We gave them the benefit of our advice, printed circulars for them, and held meetings. Again, the employers granted the demand of their clerks.

Only a month ago about 20 employees of the Public National Bank walked out. They communicated with us, we held a meeting, our representative spoke up for them to the bank officer in charge, the bank was picketed, their grievances were adjusted, and the strikers were taken back.

It is the old story. Every international union has had the experience, spending much effort and money, and through agitation in a certain locality bringing about an increase in pay and bettering the conditions of workers, who, for various reasons, often do not join the union. But this has not dismayed the union. It has kept up its efforts.

We were ready when the call came from the clerks employed in the dairy industry. With the aid of the Milk Drivers' Union, we organized over 1,000 clerks, conducted a two day strike, won recognition of the union, increases in pay and improved working conditions. Perhaps a similar opportunity will come again.

If you think our work is worth while, and that we should keep up our agitation among the "white collar" workers; Be it

RESOLVED, By this 45th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. at Atlantic City, N. J., that the affiliated unions render all moral assistance in our organizing campaign.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Urging Demand of Union Labelled Wall
 Paper**

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate C. A. Alexander of the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America:

WHEREAS, It is not generally known that WALL PAPER that is UNION MADE can be purchased in every city, town, village and hamlet in the entire United States and likewise in many Canadian cities; and

WHEREAS, The spreading of this information throughout the length and breadth of the Labor Movement will be of inestimable help to the embattled Wall Paper Trades who have become embroiled with a number of Wall Paper Manufacturers more than four years ago, when the latter, believing their

opportunity was at hand to crush Organization and Unionism within the Wall Paper Industry, joined in the so-called "Open Shop Drive" by locking out all of the union employees at their mills; and

WHEREAS, A number of those manufacturers have stubbornly refused to consider any proposal leading to the re-establishment of friendly relations with the Union or to consider agreements similar to those in existence with Union manufacturers of Wall Paper; and

WHEREAS, Their stubborn resistance has caused the struggle for the preservation of our Union to go on unabated during the past four years, at the cost of great sums of money and inestimable sacrifices by members of the Union who are still loyal to the principles of Trades Unionism and who are still hopeful of ultimate victory; and

WHEREAS, Our Fellow-unionists, Officers of the various Unions and Delegates to this, the forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, can be of great help to us in bringing this long-standing struggle to a successful termination by giving this resolution publicity throughout their respective Organizations and by urging upon their membership the importance of giving preference in the selection of Wall Paper to the products of the Union Mills; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the great loyalty of the membership of the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America to the principles of Trades Unionism shall be encouraged by the full moral support of this Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That at some convenient time following the close of this Convention a communication shall be sent out by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to all City Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor and through those several channels urge upon the entire Labor Movement to confine purchases and selections of Wall Paper strictly to papers bearing the Union Label of the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America or the names of one of the following Union Wall Paper Manufacturers on the margin of the rolls.

List of Union Wall Paper Manufacturers:

- Barnes Wall Paper Co., York, Penna.
- Becker, Smith & Page, Phila., Penna.
- Robert F. Hobbs, Inc., Beverly, N. J.
- M. H. Birge & Sons, Inc., Buffalo, N. Y.
- Henry Bosch Co., Chicago, Ill.
- Chicago Wall Paper Manufacturing Co., Steubenville, Ohio.
- Commercial Wall Paper Mills, Chicago, Ill.
- Furlong Wall Paper Mills, Phila., Penna.
- The Gilbert Wall Paper Co., York, Penna.
- James E. Gledhill & Sons, Cohoes, N. Y.
- The Robert Graves Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Grant Lakes Wall Paper Mills, Chicago, Ill.
- The Robert Griffin Co., Jersey City, N. J.
- Saratoga Wall Paper Co., Saratoga, N. Y.
- Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill.
- Thomas Strahan Co., Chelsea, Mass.

York Card & Paper Co., York, Penna.
York Card & Paper Co., Chicago Branch, Chicago, Ill.

York Wall Paper Co., York, Penna.

All others are unfair to the United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.
Respectfully submitted,

United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.

EDWIN GEUTZLER, Secretary.

C. A. ALEXANDER,

Vice Pres. and Representative

Referred to Committee on Labels.

To Amend Constitution to Provide That State and Central Bodies May Seat Delegates of Women's Union Label Leagues and Auxiliaries With

Voice and Vote

Resolution No. 6.—By Delegate Henry F. Hilfers of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor:

Amend Article 14 of the Constitution by adding new section to read as follows:

State Federations and Central Bodies may admit to membership Women's Trades Union Label Leagues and Women's Auxiliaries of bona fide trades unions affiliated and represented to State and Central Bodies.

Such Women Trade Union Label Leagues and Women's Auxiliaries to be entitled to one delegate with voice and vote.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

To Instruct Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872 to Confine Work to Jurisdiction Granted by Charter

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate William Kohn of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Federal Union No. 14872, located in Chicago, Illinois, is still infringing and interfering with work covered by jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, In accordance with resolution 148, adopted at the Buffalo Convention in 1917, they were instructed to confine their work to the jurisdiction covered by their charter; and

WHEREAS, In accordance with resolution 25, adopted at the El Paso Convention in 1924, conferences were held; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at a regular session held at Washington in May, 1925, has definitely decided that Federal Local Union No. 14872 Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers be directed to carry out the action of the Buffalo Convention and to confine their work to that covered by the jurisdiction specified in their charter granted by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers Local No. 14872 be instructed by this Convention to confine their work to the jurisdiction for which their charter was granted and failing to do so within thirty (30) days after the adjournment of this Convention,

the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to revoke their charter.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Requesting That Affiliated Unions Be Circularized Asking Members Not to Subscribe to Magazines Printed by the Crowell Publishing Co. of Springfield, Ohio

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate James P. Holland of the New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Crowell Publishing Company of Springfield, Ohio, refused to employ union labor in the production of the following magazines: American Magazine, Collier's Weekly, Farm and Fireside, Mentor and Woman's Home Companion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Atlantic City, N. J., that the secretary of this body be instructed to send these resolutions to each affiliated organization with the request that no member of organized labor subscribe for any of the above magazines or periodicals until the unfair course of the Crowell Publishing Company is changed and union people are employed in the production of the above named magazines and periodicals; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the labor press of the Nation and also a copy to the president of the International Typographical Union.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Calling for an Investigation of the Acts of Public Printer Carter in the Administration of His Office

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate James P. Holland of the New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is alleged that Public Printer Carter in his discharge of the employees of the Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C., violated every phase of the Civil Service Law; and

WHEREAS, It is alleged that Public Printer Carter advertised over the country with blazoning posters the opportunity for life-time employment in the Government Printing Office, and in the face of these advertisements discharged, without notice and without charges, many employees who would have received the pension in a few months, disregarded ratings of employees, discharged and refused to re-employ ex-service men who, under the law, were to have preference; and

WHEREAS, It is alleged that Public Printer Carter is not a practical printer as the law requires; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., that we call on the President of the United States to order an investigation of the office of public printer; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United

States, to the Senators and Congressmen, to the Labor Press, to the Typographical Journal, to the President of the International Typographical Union and the President of Washington Typographical Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Endorsement of Retirement Plan Agreed Upon by Governor Walker and Panama Central Labor Union for Canal Zone Government Employees

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate W. C. Hushing of the Panama Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Secretary of War has gone on record as favoring, for U. S. Government employees on the Canal Zone, a much more liberal retirement plan than for similar employees in U. S. Government service in the U. S.; and

WHEREAS, The Governor of the Canal Zone and the Panama C. L. U. have agreed upon a plan which is much more liberal than any plan yet proposed or likely to be proposed for U. S. Government employees—as a whole—in the near future; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the plan agreed upon between Governor Walker and the Panama C. L. U. be endorsed by this Convention and that the officers of the A. F. of L. render all possible aid to make it law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Organization of Bank Clerks

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate J. Shafir, of the Bank Employees' Association No. 17709, Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. by granting charters to the four Bank Clerks' Unions now in operation realizes the importance of organizing these exploited workers; and

WHEREAS, The existing bank clerks' locals are not financially strong enough to support organization campaign independently; and

WHEREAS, Under the existing trade conditions the bank clerk has to be extremely cautious on the question of Unionism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. appoint special organizers for the year 1926 in the cities of New York, Chicago, Cleveland and Philadelphia to give their full time to organizing the bank clerks and that organization committees be organized of delegates representing the more influential unions in those cities to help in the organization campaign.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Recommending That Labor and Cooperative Banks Employ Union Bank Clerks

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate J. Shafir of the Bank Employees' Association No. 17709, Chicago, Illinois:

WHEREAS, Organized labor has entered into the field of banking and insurance; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor is supposed to set an example to the community in general of what the conditions of labor ought to be; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. at its

regular convention assembled recommends that all labor and cooperative banks have their employees organized into the existing union of bank clerks (or office workers if bank clerks' union is non-existent) and that no bank deserves the support of organized labor whose staff does not belong to the union of bank clerks or office workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Proposing That Jurisdiction Over Colored Freight Handlers Be Withdrawn From Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Albert C. Campbell, of the Freight Handlers' Union No. 17775, Kansas City, Mo.:

WHEREAS, That the Colored Freight Handlers of America affiliated with the A. F. of L. and under direct jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks are without direct representation on account of the Laws of Railway Clerks Brotherhood that prohibit such; and

WHEREAS, At the convention at Montreal in 1920 the A. F. of L. accepted a resolution of the Colored Freight Handlers to have the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to accept them; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks requested the Colored Freight Handlers to wait until the Dallas Convention at which they promised to settle the question involved, the introducer of this resolution being a delegate from the southwest representing the Colored Freight Handlers, was not allowed to enter the convention or permitted to carry the issue before the committees; and

WHEREAS, As an organizer for the A. F. of L. and knowing what detriment it is to have such existing friction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the present convention take immediate steps to straighten out the conditions and have the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to waive jurisdiction over the Colored Freight Handlers and the A. F. of L. give them a charter or place them in an organization where they can have direct representation.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Proposing That Canal Zone Employees Be Excluded From Any Uniform Leave Law for Government Employees

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate W. C. Hushing, of the Panama Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, A movement is now under way to place upon the statute books a law granting uniform leave to all employees of the U. S. Government; and

WHEREAS, The leave now granted to employees of the U. S. Government, on the Canal Zone, is the result of twenty years' experience as to the needs of these employees in tropical service; and

WHEREAS, The leave now granted is satisfactory to both U. S. Government Offi-

cials and the employees concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the employees of the U. S. Government, on the Panama Canal Zone, be excluded from any uniform leave law for U. S. Government employees; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the A. F. of L. stand instructed to aid in carrying out the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing That Steps Be Taken for Removal of George H. Carter From the Office of Public Printer

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Wm. S. Sampson, of the Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the conduct of the Government Printing Office Plant at Washington, Public Printer George H. Carter has been guilty of many actions detrimental to the best interests of organized labor, especially that of the printing industry; and

WHEREAS, Columbia Typographical Union No. 101 is demanding the removal of said Public Printer, George H. Carter, from the responsible position which he holds; and

WHEREAS, The interests of all who toil will best be served by his removal, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as supporting Columbia Typographical Union No. 101; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take such steps as it deems necessary to aid in such removal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting That Affiliated Unions Be Called Upon to Protest to the Crowell Publishing Company Its Attitude Toward Union Printers and Mailers.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate James M. Lynch, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The Crowell Publishing Company, publishers of Collier's Weekly, the American Magazine, the Woman's Home Companion, Farm and Fireside, and the Mentor, early in 1924 locked out for no justifiable reason the union printers and mailers engaged in its plant at Springfield, Ohio, and despite the repeated efforts of representatives of the International Typographical Union to peacefully adjust the difficulty, has since been conducting these two departments—composing room and mailing room—on a non-union basis with out-of-town strikebreakers and boys; and

WHEREAS, Because of the fair-dealing of the International Typographical Union, attested to by thousands of employers throughout the United States and Canada; because of the munificence of the International Typographical Union as exemplified in its splendid system for training of apprentices, making of them useful citizens

and good craftsmen; its establishment and long maintenance of a home for its aged and infirm members, not to speak of its pension system and its other humanitarian projects, it is obvious that the Crowell Publishing Company's refusal to deal with that union—particularly in view of the editorial utterings of the company's chief product, *Collier's Weekly*, to the effect that industrial disputes are harmful and should always be adjusted through conciliatory means and by application of the Golden Rule—is not only inconsistent but is unfair and unwarranted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor calls upon its affiliated unions, their members and families, their friends and all lovers of fair play and honest dealing to protest to the Crowell Publishing Company against its refusal to permit the union printers and mailers of Springfield, Ohio—natives and long-established residents of that city and who were formerly the loyal, faithful and competent employees of the concern—to now work in its establishment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be furnished the daily press and the labor press for publication, and that all other honorable means be used to acquaint the reading public of America with the attitude of the Crowell Publishing Company in the matter of its relationship with the International Typographical Union.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Proposing An Investigation of Charges Against Public Printer George H. Carter.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate James M. Lynch, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the International Typographical Union, by unanimous vote of the delegates representing that organization's locals in the United States, endorsed resolutions charging that Public Printer George H. Carter is not a practical printer; that he holds that important post in the Government service despite the law (revised Statutes of the United States, volume 19, page 105), which provides that the official in charge of the Government Printing Office "must be a practical printer and versed in the art of book-binding"; that he, acting as Public Printer, violated the law of the United States by lowering the term of experience required of printers for employment in the Government Printing Office from four years to two years; that he, early in his administration of the Government Printing Office, established a spy system, than which there is nothing more un-American in the galaxy of things, by which spy system he greatly impaired the printing efficiency of the office and the morale of the employees thereof, the reports of the tale-bearers and stool pigeons apparently having more to do with

one retaining his position or rating than any competency or lack of competency he might possess; that on several occasions the said Public Printer has wantonly and without reason scandalized the employees of the Government Printing Office, notably at Atlantic City, N. J., on May 23, 1924, where, in a carefully prepared speech, which speech was broadcast by the Associated Press, he stated among other things that he had been compelled to discharge 268 employees of the office in his campaign to rid it of graft, corruption, gambling, bootlegging, etc., which statement he must have known to be false, because in his report to Congress dated December 31, 1924 (more than seven months later than his Atlantic City speech), it is shown that only about one hundred employees (to be exact, eighty-one plus "about a score") had been discharged to that time for all causes; that he has, without any justification whatever, vilified Columbia Typographical Union No. 101, of Washington, D. C., and has refused to treat with its officers or committees in any manner, and has shown his antagonism at all times to the said Typographical Union; that such antagonism makes him a menace not only to the Typographical Union but to all unionism; that he placarded the post-offices, custom houses and other public places throughout the United States with posters advertising for printers to work at the Government Printing Office, holding out in said posters false promises of permanent and lucrative employment to all who would accept same, well knowing at the time that the promises were false and that a large reduction of force was in sight even while the advertising campaign was in progress; that after this advertising campaign, and on March 7, 1925, he summarily discharged, without any notice whatever, 127 printers, many of them grown old in the service of the Government; that these men were good printers almost without exception; that their only offense apparently was that they were members of the Typographical Union and would not stultify their principles by acquiescing in the Public Printer's un-American conduct of the Government Printing Office; that he has by his vicious and intolerable actions brought about a condition in the Government Printing Office that makes it a detestable place in which to work; that this condition is evidenced by the fact that all who can are finding work elsewhere, even though such action brings about the sacrifice of many years' service records and a possible retirement annuity in later years; that the foregoing are only a few of the instances which could be cited of the unfitness and incompetency of Public Printer Carter to be head of the Government Printing Office, in which capacity he is virtually the master of the destiny of more than four thousand American citizens; that that position should only be held by one with ability, experience in the handling of men and business, tolerance of the rights of others, and, above all else, the qualifications required by the law of the land,

and that the present Public Printer measures up to none of these specifications; and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned delegates to the International Typographical Union convention also passed resolutions protesting against the retention of George H. Carter as Public Printer as a violation of the laws of the United States, and as a menace to an efficient, economical and fair public service, and calling upon the President of the United States to remove said Public Printer from office on the grounds that he is an ineligible, incompetent and intolerant public servant who has become a public tyrant; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, delegates to the

forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Atlantic City, N. J., hereby respectfully request President Coolidge to investigate the serious charges made by the Typographical Union against Public Printer Carter, and should His Excellency decline to do so, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to demand of Congress that an investigation be made by a committee of Senators and Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At 4.00 o'clock p. m. an adjournment was taken to 9.30 o'clock a. m., October 6th.

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Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 6, 1925.

Pursuant to adjournment, the convention was called to order at 9.30 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, October 5, by President Green.

Absentees

Myrup, Goldstone, Franklin, Dohney, Kasten, Tracy, Wm., Gochenour, Coulter, Conway, Noonan, Evans, E. J., Feeney, Snow, Huddell, Evans, D., Murphy, M., Cooley, Kauffman, Lucchi, Sigman, Bock, Chlopek, Wills, Fljozdal, Millman, Hill, Gorman, Lane, Kelly, M. J., Redding, Pattison, Moyer, Crough, Lewis, J. L., Murray, Farrington, Kennedy, Nesbit, Golden, Yarrow, Parker, Barry, Bergstrom, Berry, Burke, J. P., Sullivan, H. W., Olander, Austin, Cone, Sweeney, Manion, O'Connell, Nigro, Atkins, Kearney, Nelligan, Barringer, McAndrews, Steadman, McMullen, Kelley, J. R., Patton, Martel, Jones, J. E., O'Dell, Long, Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Hushing, Bower, Reed, Vaughn, Wood, R. T., Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, Peterson, McGeory, Tinney, Carozzo, Ruben, Geyer, Rogers, Simons, Camous, Miller, A. M.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Chairman Hirschberg reported as follows:

President Fitzgerald of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has made the request that E. A. Badley be substituted as delegate from their organization in place of J. H. Gochenour, who has been prevented from attending on account of illness.

We recommend that this request be complied with and the delegate be seated.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following letters and telegrams:

"Frank Morrison,

"Strand Hotel,

"Atlantic City, N. J.

"Owing to circumstances our organization can not be represented at the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. We hope to be represented at the next convention. Please express our sincere congratulations to the officers and delegates. We hope that your deliberations will be harmonious and bring still greater progress to the American Federation of Labor.

"J. EISENBERG.

"General Secretary-Treasurer,

"International Jewelry Workers' Union,
"Chicago, Ill."

"Frank Morrison,
"Secty. A. F. of L.,
"Atlantic City, N. J.

"Please convey to delegates assembled our hearty congratulations and best wishes for successful convention. May your deliberations be productive of a policy which will bring under the banner of the A. F. of L. the vast body of unorganized workers.

"T. G. FRESHNEY, Labor Commissioner,
"ROBERT SMITH, Deputy Commissioner,
"Cheyenne, Wyoming."

"Washington, D. C.

"President American Federation of Labor:

"National Executive Committee, Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress, send fraternal greetings and best wishes for a successful convention.

"THOMAS JOHNSON, Secretary."

Letters and telegrams were read from the following city officials, civic and fraternal organizations, asking that the 1926 convention be held in Sacramento, California: State Building Trades Council of California, Sacramento Federated Trades Council, Chairman Sacramento County Board of Supervisors, President Sacramento Kiwanis Club, Sacramento Rotary Club, Sacramento Lions Club, President Sacramento Clearing House Association, Sacramento City Manager, Sacramento Aerie No. 9, Fraternal Order Eagles, Sacramento Post No. 61, The American Legion, Sacramento Jobbers and Manufacturers' Association, Sacramento Hotel Men's Association.

The secretary also read a telegram from C. A. Cardwell, Secretary-Treasurer, Alabama State Federation of Labor; a letter from the Honorable John W. Smith, Mayor of Detroit, Michigan, and a letter from J. P. O'Connor, of the Chamber of Commerce, St. Petersburg, Florida. The writer of each of these communications invited the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1926 convention in his city.

Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business

Delegate Nicholson, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 5th, 1925, submit the following report:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9.30 a. m., and remain in session until 12.30 p. m., reconvene at 2.30 p. m., and remain in session until 5.30 p. m., except on Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9.30 a. m. to 12.30 p. m.

Rule 2. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall at the request of the chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to raise a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention. The committee recommends that this rule be strictly observed.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within thirty minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least thirty delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll-call has been taken and all delegates present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll-call ballot has been ordered no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Order of Business

1. Reading of minutes of previous session, which shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Reports of committee on credentials.
3. Reports of officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN SULLIVAN, Chairman,
G. H. NICHOLSON, Secretary,
HUBERT S. MARSHALL,
DAISY A. HOUCK,
J. J. SCULLY,
EDWARD CROUGH,
W. P. MCGINN,
WILLIAM KOHN,
WILLIAM LARKIN,
DAVID DUBINSKY,
JOHN COLLINS,
J. P. McLAUGHLIN,
W. R. WALDEN,
H. C. WENZEL,
WILLIAM LYONS.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Delegate Hirschberg, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your auditing committee, consisting of three duly elected delegates who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, wish at the outset to impress upon you, if possible, the magnitude of the machinery that is perpetuating the laudible idealistic efforts of the American Federation of Labor. It is, therefore, that we ask you to carefully peruse the following report that we have carefully examined and found to be correct, covering all fiscal transactions for the twelve months beginning September 1st, 1924, and ending August 31st, 1925.

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand August 31, 1924	\$236,645.47
Per capita tax	372,057.27
American Federationist	71,203.35
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	31,200.81
Initiation fees	10,531.50

Reinstatement fees	\$ 221.25
Supplies	6,953.78
Special assessment, freight handlers	118.95
Interest:	
Bank deposits	\$5,476.95
U. S. Liberty Bonds..	1,600.00
Canadian Victory Loans	825.00
	7,901.95
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L.	7,101.75
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued	2,361.85
	\$509,702.96
Total receipts	\$746,348.43

EXPENSES

General	\$429,912.96
American Federationist	66,691.96
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	30,303.00
Special assessment, Freight handlers	365.13
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	6,021.58
Total expenses	\$533,294.63
Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1925	213,053.80

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	\$ 11,024.43
In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	202,029.37
Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1925.....	\$213,053.80

Where Funds are Deposited and Invested

The bank balances of the secretary and the treasurer were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories.

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be deposited as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Tobin in the Union Trust Company, Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing cer- tificates	\$100,000.00
On deposit in the Indiana National Bank, subject to check	56,053.80
Liberty Bonds	40,000.00
Canadian Victory Bonds	15,000.00
On deposit in Riggs National Bank, sub- ject to check of Secretary Morrison.....	\$19,157.51
Outstanding checks.....	17,157.51
	2,000.00
Total	\$213,053.80

With respect to the U. S. Liberty Bonds and the Canadian Victory Bonds, as listed in this report, note is made of the fact that these were not presented at the time the Auditing Committee was in session, but it is understood that a certificate showing that they are on deposit as noted in report will be presented at the convention by a committee.

Minutes of the Executive Council of October 20th to 25th, 1924, were presented to the Auditing Committee and we noted that the following resolution was adopted:

Mr. William Green, Pres.,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir and Brother:

In accordance with the action of the Forty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in El Paso, Texas, November 17 to 25, 1924, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., at a meeting held in Washington, D. C. July 29 to August 4, 1925, decided that: "Vice-President Duffy be authorized to appoint two representative trade unionists at Indianapolis to be associated with him and jointly to examine into the bonds, securities and other funds in the possession of the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and that the three jointly make affidavit as to their findings and have it in the possession of the President of the American Federation of Labor at the Atlantic City Convention in October, 1925."

Following out these directions I appointed Thomas L. Hughes, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and James C. Shanessy, President, Journeymen Barbers' International Union, to assist me in examining the bonds, securities and funds in the possession of the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, and herewith attached you will find our report properly certified to.

With kind regards, I am,

Faternally yours,

FRANK DUFFY,

Second Vice-Pres.

American Federation of Labor.

Indianapolis, Ind.,

September 3, 1925.

To the Auditing Committee, Forty-Fifth Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor, Atlantic City, N. J.

Brothers:

The undersigned, in company with Daniel J. Tobin, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, visited the Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Indiana, on September 3, 1925, for the purpose of examining the accounts of the American Federation of Labor. We certify to the following:

Certificates of Deposit

8 certificates Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., \$10,000 each.....	\$ 80,000
4 certificates Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., \$5,000 Each.....	20,000

Total\$100,000

Liberty Bonds

2 Liberty Bonds, \$10,000 each.....	\$ 20,000
4 Liberty Bonds, \$5,000 each.....	20,000

Total\$ 40,000

Canadian Victory Bonds

3 Canadian Victory Bonds, \$5,000 each	\$ 15,000
--	-----------

Checking Account

Balance in Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Indiana, on August 31, 1925..	\$60,030.26
Less outstanding check to Secretary Morrison	5,000.00
	\$55,030.26

In transit between Washington D. C. and Indianapolis, received and deposited on September 2, 1925, as per attached statement from the Vice-President of Indiana National Bank.....	1,023.54
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Total\$56,053.80

Recapitulation

Certificates of Deposit	\$100,000.00
Liberty Bonds	40,000.00
Canadian Victory Bonds	15,000.00
Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check..	56,053.80
Total	\$211,053.80

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK DUFFY, Second Vice-Pres.
A. F. of L. Gen. Sec. United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of Amer.
THOMAS L. HUGHES, Sec.-Treas.
Int. Brotherhood Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablenmen and Helpers of Amer.
JAMES C. SHANESSY, Pres.
Journeyman Barbers' International Union

State of Indiana { ss.
County of Marion }

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3rd day of September, 1925.

My commission expires June 25, 1923.

JOSEPH O. CARSON,
Notary Public.

The Indiana National Bank
Indianapolis, Ind.,
September 3, 1925.

Mr. Daniel J. Tobin, Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Sir:

This is to certify that your balance as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at the close of business August 31st, as shown by our books, was \$60,030.26.

That a check you gave to Frank Morrison, Secretary, on Aug. 27th, for \$5,000.00, was paid by this bank on Sept. 1st., showing balance that date of \$55,030.26 and on Sept. 2nd you deposited \$1,023.54, leaving your balance \$56,053.80.

Trusting you will find this correct,
I remain,

Yours very truly,

G. F. PATTERSON,
Vice-President.

That Vice-President Duffy be authorized to appoint two representative trade unionists at Indianapolis to be associated with him and jointly to examine into the bonds, securities and other funds in the possession of the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, and that the three jointly make affidavit as to their findings and have it in the possession of the President of the American Federation of Labor at the Atlantic City convention in October, 1925.

The Auditing Committee approves of the action of the Executive Council in safeguarding the securities of the Federation.

Education Fund

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing co-operation upon the plan of the Rochdale Co-operative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including August 31, 1925, \$4,412.02, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to and including August 31, 1925, \$2,171.51, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1925, amounting to \$2,240.51. The name of Fund for Promoting and Advancing Co-operation was changed by order of the Executive Council to Education Fund.

Recapitulation

Total donations, April 1, 1918, to August 31, 1925	\$4,412.02
Total expenses, February 6, 1919, to August 31, 1925	2,171.51
Balance on hand August 31, 1925.....	\$2,240.51

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Since 1920 no contributions have been received, except interest which amounts to \$188.44 and the only expenses paid, amount to \$82.89. Copies may be had upon application to Headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Fund for Publicity Purposes

Total contributions received from international unions upon request of President Gompers, for publicity purposes, showed receipts from February 3, 1923, to and including August 31, 1925, \$12,396.10, and total expenses from March 26, 1923, to and including August 31, 1925, \$12,396.10, leaving the account squared on August 31, 1925.

Recapitulation

Balance on hand, August 31, 1924.....	\$9,588.77
Contributions, September 1, 1924, to August 31, 1925	401.10
Total	\$9,989.87
Expenditures, September 1, 1924, to August 31, 1925	9,989.87

Three itemized reports of the last three fiscal years of the receipts and expenses of this fund have been printed in pamphlet form and copies mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to Headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Contributions to American Federation of Labor
National Non-Partisan Political Campaign
Committee Fund**

Appeals were issued April 7 and August 13, 1924, by the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L. for contributions to assist in carrying out the instructions of the A. F. of L. convention, to defeat candidates for office hostile to the trade union movement, and elect candidates who may be relied upon to support measures favorable to labor. The total amount received in response to the appeals to carry on the 1924 Political Campaign from April 9, 1924, to and including August 31, 1925, was \$25,013.07, and expenses from July 11, 1924, to and including August 31, 1925, were \$25,013.07, leaving the account squared for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1925.

Recapitulation

Balance on hand, August 31, 1924	\$ 2,226.46
Contributions, September 1, 1924, to August 31, 1925	20,838.10
Total	\$23,064.56
Expenditures, September 1, 1924, to August 31, 1925	23,064.56

Two itemized reports of the receipts and expenses of this fund have been printed in pamphlet form and copies mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to Headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Woodrow Wilson Memorial Building Fund

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso convention, to all affiliated organizations for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College, Valdosta, Ga., to be used for such educational developments as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Contributions received from August 12, to August 31, amount to \$149.00.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Geneva, Switzerland, Labor Office Room
Fund**

On June 15, 1925, an appeal was issued for contributions to furnish a room in the newly erected International Labor Office Building, Geneva, Switzerland. This appeal was authorized by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at its February, 1925, meeting and Presi-

dent Green directed to proceed to collect the necessary funds. The amount to be not less than \$1,000.00. Contributions received from June 18, 1925, to August 31, 1925, amount to \$1,455.00.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**American Federation of Labor Building
Fund**

Balance on hand August 31, 1924.....	\$ 8,856.59
Receipts	28,144.79
Total receipts	\$37,001.38
Expenses	24,159.96
Balance on hand August 31, 1925.....	\$12,841.42
Recapitulation	
Receipts	\$37,001.38
Expenses	24,159.96
Balance on hand August 31, 1925.....	\$12,841.42

Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, subject to check (3%)	\$ 341.42
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, interest bearing certificates (4%)	7,500.00
Federal Farm Loan Certificates (4½%)	5,000.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1925.....	\$12,841.42

(See page 29, Executive Council's report, for itemized statement of receipts and expenses.)

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

We find the balance, \$12,841.42, invested and deposited as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., interest bearing certificates at 4 per cent	\$ 7,500.00
Federal Farm Loan Certificates, bearing interest at 4½ per cent	5,000.00
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., at 3 per cent interest subject to check	\$356.42
Outstanding checks	15.00
	341.42
Total	\$12,841.42

We also personally inspected and counted the Federal Farm Loan Certificates in the safe deposit vaults of the Mount Vernon Savings Bank of Washington, D. C., amounting to \$5,000.00 and the \$7,500.00 certificates of deposit and bank book, and found them correct.

We wish further to note that the balance, \$12,841.42 of this fiscal year is \$3,984.83 more than last year, which is a healthy condition.

We respectfully call to your attention the condition of the General Fund, the Federationist and the Trustee Fund.

The General Fund is rather low, due

however, to the extraordinary expenditures that we hope will not occur again for a long time. For instance the expenditures incurred through the death of our honored President, Samuel Gompers.

The Federationist shows a splendid improvement, beginning with the August edition. The General appearance is that of a classy magazine, and it is in a very healthy state financially.

The Trustee fund shows an increase of approximately \$4,000.00, showing that our Federation's building is more than maintaining itself. Brother Morrison took special pains in showing us through the entire building, which appeared to be kept in excellent condition. We noticed one item of expenditures, however, that did not appear to give proper results; that was the ice bill for the fiscal year, which amounted to \$486.40. We would suggest to the Trustees that an ice plant be placed in the building, if feasible. We doubt that it would be more expensive, and it would give better results.

In conclusion, permit us to state that we were deeply impressed with the efficiency of every department, the details of which were explained by Secretary Morrison. The courtesy extended and the assistance rendered us in our examinations speaks well for the prevailing spirit of the entire force and reflects credit upon President Green and Secretary Morrison, who are apparently continuing the policy of our departed leader, Samuel Gompers.

The following was appended to the General Auditors' report and sums up our findings of the audit:

"The undersigned committee has, in its examination of the above, concluded that not only is everything correct as indicated, but also that the manner in which the details are worked out leaves nothing to the imagination, and can be ascertained by the most inexperienced. In compliment whereof, our signatures are appended."

Respectfully submitted,

ADOLPH HIRSCHBERG, Chairman
GEO. T. WALKER,
HARRY C. GRIFFIN, Secretary.

Chairman Hirschberg moved the adoption of the Report of the Auditing Committee. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: Now may the Chairman, with your permission, interrupt the proceedings for just a minute while I present to you a representative of an organization playing an important part in the great German Federation of Trades Unions. I am sure there will be no objection on the part of any delegate to this procedure. We have been favored with a visit from a delegation of outstanding, loyal German trades unionists. They came to America for the purpose of making an investigation into the workings of our trades unions, into our economic, our social and our industrial conditions.

At my request they are visitors to this convention of the American Federation of Labor. There are fifteen delegates in this splendid group; they represent nine differ-

ent national unions affiliated with the German Federation of Trades Unions; one delegate represents a labor bank organized in Germany. We had the pleasure of meeting this delegation at our headquarters in Washington. The visit there was a very happy one, and I know it was very helpful. I extended to them, in behalf of the millions of trades unionists of America, fraternal greetings, and assured them of our deep interest in their general welfare and that we would extend to them every courtesy at our command.

We want these splendid men to investigate most searchingly into the work of our great American labor movement, not only as we work in the United States but as we work in the Dominion of Canada. We want them to find what there is good about us, and we want them to criticize where they find criticism is necessary. Our whole work is an open book. We do not profess to have reached the ideal; there are many wrongs in America that must be righted and the American labor movement is engaged in an effort to right these wrongs; but we are anxious and ready and willing that our friends from across the sea, from any nation under the sun, shall come here and investigate and understand the workings of our great labor movement.

This commission from Germany has delegated one representative to speak for them to this convention, and I have the very great honor and privilege of introducing to you Brother Fritz Tarnow who represents the wood workers' organization, who will speak to the delegates as the representative of our visiting delegation.

(Mr. Tarnow spoke in German, and his address was then translated into English by Mr. Franz Wendel).

Address of Mr. Fritz Tarnow

(Representing the Visiting Delegation of German Workers)

Mr. President and delegates to the convention: In the name and on behalf of the German delegation I thank you most heartily for the friendly welcome and reception, as also for the opportunity to appear here before this magnificent gathering. We are as yet only ten days in this country, but not any one day has passed without proofs of your fraternity and friendship and your great hospitality. In expressing our deep-felt and personal gratitude for this treatment, we are honored at the same time that we are able to convey to this convention the fraternal greetings of five millions of organized workers and employees of our German trade unions.

When our colleague, Grassmann, was at your last convention as fraternal delegate he was able to shake hands with Samuel Gompers, and we regret very much that we are not able to do so now, because for many years we knew that Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor belonged together, they were inseparable. You have lost your great leader, and one of our first acts after we put our feet on American soil was to make a trip to his grave, where we paid our respects and laid down a wreath as a token of honor and

gratitude on the part of the workers of all nations who are so deeply indebted to this great labor leader.

We have come to this country, not for the sole purpose of exchanging greetings, but in order to study the economic and social conditions existing. The boat which brought us to this continent bears the name of Columbus. This reminded me of the fact that America was discovered by Europeans in 1492, if my recollection is right, but today there are many people in our country who are of the opinion that it is very important to discover America once again, and you have perhaps noticed that after the war numerous new Colum-buses have been visiting this country. German employers have several times equipped expeditions to discover anew the present-day America for Germany. They have returned and reported a lot of things that seemed to us very curious.

As we have reason to believe that not everything is just as our employers have told us, we have undertaken this journey to find out ourselves what is tale and what is reality. They tell us America is a rich country, they can pay higher wages; Germany is a poor country and is not able to pay these high wages; the German workers must work longer hours and then they will earn the same money as the American workers. It would be too soon to form a final result of our impressions today, but this much we have already perceived within these few days, that the determination to make this trip was a very wise idea and that the experiences we are gathering here will be of the utmost importance and to the benefit of our trade union work at home. We believe that our employers or the representatives of those employers were bad spectacles when they visited this country, because we have already seen things quite differently. We shall be able to correct most of the false statements made by the representatives of our employers about the present-day America and we shall supplement their reports just there where our employers shut their mouths.

When Comrade Grassmann was here at your last convention he made accurate statements regarding the conditions prevailing in Germany which I shall not repeat. We in Germany have suffered severely during the time of inflation and at times we were almost strangled to death. Financially, our unions were completely ruined through the depreciation of our currency. During this time of our worst distress the Bolsheviks caused a lot of trouble. Bolshevism is a good religion for starving and despairing men. In the trade unions we do not want to drive the workers to despair, but we mean to better their living conditions, and in this useful work we have been disturbed many times by the Bolsheviks, but we have repulsed this wave in Germany and today they are quite insignificant and play only a very funny role.

Two years ago you could have bought with a few hundred thousand dollars the contents of all the safes and all the banking accounts of the German trade unions.

You will quite conceive that during that time, when we were crippled financially, some of our members ran away, the unions decreased in membership. However, we have not been discouraged, and as soon as we had again a stabilized currency and somewhat improved economic conditions there was a noticeable change for the better.

In 1924 the income of the unions affiliated to the German General Federation of Trade Unions amounted to 97,000,000 gold marks, that is to say, \$23,000,000. We are of the opinion that that is not very much, but still it is a good start.

The membership of the forty-one unions affiliated with our General Federation of Trade Unions is 4,400,000, and the membership of eight other unions (clerks, technical engineers, etc.) is 600,000, so we have in round figures 5,000,000 organized workers in Germany. If we multiply our total membership by four, that is to say, the members of a family, we have 20,000,000 people whose living conditions or standards of life are regulated and controlled by our trade unions. The total population of Germany is, as you know, 65,000,000.

Thus we have a great responsibility for the fate of these twenty millions, but we also claim to be recognized as an important factor within the economy and State, and just as President Green said yesterday, that the trade unions demand a better representation in the State and in the communities, so we demand the same in Germany. We are therefore in the same position as our fellow workers in other countries. They try to withhold our rights from us, and step by step we have had to fight for these rights.

We have made great headway in this direction through the abolition of the royal autocratic State and the establishment of a democratic Republic. The old rulers, of course, do not like the idea that the toilers of the State are no longer contented with waiting in front of the door, but that they even demand their place in the best room. Had we given the old rulers a chance they would have overthrown the Republic long ago, but they have not been able to do so in the past and will be less able to do so in the future, because the great masses of the German people reject the idea to accept again the old yoke of the regime of absolutism, and for another special reason, that the army of 5,000,000 trades unionists will defend the democratic Republic to the utmost, should the latter be in danger at any time.

We have been asked often in this country whether our Republic will endure. I can only say that in Germany itself, only fools and political blockheads still believe that it is possible to re-establish the old royal State, and that the number of these confused men is much smaller than is generally estimated by men from other countries. We, as trade unionists, defend the principles of democracy within the Republic because this form of society is one of the presuppositions for the establishment of reasonable and just social conditions. The

real democratic Republic must be a social Republic, and are as yet very far way from this aim. But we cannot get reasonable social conditions if the economic conditions remain unreasonable.

The greatest problem which has to be solved in Europe is the restoration of a sound economy, and this is not only an urgent necessity for Europe, but for the whole world, including America. Through the insane world war, barriers were erected between the nations which separate the national economies, and some of these barriers still exist today. It is the historical merit of labor in the different countries that they were the first who shook hands with each other across these barriers, and I believe we are one with you in the sentiment that peaceful cooperation is the best warranty for the welfare and the happiness of every nation.

We are convinced that we will learn a great deal in this country which will be of immense benefit for our future trade union work at home. If, besides this, our trip has contributed a little to strengthen the friendly relations between the trade unions of our two countries, so will this be a double gain.

Yesterday we heard from your President Green and other speakers words and sentences which were quite familiar to us and which would have been in right place in a convention of our German trade unions. You and we speak different languages, but the principles of trade unionism constitute a uniform international language, with a different accent, which we all understand.

May I conclude my remarks in the confidence that the deliberations of this convention will contribute to strengthen the power of the American workers in their social struggles, and may I express the hope that we shall soon have an opportunity to welcome your representatives to our country, there to repay the hospitality that has been extended to us in this country.

President Green: I know that the message delivered by our visiting brother from Germany strikes a most responsive chord in the hearts and minds of every delegate and visitor attending this convention. We feel that we have been greatly benefited and greatly helped by the instructive and inspiring message brought to us this morning, and we wish that these visiting brothers from Germany would transmit to the membership of the German Federation of Trade Unions our deep appreciation of their visit to us and of the fraternal greetings so cordially extended. We ask that they take back across the sea to those millions of militant trade unionists the fraternal greetings of this convention of the American Federation of Labor and our hearty good wishes for their success and their happiness.

We are not unmindful of the struggles and the difficulties which the German trade unionists have experienced for so many years. They have sacrificed, they have suffered, they have fought, and when it required the exercise of great patience and courage during the fight. It is a tribute to their loyalty to trade union principles and to trade union doctrines that through it all they kept the faith, holding fast to

the fundamental principles of trade unionism and emerging now, victorious and victors.

We want to promote and to intensify the friendly relationships so firmly established now between the working people of Germany and the working people of the United States. Happily, our good friend Peter Grassmann, who visited the El Paso convention one year ago, contributed heavily toward the promotion of understanding and good will between the trade unionists of Germany and the trade unionists of America. Now there has come to us, fortunately indeed, this splendid delegation of German trade unionists, supplementing and strengthening the work and service rendered by Peter Grassmann, so that I may truthfully say, as a result of your visit to us, the bonds of fraternity and understanding and brotherhood have been immeasurably increased.

We want to contribute our share toward the promotion of understanding, good will, solidarity and cooperation among the trade unionists of the world. Let those on the outside divide and fight; let them sow the seeds of discord as they will; but let the trade unionists of the world stand together in the promotion of good will and understanding. Through the mobilization of our economic strength, our moral and political influence, if you will, standing ever squarely and firmly upon the principles of trade unionism, we can make of the world a better place for people to live and we can bring to the struggling masses of all the nations of the world a new day and a better life.

We want to thank you for your visit, for your inspiring address, and we wish to again ask you to transmit to those whom you represent in Germany the cordial good will and best wishes of the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

I wish to announce that the organizations represented by our visiting brothers from Germany are the Miners, the Wood Workers, the Transport Workers, the Railway Workers, the State and Municipal Workers, corresponding to our Federal Employees, the Clothing Workers, the Brewery and Soft Drink Workers, the Clerks and Technical Engineers. Then the Federation of German Trade Unions—and the distinguished brother who is representing the Federation happens to be a Metal Worker. Then there is the representative of the labor bank.

I want to request that the representatives of these national and international unions will, as I know they will, assist the groups as they may divide to make special inquiries and special study of the methods employed and the procedure followed by these respective organizations. Some of the national unions have delegated special representatives to accompany these brothers, to act as interpreters, and to assist them in their nation-wide study of social, economic and industrial problems.

I want to call upon all our national unions, our State and Central Bodies, our Local Unions everywhere to meet these brothers as they travel from place to place and extend to them every facility for making the most comprehensive and all-embracing study of the problems in which they are interested.

President Green presented to the convention Mr. Arthur Purcell, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, who had not arrived in Atlantic City on the opening day of the convention. He stated that the Fraternal Delegates would address the convention on Wednesday afternoon. Convention badges were presented to each of the fraternal delegates.

Opportunity was given for the introduction of resolutions, and attention was directed to the time limit on Tuesday midnight for their presentation to the Secretary.

Announcement as to time and place of committee meetings were made by the various committee chairmen.

Protesting Selection Made of Hotel for A. F. of L. Convention Headquarters

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas F. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, and John J. McDevitt, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America:

WHEREAS, At the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the City of El Paso, in the State of Texas, representatives of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America addressed the convention and directed attention to the fact that our International Union had for more than three decades since it was chartered showed a most liberal and tolerant attitude so far as convention hotel headquarters were concerned. That on a number of occasions we frowned upon efforts made by some local unions, who were quite willing to annoy and harass officers and delegates because of convention arrangements which denied to these members of ours the recognition which they had been taught would be shown to them by the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, At the last referred to convention of the American Federation of Labor a direct appeal was made to the officers and members to co-operate with the officers and members of our International Union, to the end of making this, the forty-fifth annual convention of the A. F. of L., one which could not be accused of indifference to our interests; to in fact demand of the selected hotel for the convention headquarters; that its kitchen and dining rooms should be manned by trades unionists, members of our International Union, and that failing to so agree, that other quarters be selected for the housing of officers and delegates to the A. F. of L. convention; and

WHEREAS, We reported these facts to our last general convention held at Montreal, Canada, and that convention having positive information, that despite the efforts of their delegates to the convention of the A. F. of L. arrangements had been completed to house the officers and delegates in a hotel which by no stretch of the imagination could be regarded as favorable to the organized wage earners of the cater-

ing industry and members of our International Union; and

WHEREAS, With these facts before our general convention, the following resolution was presented and adopted without dissenting vote:

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Hugo Ernst, Local 30, San Francisco, Cal., and Agnes Quinn, Local 305, of Portland, Ore.:

RESOLVED, That our delegates to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to bring before the next convention of the American Federation of Labor a protest of the action of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor in selecting a non-union hotel as convention headquarters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates whose names are appended hereto, that they reiterate the appeal made to the El Paso convention, that henceforth trades union accommodations be made a part of any future convention arrangement for A. F. of L. conventions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Assist Metal Polishers in the Dispute With the Cribben & Sexton Stove Works

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates W. W. Britton and Ray Kelsay, of the Metal Polishers' International Union:

Thirty-five members of Local Union No. 6, of Chicago, went on strike at the Cribben & Sexton Stove Works at 9.30 A. M., Wednesday, September 16, 1925.

Our members made four major demands from the firm. First, the recognition of the Metal Polishers' Union, and the right of the polishers and buffers to organize. Second, the recognition of the shop committee. Third, the restoration of the \$1.00 per hour, day work. Fourth, the re-adjustment of the piece work prices so that it will be possible for a polisher to earn \$1.10 per hour.

Three years ago in the midst of a severe industrial depression the Cribben & Sexton Stove Works took advantage of the situation to discharge the union polishers and buffers, and fill their places with non-union men.

These original non-union men having gradually displaced from time to time until the present working force, while unorganized, were not the ones that took the places of the union men at that time.

During the three years of the "Open Shop" policy of the Cribben & Sexton plant, conditions in the polishing and buffing department had reached a hopelessly deplorable condition, where those working at our craft had nothing to hope for. The right of collective bargaining was denied these workers, and the company insisted on handling the workers in the polishing and plating departments in an absolutely arbitrary manner; stated that they would deal with each man separately and individually but would refuse to recognize either a committee or the union.

Then the company attempted to cut the day rate from \$1.00 an hour to 85 cents per hour, and the piece prices were arranged to suit the convenience of the company, and

at present it is impossible for a polisher to know what he will make working on the piece work basis; many of them averaging around 75 cents an hour; the union is now demanding a decent wage rate. The following is an example of the result of their treating with their employes individually:

The firm paid its laborers from 42 to 45 cents an hour and the highest rate of wages for the fastest stove mounter does not now exceed \$5.00 a day, while the company has employed a large number of women in its enameling department and these women on a piece work basis, by working very hard, are able to earn about \$25.00 a week.

The Cribben & Sexton Company manufactures gas stoves, ranges and furnaces. They all go under the name of the "UNIVERSAL."

WHEREAS, This is the only large stove shop that has taken this antagonistic attitude towards organized labor; and

WHEREAS, If an adjustment is not brought about, it may develop into another strike of the magnitude of the Buck Stove and Range Company of several years ago; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, direct the secretary to give this matter full publicity to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor by circular; and, be it further

RESOLVED; That the American Federation of Labor refer the matter to the Executive Council for the purpose of making every effort to adjust this strike.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Proposing Endorsement of Standard Bill Designed to Make Unlawful Individual Contracts Drawn to Prevent Union Membership

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates M. J. Keough, John P. Frey, Geo. E. McCaffrey, and G. W. Boswell of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Employers, guided by un-American policies, have endeavored to prevent their employes from becoming or remaining members of trade unions by compelling them to sign individual contracts; and

WHEREAS, These individual contracts force those signing them to surrender one of their most essential rights as freemen—the right to voluntary association, without which all other rights are modified or destroyed; and

WHEREAS, A Bill has been prepared which, when enacted by state legislatures will prevent the further use of individual contracts by hostile employers, this bill having been introduced in the Ohio and Illinois legislatures by the trade union movement in those States in the following form and language, to wit:

A BILL
Declaring provisions in contracts of employment whereby either party

undertakes not to join, become or remain a member of a labor union or of any organization of employers or undertakes in such event to withdraw from the contract of employment, to be against public policy and void.

Section 1. Every undertaking or promise hereafter made, whether written or oral, express or implied, constituting, or contained in, any contract or agreement of hiring or employment between any individual, firm, company, association, or corporation, and any employe or prospective employe of the same, whereby (a) either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises not to join, become, or remain, a member of any labor organization or of any organization of employers, or (b) either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises that he will withdraw from the employment relation in the event that he joins, becomes, remains, a member of any labor organization or of any organization of employers, is hereby declared to be contrary to public policy and wholly void.

Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse this measure and adopt it as the standard bill for the guidance of state federations of labor and all other trade union organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Declare The Holland Furnace Company Unfair

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates M. J. Keough, John P. Frey, Geo. E. McCaffrey, and G. W. Boswell, of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution, indicating the unfair attitude of the Holland Furnace Company towards organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The convention decided that the Holland Furnace Company would be declared unfair, if the officers of the American Federation of Labor failed to bring about an amicable adjustment of the differences which existed between the International Molders' Union of North America and the Holland Furnace Company; and

WHEREAS, Through the friendly efforts of President William Green a conference was held in the Headquarters of the A. F. of L., with the representatives of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, the International Molders' Union of North America, and the Holland Furnace Company; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this conference further conferences were held between the representatives of the International Molders' Union of North America and the Holland Furnace Company in Holland, Mich., which resulted in written and verbal agreements, for the purpose of establishing friendly relations; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the Holland Furnace Company immediately took steps which made it impossible to

carry out the provisions of the agreement;
and

WHEREAS, Their action was not only a violation of their agreement, but a dishonorable repudiation of their promises and avowed intentions of friendliness; and

WHEREAS, The attitude of the company's representatives has been flagrantly dishonorable, and in open violation of the spirit and the intention of the verbal and written understandings entered into, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Holland Furnace Company be declared unfair to organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Machinists Request That Steam Engineers Be Directed to Enforce Decision Rendered in Jurisdiction Dispute By Metal Trades Department

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates Robt. Fechner, Chas. W. Fry, Daniel Haggerty, William Larkin, Chas. F. Wills and Geo. W. Marshall, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The resolution quoted below was adopted by unanimous vote of the Metal Trades Department Convention held at Montreal, Canada, June 2, 1920, by mutual consent of the two interested International Unions; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers' locals have in some localities refused to comply with this decision, thereby causing strikes, etc., and loss of time and jobs to members of the Machinists' Union; and

WHEREAS, The International Officers have made an effort to carry out the decision, but to no avail, with some of their locals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fifth annual convention of the A. F. of L. instruct the officers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to take such action at their next convention as will make the action of the Metal Trades Department convention operative.

Resolution

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists has been granted and is now recognized as having jurisdiction over the building, assembling and erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories and elsewhere, where machinery is used and erected; and

WHEREAS, Several locals of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers are claiming, and in some localities are doing repairs on steam rollers and other engines, and general repair work on machinery; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the twelfth annual convention of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., held in Montreal, Canada, June 2, 1920, that where emergency repairs to engines are necessary and machin-

ists are not available, same may be done by members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; but where machining, fitting or general overhauling and repairing is needed, same shall be done by members of the International Association of Machinists; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be mailed by the Secretary of this Department to all Metal Trades Councils, and upon request of union employers for information of the action of this convention upon this resolution, same shall be furnished by the Secretary of this Department.

Washington, D. C., July 2, 1920.

This will certify that the above is an exact copy of the resolution adopted at the convention of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., at Montreal, Canada, June 2, 1920.

(Signed) A. J. BERRES,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Requesting Opportunity for Hearing of Venezuela Labor Delegations Before Pan-American Federation of Labor Prior to Publication of Report Covering Situation in That Country

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen:

WHEREAS, The forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously approved a resolution describing the alleged intolerable oppression under which the Venezuelan workers and the people are held by the present government, and calling upon the President of the American Federation of Labor to cause an investigation of these charges through the Pan-American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The large file of documents and affidavits now in the office of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the testimony of witnesses, and the fruitlessness of all attempts to establish direct communication with Venezuelan labor organizations, whose representative men in Venezuelan territory it is alleged may risk their liberty, and even their life, by the mere act of answering a letter of inquiry, all tend to prove the truth of the allegations embodied in the resolution, approved by the forty-third annual convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-fifth annual convention of the A. F. of L. to recommend to the President of the A. F. of L., before making public a complete report on the Venezuelan situation at whatever moment he should consider most opportune, that the representatives of the exiled citizens of Venezuela resident in the United States, be heard as well as any labor delegation that may be invited and sent from Venezuela organized labor, to appear before the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Favoring Transfer of Government Administration of Porto Rico from Bureau of Insular Affairs to a Civil Department

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias of the Porto Rico State Federation of Labor and F. Rivera Martinez, of the Central Labor Union of San Juan, Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, The War Department of the United States through the Chief of its Bureau of Insular Affairs has just made public that the only solution and remedy found by the War Department after over 25 years of administration of insular official affairs in Porto Rico to better the conditions of the people is to pour out of the Island at least 300,000 people into any other country; and

WHEREAS, The very bold statement of this Department proves conclusively beyond all doubts the inefficiency of this Department to deal with this colonial possession, its maladministration, unfitness and great failure, after over 25 years of the insular affairs of Porto Rico having been continuously under its unchecked control; and

WHEREAS, The Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Saint Paul, Minnesota, in June 10 to 20, 1918, unanimously adopted resolution No. 50 introduced by our late brother Samuel Gompers, reading as follows:

WHEREAS, The Island of Porto Rico, as a result of the war with Spain came under the control of the United States Government in 1898 and was governed directly by Federal representatives until 1917; and

WHEREAS, Congress by enactment of the so-called "Jones Bill", provided for the people of the Island citizenship and local self-government with the right to choose their representatives in both branches of the Insular Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that it is the sense of this convention that to continue the policy of keeping the Island of Porto Rico in the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department as a part of the military arm of the national government, is repugnant to every principle of our democratic form of government, especially now when one hundred thousand young men of that Island have registered under the selective draft act to make the world safe for democracy; and be it further,

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as the people of Porto Rico having been granted a civil form of government in harmony with our territorial form of government and being a law-abiding and peaceful race of people that this convention, through its officers, requests of the President of the United States to transfer the official governmental business of that Island from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to a civic department and in our judgment the Department of the Interior, which department has always had official supervision over all our territorial forms of Government; and

WHEREAS, We consider the time to be ripe enough to bring about the change as sought for in the above quoted resolution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor now ratify once and again its full endorsement of the principle involved in the above referred to resolution, and the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are earnestly recommended to insist upon reiterating to the President of the United States that such a change, as provided for in Resolution 50 of the Saint Paul Convention, be brought about at the earliest possible moment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Creation of Commission by Congress to Investigate Conditions in Porto Rico

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias of the Porto Rico State Federation of Labor and F. Rivera Martinez, of the Central Labor Union of San Juan, Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, The Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, in charge of all the official affairs of the Island of Porto Rico, General Frank McIntyre, has just issued for publicity a most gloomy statement to the effect that at least 300,000 native born Porto Ricans have to be taken from that Island to be sent to any other part of the world; and

WHEREAS, The Island of Porto Rico is rapidly and unceasingly becoming the property of a few financial interests and business corporations that have gained possession and taken hold of the soil and resources of the Island in violation of the Organic Law of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this concentration of the lands and financial powers by absentee landlords the bulk of the profits produced by the Porto Rican masses of laborers are never reinvested in the Island but in the continental United States, and foreign countries where absentee owners reside, and it is thusly seen that while a great increase in the wealth production of the Island is recorded the masses still remain and are left suffering in the most unbearable degree of poverty, hunger-stricken and industrially oppressed; and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department has ostensibly devised for this problem the heartless solution of separating 300,000 Porto Ricans from their native soil, because the withdrawal of wealth from the Island by absentee landlords makes their life untenable and their industrial development almost a dream; be it

RESOLVED, By this Forty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor in meeting assembled that the President of the American Federation of Labor be earnestly recommended to request the President and the Congress of the United States to create a Commission as soon as possible with full authority to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions as well as the general governmental affairs of the Island, especially the living and working conditions of the masses of laborers in Porto Rico, land and financial resources, and to ascertain how the Federal as well as the Organic Law of the Island have been continually violated by the big financial interests, corporations and

individuals which exploit the people of the Island to the discredit of our Nation, and be it further,

RESOLVED, That it is the earnest wish of the American Federation of Labor that such Commission may visit the Island of Porto Rico to make a thorough investigation as these resolutions urge that such a Commission may be composed of men who will not—as several commissions have done in the past—accept mere courtesies and superficial official declarations as sufficient evidence upon which to base their official conclusions and recommendations, but that the aforesaid commission be composed of Senators and Representatives capable of going to the very heart of things, to get the real points and views of men who toil in every kind of work and business, who know local conditions, who feel the real feelings of the people and who understand our local conditions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Erection of a Radio Broadcasting Station at A. F. of L. Headquarters

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Edw. I. Hannah, of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters:

WHEREAS, The radio is now being extensively used in a large number of the homes of mechanics, workmen and women, and others throughout the United States, and later, will be used universally; and

WHEREAS, This medium of transmitting information to the people of cities, towns, villages and rural places, which cannot be reached on such a large scale as the radio provides; and

WHEREAS, The radio is presenting an opportunity for business interests, amusement companies, political interests, government interests and churches of all denominations which seek the aid and co-operation of the people, to convey the quality of their respective occupations and professions; and

WHEREAS, It has always been alleged by representatives of organized labor that in large industrial disputes, strikes and lockouts, it is impossible to get before the public the facts and the truth of the disputes, strikes and lockouts; and

WHEREAS, The radio provides a medium of reaching a considerable number of people who are interested in public welfare, justice, liberty, and fair play; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., to direct its Executive Council to consider the advisability of erecting at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, in Washington, D. C., the capital of our nation, a broadcasting station to be used exclusively for labor's interests.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Prevent Repeal of Section No. 466 of Tariff Law

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The American Shipowners have, for a number of years, pleaded for an American Merchant Marine; and

WHEREAS, They are now showing their loyalty to the American Flag by having their ships repaired in foreign ports; and

WHEREAS, They are now advocating the repeal of Section 466 of the present Tariff Law on repairs to American ships in foreign ports; and

WHEREAS, The repeal of Section 466 of the Tariff Law will result in the closing of many shipyards in this country and thus further aggravating the present unemployment situation of the shipbuilding and kindred trades; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor now in session protests against the repeal of Section 466 of the Tariff Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to do all in their power to prevent the repeal of Section 466 of the present Tariff Law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Assist Bookkeepers and Stenographers' Union No. 12646, in Dispute With Ladies' Garment Workers' Local No. 22

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646:

WHEREAS, On April 28, 1925, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 notified Julius Portnoy, Secretary and Manager of Dressmakers' Union No. 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, that two non-union office workers were being employed in violation of the agreement existing between the two unions; and

WHEREAS, Julius Portnoy continued to employ these non-union workers, and finally on June 18, 1925, locked out the union office workers; and

WHEREAS, Attempts were made by Organizer Hugh Frayne, of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 to settle the controversy amicably, but failed for the reason that Secretary Julius Portnoy and Assistant Secretary Charles Zimmerman apparently avoided a conference; and

WHEREAS, After consulting with Organizer Hugh Frayne, it was decided that Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 declare a strike against Dressmakers' Union No. 22, I. L. G. W. U.; and

WHEREAS, During the strike two of our members, Elsie Meyers and I. M. Alstein, were induced by the officials of Dressmakers' Union No. 22 to desert their union and act as strike breakers; and

WHEREAS, Other non-union workers have been employed by Dressmakers' Union No. 22 in defiance of our request that the agreement be lived up to; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, in an effort to settle this serious controversy, addressed a letter to a group

known as the "Committee of Fifteen," stating that since they had established peace between the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Joint Action Committee, we directed their attention to the non-union conditions existing in Dressmakers' Union No. 22, and asked that our agreement be made effective by the re-employment of the union workers and the discharge of the strike breakers, setting October 3, 1925, as the date for their reply; and

WHEREAS, No reply has been received, and the matter is still unsettled; and

WHEREAS, This action on the part of the officers of Dressmakers' Union No. 22 is contrary to all union principles, inasmuch as employers who violate agreements with unions and operate open shops are condemned, and certainly union officials should not set such a bad example; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City, N. J., that the officials of Dressmakers' Union No. 22 be condemned for their action unbecoming union men; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this case be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor so that he may render all possible support and assistance to the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 in its struggle to maintain and uphold the ethics and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Proposing That International Unions Assist in Erecting a Memorial to Labor in the Cathedral of St. John The Divine, New York City

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Jerome B. Keating of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York:

WHEREAS, There has existed for a number of years a very friendly co-operation and interchange of ideas between the two great modern forces seeking to permanently establish truth and justice in our country, namely: the organized bonafide labor movement of America and the organized churches movement of our country; and

WHEREAS, This co-operation has been exemplified on the part of the church movement in the several splendid reports after the careful investigation by the Federal Council of Churches of industrial conditions existing in the steel and other industries—this co-operation tending to establish public opinion favorably as to the justice of the claims of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, There has been a general movement for the establishment of Labor Sunday preceding our Labor Day where services are held for all peoples in order that the great mass of our citizens might know and understand the aims and objects of labor—the most notable of these services being the address of William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, at the special service held in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Labor Sunday,

1925, where he joined with Bishop Manning concerning the relationship of Labor and the Church; and

WHEREAS, The unusual character of this special service is indicated by the representation of organized labor of Greater New York, in a committee cooperating to complete the Cathedral, which without a question is the largest in the United States, and is said to be the third largest in the world, a mutual attitude of fair dealing between church and labor; and

WHEREAS, The aim of the construction of this Cathedral is to make it a house of worship for all peoples, labor desires to place a suitable and fitting memorial to the labor movement of America, in order to forever silence the charge that labor is selfish, biased and a non-communal organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 45th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, at Atlantic City, N. J., express its gratification at the cooperation of labor and the church, and recommend the extension of Labor Sunday Services throughout the country, as a means of general education and mutual understanding of the labor movement among our people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the international organizations call attention to the importance of the work, cooperate with the committee to construct this great edifice and to urge their international organizations to assist wherever they can to place a suitable and fitting memorial to labor in this national cathedral.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Proposing Investigation of Labor Policy at U. S. West Point Academy in Building Construction Work

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Jerome B. Keating, of the Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York:

WHEREAS, A complaint was made to the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity, that Col. E. J. Timberlake, Quartermaster at West Point Academy, West Point, New York, was doing some construction work on buildings at considerably below the prevailing rate; and

WHEREAS, This grievance has existed since the Spring of 1921, and the War Department was cognizant of portions of this violation, it being charged at the time that the Quartermaster at the West Point Academy, West Point, New York, in order to carry out a non-union policy further evaded the law by employing non-citizens on building and construction work; and

WHEREAS, Col. Timberlake's communication under date of September 16th, 1925, to the Secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity, stating tersely that he was not interested in meeting union representatives, clearly indicating that he bitterly was an opponent of the organized labor movement and aligned with open-shoppers, whose religion is

closed shop to union men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council make representation to the War Department to hold a non-biased investigation into labor conditions at West Point, New York, and to further watch the Army appropriations through their legislative committee, in order that a fair and equitable wage might be paid on all work done at the West Point Academy, West Point, New York.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Urging Completion of Highway System Undertaken by States With the Support of the Federal Government

Resolution No. 31.—By Delegate D. G. Ramsay, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers:

WHEREAS, From the beginning of our country the Federal Government has maintained its responsibility for the national defense, the postal service, interstate commerce, and anything that pertains to the general welfare, transportation has been encouraged by the Federal Government at all times, rivers and harbors, canals and railroads have received millions of dollars from the Federal Government for their development. While the Federal Government as early as 1803 made some effort to accept the responsibility of highway construction, it was not until motive power on the highway eliminated distances that the Federal Government was made to see the tremendous value that highway improvement has upon the general welfare and protection of the people; and

WHEREAS, In 1916, after three years' investigation by a committee of Congress, the Federal Government, through Congress, began to make definite appropriations to co-operate with the states in the construction of highways. In 1921 a definite system of highways of interstate character was laid out by the several states and approved by the Federal Government, on which system the Federal funds were to be expended. This system of highways when completed will connect all of the county seats and main market centers of the country with an improved highway; and

WHEREAS, Up to the present time this system of roads has been about half completed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Federal Government should continue in this work with the states until such time as this system has been completed according to agreement heretofore entered into, as few if any Federal expenditure has added so much to the public conve-

nience, better living standards and general prosperity of the country as the improvement of our highway system.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

Proposing Congressional Investigation of Textile Industry to Determine Influence of Present Tariff Schedule Upon Conditions of Labor.

Resolution No. 32.—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy, representing the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The New England Textile Manufacturers, through their various associations, have proclaimed through the public press, that the lack of employment, due to the serious depression in the textile industries, is due primarily to foreign importations of textiles; and

WHEREAS, The statements issued by textile employers are giving the impression to American consumers that the present Fordney-McCumber tariff rates on foreign importations are too low; and

WHEREAS, The official statistics, issued by the United States Treasury Department, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor and the Department of the Interior, contradicts the statements of the employers, insofar as it relates to importations of foreign merchandise; and

WHEREAS, The many and frequent reductions in wages that have taken place in the textile industry during the last few years with an ever-increasing army of unemployed during all these periodical depressions; and

WHEREAS, We believe, as representatives of organized labor, that the present tariff rates should be scientifically adjusted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at this forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Atlantic City, New Jersey, call upon the Congress of the United States Government to make an investigation of the textile industry for the purpose of determining whether or not the present tariff schedule on textiles is or is not responsible for the general existing conditions in the textile industry; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use their every effort to carry out the contents of this resolution in the interests of the consuming public and the workers engaged in the textile industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Continue Campaign for Child Labor Amendment.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy, of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States has met with considerable opposition from many sources during the past year; and

WHEREAS, The principal opposition is of such a misleading and vicious character; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this 45th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm their determination to carry on the fight for the liberation of children in industry until it becomes a federal law.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Textile Workers Request Assistance of Affiliated Unions in Their Struggle With American Thread Company.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy, of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, Twenty-five hundred members of the United Textile Workers of America have been on strike since March 9, 1925, against a reduction in wages of 10 per cent, given by the American Thread Company, of Williamantic, Connecticut; and

WHEREAS, This corporation, which is a subsidiary of a foreign corporation, has refused arbitration, which was agreed to by the workers, when the request came from the United States Department of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Thread Company admits the making of large profits during the year 1924, when employees worked less than seven months during that fiscal year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this 45th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to use their best efforts with their affiliated unions for the purpose of securing their aid and assistance in the defeat of the American Thread Company in their unjustified reduction of wages and their attempt to destroy the Textile Unions in their mills; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all State Branches and Central Labor Bodies be furnished with a copy of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Tailors Request Demarcation Lines in Jurisdiction of Dyers and Cleaners' Unions

Resolution No. 35 — By Delegates

Thomas Sweeney and C. N. Bolander, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The granting of a Federal Charter to the Dyehouse Workers of Chicago, Ill., has caused misunderstanding to the extent that a Federal Labor Union admitted to membership suspended members of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Council issue an order to all parties concerned that they are to confine their organizing activities to Dyehouse workers only; and that all parties doing their own cleaning and pressing come under the jurisdiction of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, as was granted to them by the Rochester, New York, Convention of 1912.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

To Negotiate With Brotherhood of Railway Clerks for Admission of Colored Workers

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates Ben Oglesby, of Freight Handlers' Union, No. 17769, and Albert C. Campbell, of Freight Handlers' Union, No. 17775:

WE RESOLVE, That Unity, guided by Intelligence, is a bulwark of strength that can withstand all attacks. Without intelligence and organization we cannot acquire the discipline which enables us to act together, concentrate our strength and direct our efforts toward a common purpose. Therefore, for the purpose of promoting such unity of action, for our mutual protection and to promote the general welfare of our crafts, the organization known as the Freight Handlers and Station Employees ask that the following be resolved:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has granted jurisdiction of all railroad freight house employees, including freight handlers to the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees; and

WHEREAS, Article 2, Section 1, as printed on page 50 of the Constitution of the Grand Lodge statutes, covering local lodges, admits to membership only white persons; and

WHEREAS, There is a large number of colored persons employed in railroad and express service on positions under the jurisdiction of working rules agreements negotiated with representatives of the Brotherhood; and, whereas, these colored employees are entitled to and should receive the full benefits of working rules or wage agreements; and, whereas, a large number of colored employees have affiliated themselves with the Labor movement by organizing un-

der A. F. of L. charters; and, whereas, a number of System Boards of Adjustment have and are representing this class of employes through a System working card; and

WHEREAS, The full cooperation of this class of employes, with other classes coming under the jurisdiction of our working rules agreement is desirable and necessary for the furtherance of our cause; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the American Federation of Labor that the President of the American Federation of Labor, together with such other officers as designated by him, handle with the Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes, for the full admission to membership for all classes under their jurisdiction as granted by the American Federation of Labor; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the event satisfactory arrangements cannot be made with the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes, that the American Federation of Labor take the necessary action to properly protect the welfare of this class of railway employes.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

To Investigate Employment of Canadian Workers in Violation of United States Immigration Laws

Resolution No. 37.—By Delegate E. G. Hall, of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, At the present time along the borders of our several states in the Province of Ontario numbers of working men and women are engaged in the arts and crafts, employed by various corporations and other employers in states adjoining; and

WHEREAS, The employment of these workers who are residents of the Dominion of Canada are competing with the organized and unorganized workers of our states, which we believe is in violation of the Immigration law; and

WHEREAS, Our American workers, organized or unorganized, do not enjoy these same privileges; and

WHEREAS, Protests have been made repeatedly to the Immigration authorities at Washington; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to investigate this situation along the borders in an effort that this exploitation and unfair competition be abolished.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Cooperate With Joint Union Label Board of Hatters and Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers

Resolution No. 38 — By Delegates Michael F. Greene, Christopher F. Donigan and Jeremiah J. Scully, of the United Hatters of North America; M. Zaritsky, M. Zuckerman, Nathaniel Spector, of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union have met the jurisdictional problems, which divided these organizations for several years, in a spirit of true labor solidarity; and

WHEREAS, These two organizations issued a Joint Labor Day message announcing to the labor movement that whatever jurisdictional friction there may have been between them, is now entirely a thing of the past; and

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union have not only developed the most friendly and brotherly relations, but have also established close organizational relations so that they may jointly work for the mutual benefit of the membership of both organizations and of all the headgear workers in whatever branch of the industry they may be employed; and

WHEREAS, These two organizations decided to exchange fraternal delegates to their conventions so as to strengthen still more the ties of friendship and cooperation between them; and

WHEREAS, These two organizations have established a Joint Union Label Board through which both organizations will do all the work jointly for their Union Labels; and

WHEREAS, The establishment of such close organizational relations between International Unions in kindred industries is fully in accordance with the aspirations of the American Labor Movement, since it affords the most effective method for the overcoming of the difficulties with regard to jurisdictional demarcation resulting from the development of modern industry, and since ever greater unity in the ranks of labor is the best means for the protection and advancement of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor welcomes the step taken by the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union and calls upon all working men and women to co-operate with the Joint Union Label Board of these two organizations and give it all the necessary encouragement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Labor Day message of these two organizations attached hereto, be made a part of the records of this convention.

Labor Day Message

September 1, 1925.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Labor Day has always been consecrated by organized labor to the cause of labor solidarity, by bringing within the folds of unionism the great masses of unorganized workers and strengthening the ranks of the organized workers.

On this Labor Day of 1925, when a concentrated attack is being made by the National Manufacturers' Association and its numerous units and subsidiary organizations upon the standard of living of the wage earners (as exemplified by the unjustifiable wage reductions in the textile industry and by the aggressive attitude of the mine operators to the modest and just demands of the anthracite miners), it behooves organized labor more than ever to devote itself to the furthering of harmony, unity and co-operation within the labor movement.

We wish to take this occasion to announce that the two organizations controlling the various branches of the headgear industry, the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, have combined their resources to work jointly for their union labels. We sincerely believe that there is a cheering message to organized labor in this announcement.

We trust that all labor organizations will be glad to know that whatever jurisdictional friction there may have been between these two organizations is now entirely a thing of the past. Not only have the most friendly and brotherly relations been established between the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, but these organizations have gone a step farther, actually joining hands in one of the important fields of their activities—in the work for the union label.

The union label has been generally recognized as an effective weapon in the struggle of labor to come into its own. The recent conference called by the American Federation of Labor at Washington unanimously decided that the union label can and must become even more effective by having all organized workers and sympathizers refuse to buy any goods except those bearing the union label.

We wish to conclude this Labor Day message with the urgent request that your membership, when buying felt hats (soft or stiff), wool, straw and panama hats, cloth hats or caps, buy only such

articles as have the proper union label, of the two appearing on this letterhead, sewed in under the sweat-leather.

By adopting such resolution to buy only articles with the union label you will greatly contribute toward our common end, that this Labor Day mark another milestone in the continuous progress of organized labor.

Fraternally yours,

JOINT UNION LABOR BOARD,
United Hatters of North America
and

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery
Workers' International Union.

M. ZUCKERMAN,

President;

MARTIN LAWLOR,

Secretary-Treasurer;

M. F. GREENE,

Vice-President;

MAX ZARITSKY,

Vice-President.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Protesting Adoption of An International Seamen's Code by League of Nations, Which Would Perpetuate Involuntary Servitude for Seamen

Resolution No. 39—By the Seamen's delegation:

WHEREAS, Article 23 of the covenant of the League of Nations pledges the members of the League to "secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children"; and

WHEREAS, The International Labor Office of the League of Nations has for some years past and is still promoting an international codification of the rules relating to seamen's articles of agreement; and

WHEREAS, Article 64 of the proposed international seamen's code, as prepared by the International Labor Office, deliberately and designedly attempts to perpetuate involuntary servitude aboard ship by prescribing penalties for seamen if the latter quit work, even though their ship may be securely moored in a safe harbor; and

WHEREAS, Article 65 of said proposed international seamen's code defines further penalties upon any seaman who "incites another to desert or who assists him to do so" which language when judicially defined, will make impossible any co-operation and effective organization among seamen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in forty-fifth annual convention assembled that we respectfully direct attention to the fact that fair and humane conditions of labor cannot be secured or maintained as long as penalties are inflicted for quitting work and for "inciting" others to quit work; further

RESOLVED, That we emphatically protest against the adoption of said international seamen's code and authorize the Executive Council to give every possible assistance to the organized seamen of America in resisting international sanction for compulsory servitude aboard ship.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Disapproving Affiliation of the United States With the World Court

Resolution No. 40—By Seamen's Delegation:

RESOLVED, By the 45th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that we protest against the United States in any way affiliating with the so-called World Court.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Protesting Violation of Immigration Laws by Permitting Vessels to Depart With Smaller Crews Than Carried Upon Their Arrival

Resolution No. 41—By Seamen's Delegation:

WHEREAS, The present immigration law is ineffective because mala fide seamen are permitted to remain on the vessels to be taken out of the country by such vessels on departing; and

WHEREAS, Vessels are permitted to go away with less number of men than they had on arrival; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of men come into the United States in practically safe violation of the immigration law through this open side door; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That mala fide seamen be deported as passengers on vessels other than those on which they came at expense of the vessel on which they were brought to the United States; and, further

RESOLVED, That vessels must take away from the United States the same number of men which they carried on arrival; and, further

RESOLVED, That vessels in the coastwise trade should pay the cost of deporting such men as are not entitled to sail in such trade because they are not properly admitted to the United States; and, further

RESOLVED, That persons who may not come as immigrants should not be permitted to, as seamen, unless they come in a vessel in distress or in a vessel carrying the flag of the country of which they are subjects or citizens as distinct from countries which are colonies or dependencies of such countries.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Urging Special Effort to Organize Mexican Wage-Workers in the United States

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate San-

tiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, At a conference of representatives of the American and Mexican Federations of Labor, held at Washington, D. C., August 27, 28 and 29, 1923, the immigration problem was frankly and fully discussed; and

WHEREAS, At said conference a declaration was adopted setting down the principle that the ultimate condition of mankind should be such that all men should enjoy the greatest possible right to travel freely to every part of the world in pursuit of happiness and well-being, but that, nevertheless, a universal obligation should be observed to the effect that all persons in ordering their movement or their conduct should refrain from endangering the standards and conditions of life and the progress achieved by other peoples; and

WHEREAS, The Mexican Federation of Labor, in keeping with the principle above set forth, has repeatedly appealed to the workers of Mexico to refrain from emigrating to the United States, and is willing and anxious to co-operate with the American Federation of Labor in maintaining and improving the standard of living and working conditions achieved in the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 45th convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses and approves the declarations and principles adopted by the Mexican-American Labor Conference, of August 27-29, on the question of immigration, and that the Executive Council be authorized and urged to cooperate with the Mexican Federation of Labor in devising ways and means whereby the principles adopted by the said conference be carried into effect and practice; and, furthermore, be it

RESOLVED, That in this same connection it is essential that all bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and its organizers and representatives, be requested to pay special attention and devote special effort to the task of organizing the Mexican wage-earners in the United States so they may be in a position to cooperate with the American Labor movement in maintaining and improving the conditions achieved by its efforts; and, furthermore, be it

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Mexican Federation of Labor, and to all organizers of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations in the States of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Colorado, Oklahoma and Kansas, with a special request that efforts be made to carry into effect the purposes set forth in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Declaring for the Withdrawal from All Nations of Extra-Territorial Privileges in China

Resolution No. 43.—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, During the past hundred years foreign nations have been imposing limitations upon China's Sovereignty through treaties that accorded them special privileges and guarantees; and

WHEREAS, The development of national institutions and a responsible government in China are retarded by the prerogatives exercised by foreign nations in settlements over which the government of China has no control and by treaty provisions which deny China the right to fix and collect customs duties; and

WHEREAS, Foreign nations have been developing in China modern factory production and branches of commercial undertakings thus imposing the complexities and difficulties of controlling these technical developments in the service of human welfare upon a people familiar only with hand production and unprepared to protect themselves through voluntary economic organizations and necessary protective and humanitarian legislation; and

WHEREAS, Not only the world-wide organization of industry and commerce make it necessary for Labor to concern itself for the establishment and maintenance of such standards of life and work as will assure opportunity for progress for all who work but Labor has a very deep sense of responsibility for using its influence to promote human justice and freedom in all human relations; and

WHEREAS, International conferences have been arranged for October 26 and December 18, the first to consider customs and the second to consider extra-territoriality; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor declare itself for the withdrawal from all nations of extra-territorial privileges, and for giving to China customs autonomy and that we urge our Government to further the policy of speedy action upon these principles; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor express to the Chinese Federation of Labor our fraternal desire to render them all possible assistance in the development of their trade union movement, and our deep concern for the establishment of high Labor standards in all countries bordering the Pacific.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Favoring Cooperation With the National Fire Protection Association in the Interest of Fire Prevention

Resolution No. 44.—By Delegates Fred

W. Baer and James M. Simester, of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

WHEREAS, The fire loss in the United States in 1924 was \$548,810,639, the highest in the history of the nation; and

WHEREAS, Nearly 15,000 persons burned to death and over 16,000 were injured by fire; and

WHEREAS, It is impossible to estimate the economic loss which comes as a result of fire, which includes all interruptions to business, loss of contracts, unemployment, and hardship on the workers and their families. By a careful survey of statistics it is found that 87 per cent of all our fire loss is preventable and is a result of our careless habits and the prevailing ignorance in regard to ordinary hazards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend that the American Federation of Labor through its affiliated bodies cooperate with the National Fire Protection Association and the various state and civic authorities who are endeavoring to educate the public to the necessity of fire prevention which will tend to reduce the enormous fire waste in the United States and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Favoring Disarmament to Prevent War.

RESOLUTION No. 45.—By Delegate Gust Anderson (by request), of the Central Labor Council, Portland, Oregon:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in the Forty-fifth annual convention assembled endorse the following peace covenant and instruct the officers of the Federation to forward same to the President of the United States, and request that a convention be called to meet in the city of Washington, D. C., in the early part of the Spring, 1926, to which accredited delegates of the Nations of the world will attend:

Articles of Covenant.

1. That all Nations of the world reduce their military and Naval forces to the minimum, maintaining only sufficient force to keep order at home and police the high seas.

2. That all Nations cease the manufacture of arms and equipment for war.

3. That in the event of war between two or more Nations, that the other Nations of the world not involved bring the utmost pressure to bear on the warring Nations to cease war and from furnishing munitions of war.

4. That in case there be an aggressive war, that the resources, wealth and the industry of the nation be con-

scripted as well as the men power.

That a copy of this Covenant be sent to all the Central Labor Councils and Building Trades Councils of the Federation, requesting them to act likewise with their affiliated bodies, and also present to all Fraternal Delegates a copy of the same to bring back to their respective Councils.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Commending the Struggle of the National Sailors and Firemen's Union of Great Britain

Resolution No. 46.—By the Seamen's Delegation:

WHEREAS, During the years 1920 and 1921, the International Seamen's Union of America was subjected to a vicious attack from promoters of false social and political doctrines which were offered by alleged radicals as a substitute for trade unionism; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid attack on the International Seamen's Union of America was brought to a climax at a time when the organization was involved in a lockout by the Ship Owners of both Atlantic and Pacific coasts; and

WHEREAS, The combined internal and external attack by alleged radicals boring from within, the other by Ship Owners through the lockout resulted in the defeat of the organization and the creation of a condition under which wages were reduced as much as fifty per cent and working hours in some cases increased proportionately; and

WHEREAS, The real purpose of these so-called radicals is to sabotage transportation by sea and to turn the seamen into carriers of such revolutionary propaganda as cannot be sent through the mails; and

WHEREAS, The officers and members of the National Sailors and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland, the legitimate trade union of British Seamen are now successfully opposing the same sort of an attack from persons masquerading as radicals under much the same leadership as conducted the attack upon the International Seamen's Union of America; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, hereby tenders its hearty congratulations to the officers and members of the National Sailors and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland for their firm stand against the destructionists who have been seeking to scuttle that organization by the so-called "boring from within" policy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Pledging Assistance to the Bakery Workers in Their Contest with the Ward Baking Company

Resolution No. 47.—By Delegates A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel and J. Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company, operating bakeries in the cities of New York, Brooklyn and Syracuse, N. Y.; Providence, R. I.; Boston, Mass.; Newark, N. J.; Baltimore, Md.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Youngstown, Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio; South Bend, Ind., and Chicago, Ill., as the forerunner of the most gigantic bakery mergers in the country, has declared for the non-union shop in all its manufacturing departments; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company, by such declaration, cancelled its agreement with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, in behalf of its subordinate unions, locking out its union employees, thereby establishing a labor-crushing policy for the observance of kindred bakery mergers; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company, as reported, is contemplating a merger with other large and powerful non-union bakery trusts, seeking to maintain its reactionary leadership, dictatorship and anti-union policy to the detriment of producers and consumers of bakery goods alike; and

WHEREAS, Indefensible profits are reaped by the Ward Baking Company and kindred combinations by crushing independent competition and paying low wages—not conforming with the minimum standard of decency as required in accordance with the tabulations published by the U. S. Department of Labor—to the workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention reiterates and reaffirms its past decisions of the Portland and El Paso conventions, assuring the organized bakery workers of its continued, undivided support in this contest until a satisfactory termination of the controversy has been reached by the reunification of the Ward Baking Company and the establishment of desirable union conditions in kindred undertakings in the baking industry.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Requesting That Tariff on Linseed Oil Be Lowered in Compliance With Recommendation of the United States Tariff Commission

Resolution No. 48.—By Delegate Charles J. Lammert, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The United States Tariff Commission has unanimously recommended under date of March 3, 1925, to the Executive Department that the tariff duty upon linseed oil be reduced, and

such reduction has not yet been ordered by the President; and

WHEREAS, Linseed oil is an important raw material entering into the cost of new building operations and in the painting and repairing of buildings already built; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it be pointed out to the President of the United States that the delay in ordering the lowering of the linseed oil tariff is prolonging a situation wherein the domestic crushers of flaxseed are exacting exorbitant prices for linseed oil from the public; delaying the taking of proper steps to preserve the life of property which requires paint and other surface preservatives containing linseed oil; making for unsanitary conditions where the application of paint and other surface preservatives would eradicate an unsanitary condition; denying to the labor which would be engaged in the laying on of surface preservatives the full measure of employment which would be possible with more reasonably priced raw materials; encouraging the adulteration of linseed oil with inferior substitutes which injure the reputation and prestige of honest craftsmen engaged in laying on such surface preservatives as contain same, all of which results in gain to only a small group of 12 linseed crushing corporations who pass none of this gain back to the growers of flaxseed in the United States, as only about one-half of their flaxseed requirements are domestic grown, while the balance comes in from the Argentine and Canada at a net rate of duty less than one-half the equivalent duty on linseed oil despite the fact that the labor cost in the crushing of linseed oil is negligible; therefore be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be requested to follow out at once the unanimous recommendation of the United States Tariff Commission that the tariff on linseed oil be lowered.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Endeavor to Secure Re-enactment by Congress of the Pittman Silver Act

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Charles H. Moyer and John McMullen, of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The re-enactment of the Pittman Silver legislation will stimulate and assist in the re-opening of mines in the metalliferous industry giving miners and craftsmen employment in Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Montana, Idaho and Nevada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the Executive Council is hereby directed to secure the re-enactment of

the Pittman Act by the U. S. Congress at their next session.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Opposing Ship Subsidy Legislation

Resolution No. 50—By International Seamen's Union of America delegation:

WHEREAS, The United Shipowners met in the early days of May and agreed upon more than forty amendments to the maritime law, which amendments they claim to be necessary in order that the United States may have a Merchant Marine needed in trade and for national defense; and

WHEREAS, Most of these amendments would, if enacted, destroy such possibilities of a Merchant Marine as we now have; and

WHEREAS, Shipowners had the ear of Congress from 1789 to 1894, speaking for themselves and the men employed and received from Congress everything they asked for, even a subsidy, which, however, was repealed for good reasons shortly after enacted; and

WHEREAS, After Congress, acting upon shipowners' advice after one hundred years, found the country practically without ships in the foreign trade and practically with no native seamen in any trade; and

WHEREAS, These new proposals are now being fostered and propagated by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It is thus intended to develop a public opinion, which will cause Congress to repeal the important sections of the Seamen's Act and to grant such subsidies as the shipowners shall want; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we are opposed to any amendments that will in any way weaken the Seamen's Act; and further

RESOLVED, That we are opposed to any ship subsidy being granted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Recommending New Trial for Sacco and Vanzetti.

Resolution No. 51.—By Delegate Luigi Antonini, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The Forty-second convention of the American Federation in Cincinnati and the Forty-fourth convention in El Paso have gone on record demanding a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, convicted of murder in the first degree by a biased jury under instructions of a prejudiced judge in the state of Massachusetts, and President Green in accordance with the spirit of the El Paso convention has during the last year put forward his earnest efforts to achieve the desired aim by taking the matter up with the President of the United States and the Governor of Massachusetts, and by

pledging his further aid in a strong letter to the defense committee which has had a marked effect in behalf of the case; and

WHEREAS, Five and a half years have passed since the men were first arrested, four and a half years since their original trial and more than a year since the trial judge tardily denied their application for a new trial, during all which time they have languished in prison and the wife and two children of one have suffered outside, and the appeal for a new trial which will cut short their sufferings, by freedom or death, is dreadfully pending before the state Supreme Court; and

WHEREAS, Their indefinite imprisonment pending the outcome of their case and the danger of undeserved death at the hands of the executioner constitute a ghastly miscarriage of justice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Forty-fifth annual convention assembled at Atlantic City, hereby reiterates its demand for a new trial for these defenseless victims of race and national prejudice in order that they may have an opportunity to present the incontrovertible evidence of their innocence, and that the honor and fairness of the American people may be preserved untarnished before the eyes of the civilized world; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Governor of Massachusetts and the President of the United States and the press.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

To Defeat Proposed Legislation to Abolish Eight Hour Day on Public Works.

Resolution No. 52.—By Delegate Lee Hall, of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The public press of yesterday carries a news item from Dallas, Texas, entitled War Against Day Labor, in which the Associated General Contractors of America has prepared a bill for introduction in Congress providing for all public works above \$5,000.00 to be done by contract instead of by day labor as practiced by the United States Government, and State and County and Municipal Governments; and

WHEREAS, The laboring men and women of America who desire to work to maintain themselves and families are confronted daily with a problem of securing employment, and whereas, with the increase of modern machinery (of which we have no desire to eliminate) is being installed in all indus-

tries which is displacing many workers; and

WHEREAS, With the ever increasing population of our country being approximately eighteen million increase in the last fifteen years, and a misplacement of the workers by improved machinery, the workers realize the necessity of a shorter workday; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled, pledge our best efforts and support to assist in establishing not to exceed as a maximum an eight hour work day in all industries in America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we hereby request the incoming Executive Council to use their best efforts and influence to defeat any proposed legislation that may be introduced in any legislative branch of our government which has for its purpose the abolishment of the eight hour day on public works, and to do all in their power to establish a maximum not to exceed eight hours out of twenty-four as a work day in all industries in America.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Affiliated Organizations Should Not Permit Interest in Promoting Social Legislation to Supersede Trade Union Purpose of Fostering Self-Reliance and Self-Help

Resolution No. 53.—By Delegate John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union:

WHEREAS, The trade union movement from its beginning has taken a deep interest in all measures for the welfare of the mass of the people; and

WHEREAS, The trade union movement on many occasions has endorsed legislation intended to give assistance to the weak, the unfortunate and the needy; and

WHEREAS, The sympathetic attitude of the trade union movement has led many well intentioned persons to secure trade union endorsement of social legislation; and

WHEREAS, The activity of the trade union movement in support of some social legislation has consumed so much of its energies that many vital trade union legislative interests have received less attention than was essential for the wage earners' welfare and the protection of his basic rights; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, advise all affiliated International, Departmental, State and local bodies that while all necessary social legislation should receive adequate interest and support, that under no circumstances should interest in such legislation supersede the legitimate trade union purpose to exercise and apply the principles and

policies of self-reliance and self-help which constitute one of the most valuable and vitalizing features of the American's rights to voluntary associations, so that the trade union movement through its activities will enable wage-earners to exercise a necessary control over their lives in industry through trade union organization.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Urging Granting of Pardons to Mexican Libertarians Imprisoned in Texas

Resolution No. 54.—By Delegate John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with the President of Mexico, the Mexican Ambassador in Washington, D. C., and all other duly authorized Mexican representatives in respectfully and earnestly petitioning the Governor of the State of Texas to grant pardons to Abraham Cisneros, Jesus M. Ranger, Jesus Gonzales, Leonardo M. Vasquez, Pedro Perales and Charles Cline; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the American Federation of Labor gave every possible measure of co-operation when the petition for pardon was presented to the Governor of Texas; and

WHEREAS, Final action has not yet been taken upon the petition by the Governor of Texas; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the Executive Council to communicate with the Governor of Texas and convey the deep interest which the delegates, representing the American trade union movement of the United States and Canada, have in the pardon of the men named, and that the Executive Council appeal to the Governor of Texas to act favorably upon the petition for pardon which has been presented.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

To Assist the Work of Organization in Latin-American Countries

Resolution No. 55.—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen:

WHEREAS, The state of oppression, misery and peonage under which the wage-earners are living in some of the Latin-American countries are alleged to be living, is a blot on the American Continent which should no longer be tolerated by the forces of Organized Labor in this hemisphere; and

WHEREAS, Repeated appeals have been made to the American Federation of

Labor to help and assist the wage-earners of said countries to establish their rights as free men; and

WHEREAS, With the increase of Latin-American immigration into the United States the low standard of living imposed upon the wage-earners of our sister republics in this hemisphere constitutes a menace to the standard of living achieved by Organized Labor in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The prestige and reputation of the American people as a liberty-loving people is endangered, due to the ruinous exploitation of the wage-earners in the Latin-American countries by American interests combined; and

WHEREAS, At the fourth Pan-American Labor Congress, held in Mexico City last December, resolutions were approved, recommending that missionaries and organizers be sent to Latin-America to co-operate with the affiliated organizations in developing their strength so as to be in a position to become the bulwarks of freedom and democracy in their respective countries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to co-operate with the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in carrying out the resolutions adopted in this matter by the Mexico City Congress.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

To Assist Work of Organization in North Carolina

Resolution No. 56.—By Delegate C. P. Barringer, of the North Carolina State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State of North Carolina is one of the leading manufacturing states of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Tens of thousands of workers in all lines of industry are unorganized, particularly textile workers; and

WHEREAS, The North Carolina State Federation of Labor and all central labor unions as well as other labor organizations are intensely anxious that a general organization campaign be conducted throughout the entire state, and believing that this campaign would draw into the fold of organized labor thousands of women workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use every influence and means possible to bring about the organization of these thousands of industrial workers of North Carolina.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Proposing Amalgamation of Unions in Same Industry Into One Organization

Resolution No. 57.—By Delegate J. V. Fitzsimmons, of the Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The employers throughout the nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertions, and moreover, they are supported by the Government, the courts, and the press, in any union-smashing undertaking they engage in; and

WHEREAS, They are carrying on a vicious attack upon the labor movement, singling out the various unions and forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation; and

WHEREAS, These unions, because they are divided against themselves along trade lines and are thus unable to make united resistance against the employers, constantly suffer defeat after defeat, with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standard of living and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers, through the amalgamation of the various trade unions, so that there will remain only one union for each industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officials of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to call a series of conferences of representatives of the various unions in the respective industries for the purpose of launching movements to amalgamate these unions in the respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover an industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Formation of a Labor Party

Resolution No. 58.—By Delegate J. V. Fitzsimmons, of the Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The organized workers in their struggle for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions have found themselves forced to combat not only the employers directly but also the Government, through all its agencies, anti-labor legislation, Daugherty injunctions, Railroad Labor Boards, use of troops and police in strikes; and

WHEREAS, The entire history of the struggles of the working class shows that so long as the powers of government are allowed to remain in the hands of the capitalist class, as at present in the United States, just so long will those powers of government be used against the workers; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary, in order for the workers to develop the political

power of their class, to build up a political organization of their own, a labor party, which will draw the millions of workers into political activities, and organize them for political struggles against the capitalists; and

WHEREAS, The LaFollette Progressive Movement, which is devoted to the interests of middle class business elements and large farmers, cannot serve as a party of the workers and poor farmers and has completely betrayed those workers who saw in it a substitute for a labor party; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor herewith favors the formation of a labor party based upon the trade unions and including as affiliated sections all other political organizations of a working class nature, upon a local, state and national basis; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stands instructed to work out plans for the formation of such a party.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Continue Cooperation for the Enactment of Remedial Retirement Legislation.

Resolution No. 59.—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lippold, Perry J. Bradish, Charles R. Gale, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edwin J. Gainer, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, and Charles Wiegand, National Federation of Federal Employees; Thos. McQuade, Printers and Die Stammers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund, Draftsmen's Union; Robert Fechner, Chas. W. Fry, Dan Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, Geo. Marshall, Chas. F. Wills, International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, During the five years that the Federal Civil Service retirement law has been in operation it has proven of immeasurable value to the employees of the Government and to the public, and it has fully justified its past advocacy by organized labor, which was largely responsible for its enactment; and

WHEREAS, The actual operation of the retirement law has likewise disclosed a number of defects that should be corrected by amendatory legislation, particularly in relation to inadequate annuities and existing high age requirements; and

WHEREAS, Such amendatory retirement legislation in keeping with the desires of the organizations of government workers affiliated to the American Federation of Labor will be introduced

in the 69th Congress, convening December 7th, said legislation to follow in principle the measure approved by the United States Senate in the 68th Congress, and which failed of passage in the House of Representatives; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in 45th Convention assembled, reaffirming its endorsement of the principle of Civil Service retirement, instruct the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations of government employees, for the speedy enactment of remedial retirement legislation by the 69th Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

To Cooperate With Affiliated Government Employees' Organizations for Elimination of "Speeding Up" Practices in Government Employ.

Resolution No. 60. — By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lip-pold, Perry J. Bradish, Charles R. Gale, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edwin J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Charles Wiegand, National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, In the postal service and other government establishments there have been instituted highly objectionable practices, under the guise of "efficiency systems," which are harmful to the workers physically and destructive of service morale, and therefore add materially to labor costs in government employment; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" practices assume various forms and methods, all directed toward mechanical standardization by plans of weighing or counting, or otherwise measuring output without regard to variations of work and other essential factors; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated in all lines of endeavor that any system of "speeding up" the workers beyond a reasonable standard is disastrous in its reactions upon both employer and employee; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" systems in government employment are not only harmful to the health of the workers directly affected but they add to public taxation burdens the cause of the large overhead administrative cost of the superfluous supervision involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 45th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of government employees' organizations whose members are subjected to these dehumanizing practices with a view of their elimination in the interest of the workers and the public service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Cooperate with Affiliated Government Employees' Unions for Extension of Saturday Half-Holiday in Government Employ

Resolution No. 61. — By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lip-pold, Perry J. Bradish and Charles R. Gale, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edwin J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally and Charles Wiegand, National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The Saturday Half-Holiday observance, which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employees and employers; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in private industrial pursuits and in state and municipal governments; and

WHEREAS, In some instances encouraging progress has recently been made in applying this beneficial policy in Federal activities, with resultant benefits to the public and the employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of the United States Government establishing and maintaining advanced employment standards, instruct the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employees for the purpose of having the Saturday Half-Holiday observance in government establishments extended to benefit every possible worker.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Favoring Establishment of Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 62.—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lip-

pold, Perry J. Bradish, Charles R. Gale, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edwin J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, National Federation of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Charles Wiegand, National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, Frequently in Civil Service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials and from which judgment the employees affected have no adequate appeal; and

WHEREAS, This absence of any review agency vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental of Civil Service employment is permanency of tenure if the employee is competent to perform the work available and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who possess, as at present, practically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 45th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to assist the representatives of organizations of Government employees to curb this arbitrary power possessed by administrative officials through the establishment of a Civil Service Court of Appeals to which employees could appeal in demotion and dismissal cases and which would have authority to review all evidence in such cases and recommend appropriate action.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Higher Differential in Pay Rates for Night Work in Government Employ

Resolution No. 63. — By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lippold, Perry J. Bradish and Charles R. Gale, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally and Charles Wiegand, National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, For the most part the United States Government in its employment policies has failed to recognize the hardship of night work; and

WHEREAS, In the Postal Service, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and other Federal agencies, there are night work requirements involving the employment of many thousands of wage earners with no compensatory offsets in

additional pay or shorter hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of government employees to have the government recognize, in a practical way, appropriate to the needs of each group, the hardship and undesirability of night work.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

To Amend Constitution to Require Affiliation of Locals with Central Bodies as a Condition for Representation in State Bodies

Resolution No. 64.—Delegate Philip Rohr, Central Labor Union, Atlantic City, N. J.:

WHEREAS, We feel that Article 11, Section 10, under caption, Local Central Bodies, does not include department known as State Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That "shall not be eligible to membership in any State Federation of Labor, unless affiliated with their Local Chartered Central Labor Union," be added to said section.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

To Request the Secretary of Commerce to Call a National Conference to Consider the Elimination of Difficulties Preventing Constructive Organization of Industries

Resolution No. 65.—By Delegate Matthew Woll, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Sustained progress in any line of human endeavor is dependent upon records of experience together with research and continuous re-examination of principles and methods; and

WHEREAS, This sort of orderly development is possible only through functional organization of all the various factors, employers and employees, concerned in an integrated undertaking and expressed in collective form in order that each shall render its full constructive contribution to productive processes and to the finding of improved methods; and

WHEREAS, These desirable services find their constructive activities are hampered by legislation, judicial rulings and interpretation which attempt to limit or restrict the helpful co-operation between the essential elements within industry, and without which co-operation there can not be the necessary avoidance of economic waste and full opportunity for industrial development based upon scientific production plans; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the Congress for the modification of existing legisla-

tion tending to prevent the co-operation between the essential elements in organizations within industry, endorse the principles of thorough organization of all elements in production and that we support as the basis for directing policies for preventing misuse of industrial organization the principle of uniform and public accounting at stated periods of a type to be prescribed by the Department of Commerce in cooperation with the organizations of employers and employees; and that the Department of Commerce shall render its good services in guiding developments; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention request the Secretary of Commerce to call a national conference of representatives of both trade associations and trade unions to consider the elimination of difficulties preventing constructive organization of industries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Conference With Representatives of the American Bar Association to Oppose Proposal of Drafting a Uniform State Law Embodying the Principle of the Kansas Industrial Court

Resolution No. 66.—Introduced by Matthew Woll, of the International Photo Engravers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The American Bar Association has been investigating the Kansas Industrial Court for the purpose of determining its effectiveness in settling industrial disputes; and

WHEREAS, This special committee has been authorized to continue its investigation and to cooperate with a special committee of the National Conference on Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, which is charged with the duty of drafting a uniform law for adoption by the several States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor arrange for a conference with the proper representatives of the American Bar Association to present Labor's objections to the principle of the Industrial Court.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing That Central Bodies and Local Unions Appoint Committees for Organization Campaign.

Resolution No. 67.—By Delegate J. H. Fitzsimmons of the Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Only a small percentage of the great working masses are as yet members of the trade unions, great numbers being still unorganized in nearly all the industries; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs not

only militates against the unorganized, who are helpless, but against the organized as well, who find themselves severely handicapped in their struggle for better conditions by the ever present army of unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The organization of these great masses of unorganized workers is fundamentally necessary in order to strengthen the unions to resist the bitter onslaughts of the capitalists in their great "open shop" drive to destroy every semblance of trade unionism in every industry in the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, calls upon all its affiliated organizations to immediately launch a general campaign for the organization of the unorganized; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to initiate and supervise this campaign a general conference shall be held during this convention of the heads of all the International Unions to organize campaigns to unionize the unorganized in the respective industries; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Councils and local unions throughout the country be instructed to immediately establish active organization committees and to start at once a vigorous campaign of organizing the unorganized.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Urging a Congressional Investigation of the Bell Telephone System.

Resolution No. 68.—By Delegates James P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, M. T. Joyce, C. M. Paulsen, Julia S. O'Connor, Irwin Knott and Edw. J. Evans, of the Electrical Workers' International Brotherhood:

WHEREAS, The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the largest corporation in the world, holds in its power and control the entire means of telephone communication of the Nation; and

WHEREAS, This monopolistic grip on a vital public service has become year by year more arrogant, more arbitrary, more subversive to the rights of the people, more detrimental to the progress and welfare of the country; and

WHEREAS, Present statutory measures of regulation of this powerful monopoly are so completely futile and negative as to produce a condition whereby the telephone system of the country is practically uncontrolled in the exercise of its extraordinary power; and

WHEREAS, The relations of the Bell Telephone Company with its associated operating companies, and with the Western Electric Company, are so manipulated as to provide every opportunity for the perpetration upon the telephone using public of unreasonable rates; and

WHEREAS, This situation consistently drawn to the attention of the American people by representatives of the exploited and enslaved workers of the American Bell Telephone System has at last challenged public attention resulting in a demand from many quarters for a Congressional investigation of the Bell Telephone System; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its attitude adopted at two previous conventions, providing that the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, its relations to its subsidiary and associated companies be subjected to the closest public scrutiny by means of a Congressional investigation of inclusive scope, and that the securing of such investigation, whether by Congress itself or by the Interstate Commerce Commission, as may be expedient, be made part of the major legislative program of the American Federation of Labor

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

American Federation of Labor to Continue Assistance of Organized Labor Movement in Porto Rico

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate P. Riviera Martinez, representing the Central Labor Union of San Juan, Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, Working conditions in Porto Rico in the different trades and industries as well as in the agricultural fields have become unbearable on account of the low wages paid by the corporations and wealthy individuals who have been permitted to resort to brutality and use violence and the official force and agencies to reduce wages and impose such conditions; and

WHEREAS, The wages and conditions endured by the working masses of Porto Rico at this time is the result of a general combination and conspiracy of the employers inaugurated since four years ago under the motto of the "Open Shop Drivers" to crush organized labor, a campaign which the organized workers of Porto Rico were unable to meet successfully on account of the ignorance of the masses and the lack of sufficient strength in the organization, the organizations having lost in strength and membership; and

WHEREAS, All efforts are being put

forth by the reactionary forces to defeat the principle of the organized workers of Porto Rico affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the different National and International Unions, to the extent that several very well known advocates of dual organizations hostile to the American Federation of Labor and to the American institutions have been placed on the payroll of the Government of Porto Rico in the bureau known as Bureau of Labor as "Lecturers" of such a bureau to go to every town and village to stimulate and encourage through speeches the formation of dual organizations hostile to the American Federation of Labor, while, on the other hand, the means of the organized workers of Porto Rico are so limited to carry on the necessary agitation and propaganda for our principles; and

WHEREAS, There has never been felt more badly than at the present the necessity of inaugurating, carrying out and maintaining indefinitely a vigorous, intensive and systematic campaign of education and organization amongst the working people of Porto Rico for the reconstruction of our local unions and to bring in new members, so as to enable ourselves to regain and retain all that which was practically destroyed by the open shoppers and reactionary forces of opposition; and

WHEREAS, The temporary transfer of the organizer of the American Federation of Labor—who was in that capacity there for over 25 years—to serve in the capacity of secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Washington, has considerably affected the organization work in Porto Rico to the detriment of the working masses who see themselves now deprived of his good, continuous and efficient services, of his long earned experience and influence in all the local affairs affecting the people; and

WHEREAS, As it was always recognized by our beloved late President Samuel Gompers, the organized labor movement of Porto Rico was always a constructive, conservative movement, loyal to the organized labor movement of the mainland, and the American institutions, and one of the bravest instrumentalities in the denunciation of social and economic crimes, and in the promotion and fostering of education, social legislation and remedial measures; and

WHEREAS, The social and economic task which is still necessary to carry on for a long time in Porto Rico to better local conditions as a question of humanity—if not for other reasons—and even as a matter of protection for the workers of the mainland against unfair competition of labor, for there are in Porto Rico many facilities for employers of a certain number of industries to go there and get cheap labor—cannot be left to

local organized labor alone, on account of its too limited financial means and lack of opportunities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor proposes as it has been done in the past, to continue to lend its worthy and unquestioned co-operation, influence, moral aid and all financial help possible to the working masses of Porto Rico as represented by the "Free Federation of the Workingmen of Porto Rico" and to the people of that island in general, in their efforts to better conditions, to establish a decent scale of wages, a reasonable number of working hours, living conditions in harmony with civilization, the promotion of social legislation and the exercise of all their civil rights free from industrial or political tyrants; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That during the absence of the general organizer of the American Federation of Labor from Porto Rico, the necessary steps be taken by the president of the American Federation of Labor so that Porto Rico might not suffer the effects of his absence or be left without any official direct representation of the American Federation of Labor—a privilege that our island has enjoyed for over 25 years—and that the above mentioned organizer, being the best informed and the most influential man in all labor matters and labor problems in Porto Rico, as well as in the organization work, be instructed to spend in Porto Rico as much of his time as his new position may permit or whenever his new duties may allow him to spare any time in the benefit of the workers of the island.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Condemning the Secession Movement of Express Workers Under the Organization Known as "American Federation of Express Workers"

Resolution No. 70.—By Delegates E. H. Fitzgerald, E. V. Badley, G. H. Nicholson, H. W. Harper, E. E. Wooten, C. A. Webber, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, Certain former officers of this organization, i. e., Jas. J. Forrester and others, have fostered and attempted to organize a rump outlaw association among the express workers, former members of this and other organizations, and which has been named by them "The American Federation of Express Workers"; and

WHEREAS, The expressed purpose of this outlaw movement is to segregate the express workers in an organization not recognized by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The said outlaw organization has led certain of the express workers to believe that for the reason

of the name adopted the movement has the sanction and support of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor recognizes only organizations participating legitimately in the trade labor movement; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does by the adoption of this resolution condemn the so-called organization of express workers known as "The American Federation of Express Workers," and calls upon all affiliated organizations to lend their aid and support in stamping out this movement, and the American Federation of Labor does further condemn the outlaw organization for the reason of the misleading name adopted by the secessionists for the obvious purpose of misleading the express workers into joining an outlaw organization whose sole purpose is the disruption of the recognized labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

To Assist International Association of Machinists in Organizing Automobile Mechanics

Resolution No. 71. — By Delegates Robert Fechner, Chas. H. Fry, Daniel Haggerty, Geo. W. Marshall, Chas. H. Wills, William Larkin, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of automobile mechanics employed in garages in all parts of this country; and **WHEREAS**, This class of mechanics are working under all sorts of conditions as to hours, wages and shop conditions; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists is engaged in an active campaign, in an endeavor to organize this class of mechanics and are meeting with encouraging results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to give every assistance in this campaign, both by their cooperation and that they request all State Federations, Central Bodies and Affiliated Unions to lend all assistance possible, to the end that mechanics employed in this industry may be organized.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

Organization of Negro Workers

Resolution No. 72.—By Delegate Albert C. Campbell, of Federal Labor Union No. 17775:

WHEREAS, The Preamble of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor declares: "A struggle is going on in all

the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit"; and

WHEREAS, Among the toiling millions of the United States there are many influences at work which tend to prevent the combination of the workers for mutual protection and benefit, and all such influences are injurious to the working masses and to Organized Labor; and especially the century old custom of workers allowing themselves to be divided into antagonistic groups on the basis of race, color, language, place of birth, sex or religion; and

WHEREAS, More than ten million Negro toilers live and labor in this country, as the most exploited and abused section of the industrial and agricultural workers; and their hope of liberation from their present bondage as a mass can be realized only through organization as an integral part of the labor movement, and through the common action of a united labor movement including all workers without distinction of race or color; and

WHEREAS, The interests of the Negro workers and of the white workers are identical and the interests of Organized Labor no less than of the Negro workers demand that the Negro workers be organized and included without distinction in the Trade Unions, with the full protection of organization extended equally to black and white without prejudice and no progress but only disastrous results can be expected from any exclusion of workers from the Unions on account of race or color; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor declared officially as far back as the year 1890 that it "looks with disfavor upon trade unions having provisions in their constitutions excluding from membership persons on account of race or color," and requested that such provisions be expunged; and again in 1897, and in 1910, 1917 and 1918 the American Federation of Labor or its officers took actions or made official statements affirming the position; and

WHEREAS, Nevertheless, several of the largest and most important International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. as well as some unaffiliated continue to preserve in their constitutions provisions by which workers otherwise eligible are excluded from their ranks because of their race and color; and

WHEREAS, Other affiliated Unions which have no written rules prohibiting the admission of Negroes, do nevertheless in practice generally refrain from enrolling Negroes; or after enrolling them do not grant to these members the same degree of Union protection as is granted to the white members; and

WHEREAS, The effect of such practices, as has been repeatedly indicated by the American Federation of Labor, is to leave a great mass of workers, because of the color of their skin, in a position of great dis-

advantage, working for lower wages than the union standard, frequently unable to obtain employment because of discrimination not justified by any lack of loyalty to the cause of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The continuation of such provisions and practices undermines the standards of living of all the organized as well as unorganized of whatever race, and constitutes a fatal weakness in the Organized Labor Movement; and

WHEREAS, Compromises on the basis of separate Unions for Negro workers distinct from the white workers have frequently been resorted to and these are only makeshifts which may at times be justifiable as better than no organization at all, but are sometimes justly resented by self-respecting Negro workers as being the preservation of "Jim Crow" institutions; and the problem of organizing the mass of the workers on the basis of solidarity as indicated by our Preamble remains unsolved; and

WHEREAS, Those cases where the white workers and colored workers are enrolled together in the same Unions without distinctions, such as the Mine Workers and the Longshoremen, have proven that in this manner all race and color prejudices and divisions in the ranks of Labor are successfully eliminated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its forty-fifth annual convention assembled does hereby declare that any constitutional provision, rule or practice, whether of official policy or by tacit custom, by which workers are excluded from Trade Unions because of race or color, is contrary and antagonistic to the principles and Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and to the interests of the masses of workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon all affiliated bodies which may have such provisions or customs, to adjust their constitutions and likewise their practices to these principles, so that every worker on a basis of exact equality regardless of color or race may enjoy within the Unions the same rights, privileges, protections, opportunity to obtain employment along with and equal to all other members of the Unions, with the same wages for the same work and the same conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized and instructed to take up this matter with each and every affiliated body, inquiring into the provisions and practices of each in this respect, using such official authority as they possess in urging the International Unions and other affiliated bodies to remove in fact and in form all such discriminations as exist; and the President and Officers of the A. F. of L. shall make public from time to time the progress of such efforts, and shall report to the next convention of the A. F. of L. whatever results may be obtained in regard to each affiliated body separately; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall with the greatest possible dispatch and energy proceed with a campaign to organize all Negro workers in the same Unions with the white workers wherever this can be done under present conditions; and where it is unavoidable to organize the Negro workers into separate Unions, but at the same time to take up with the existing Unions the question of combining the organized Negro workers with the existing Unions which for the time being may refuse to admit them; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the most effective and sincere manner by which the American Federation of Labor can ensure a response to its efforts to organize the Negro workers is to take up in an aggressive and whole-hearted manner the cause and defense of the Negro against legal and social discrimination and abuses, such as lynching, segregation, disfranchisement, etc.; so that Organized Labor becomes the champion of the Negro's social demands as the demands of the most abused and exploited section of the working people; and the President and Officers of the American Federation of Labor are authorized and instructed accordingly.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Commending the Administration of President Calles of Mexico and Pledging Continued Friendship and Confidence.

Resolution No. 73.—By Delegate Matthew Woll of the International Photo Engravers' Union:

WHEREAS, The inauguration of Plutarco Elias Calles as president of Mexico brought fruition to the hopes of the workers of that country and satisfaction and gratification to the workers of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The service which our fellow trade unionist has rendered as president since his inauguration has fully warranted the confidence and hopes reposed in him by labor everywhere and by the great masses of the people; and

WHEREAS, He has called labor men into the service of his government in the most important administrative capacities, as in the case of the appointment of Louis N. Morones, leader of the Mexican labor movement, to be minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor; and

WHEREAS, He has further shown his foresight and courage by appointing labor attaches to the leading Mexican embassies in foreign nations, giving the honor of the first appointment to the Mexican embassy at Washington where Canuto A. Vargas, a trade unionist, now serves in that important capacity; and

WHEREAS, In every possible man-

ner Gen. Calles and his associates have striven to improve the condition of the workers and the masses of the people with a fine zeal, a noble courage and an inspiring fidelity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we adopt these resolutions as an expression of our continued friendship and confidence, in appreciation of the magnificent reception given to our delegates who attended the inauguration in Mexico City and as a pledge of continued cooperation, friendship and fraternity in the great cause of human freedom, progress, democracy and justice.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Favoring Legislation to Abolish U. S. Bureau of Efficiency.

Resolution No. 74.—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally and Chas. L. Wiegand, of the National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The United States Bureau of Efficiency has during its entire existence shown itself to be inimical to the best interests of federal employees, administrators and the public in general; and

WHEREAS, Any possible usefulness of such an agency constitutes duplication of functions delegated by law to the Bureau of the Budget; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in forty-fifth Annual Convention assembled instruct the Executive Council to use its best efforts to secure the enactment of legislation to abolish the United States Bureau of Efficiency; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That International and National organizations, State Branches and Central Bodies be requested to urge upon Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States support of such proposed legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

To Continue Effort to Secure Legislation to Abolish Personnel Classification Board and Transfer Its Powers and Functions to U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 75. — By Delegates Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally and Chas. L. Wiegand, of the National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The Classification Act of 1923, which provided for the classification of titles, duties and rates of com-

pensation of Federal employees in the District of Columbia and for a survey of positions in the Field Services has been practically nullified by the majority action of the Personnel Classification Board; and

WHEREAS, The representative of the United States Civil Service Commission on the Personnel Classification Board has consistently adhered to a correct interpretation of the act; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in forty-fifth annual convention assembled, instruct the Executive Council to continue its efforts to secure the enactment of legislation which will abolish the Personnel Classification Board and transfer its powers, duties and functions to the United States Civil Service Commission which has shown itself to be an impartial agency competent to administer Federal personnel legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Amalgamation of Trade Unions Into Industrial Form of Organization

Resolution No. 76.—By Delegate J. Shafir, of the Chicago Bank Employees' Association, No. 17709:

WHEREAS, In the bitter struggle going on in all the industries between the workers and their employers over the division of the products of labor, experience teaches that in order to defend their interests, the workers must have powerful trade unions following a militant fighting policy and animated by a clear conception of the fundamental antagonism of interests between the workers and the capitalists; and

WHEREAS, There is a growing tendency on the part of the trade unions to turn away from this fighting conception and policy and to accept the theory of the identity of interests between capital and labor, which means to follow a policy of class collaboration, to subordinate the trade unions to the interests and control of the capitalists, and to destroy their militancy and usefulness to the working class; and

WHEREAS, This growing policy of class collaboration manifests itself by such schemes as the Baltimore and Ohio plan, which carries with it the degeneration of the trade unions into little better than company unions and the abandonment of trade union conditions won by long years of bitter struggle, and by the establishment of labor banks, workers' insurance companies, etc., which, having nothing in common with true co-operative enterprises, serve only to subjugate the trade unions to the capitalists connected with these institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. convention repudiates the whole program of class collaboration, as exemplified by the B. & O. plan, labor banking, etc., and declares in favor of a militant policy of struggle against the employers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That as first steps towards the strengthening of the fighting forces of the trade union movement, we propose the amalgamation of all the craft unions into a series of industrial unions, and the launching of a general campaign to organize the millions of unorganized workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Support of Movement to Bring About a World Conference of Trade Unions

Resolution No. 77.—By Delegate J. Shafir, of the Chicago Bank Employees' Association, No. 17709:

WHEREAS, The lack of solidarity between the workers of the different countries of the world is a constant source of weakness of the labor movement, creating a condition in which the capitalists use the workers of one country to defeat the workers of another, and take advantage of the resulting weakness to launch a world-wide "open shop" movement to destroy the trade unions; and

WHEREAS, The international divisions of the labor movement have been especially emphasized by the failure of the labor movement of the United States to affiliate to any international center, while the rest of the unions of the world are divided between the Amsterdam International and the Red International of Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, The trade union movement of Great Britain, responding to the initiative of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, has inaugurated a world-unity movement, designed to bring together the unions of the entire world for a common struggle against capitalism; and

WHEREAS, This movement for world unity has resulted in the formation of an Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, established during the recent negotiations in London, and officially endorsed by the General Council of the British Trade Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor herewith endorses the movement for world trade union unity and pledges its support to the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee in its efforts to convoke a world conference of trade unions of every country for the purpose of establishing unity of the international trade union movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Recognition of Soviet Russia.

Resolution No. 78.—By Delegate J. Shafr of the Chicago Bank Employees' Association, No. 17709:

WHEREAS, The Russian Soviet Government has withstood, for almost eight years, all the attacks launched against it from the enemies within its boundaries, as well as from the organized capitalist governments of the world, hostile to it and constantly carrying on fresh forms of struggle against it, has demonstrated by its successful resistance that it has the support of the masses of Russian workers and farmers; and

WHEREAS, The delegation of the British trade unions to Russia has just published an extensive report pointing out the tremendous strides forward being made by the workers and peasants of Russia with their newly established society, and giving definite proof that while the workers of the rest of the world are suffering from a declining standard of living those in Russia are constantly improving their standards of life and living; and

WHEREAS, Many European governments, in spite of their bitter opposition to the Soviet system of society, have been compelled to open diplomatic and commercial relations with the Russian government; and

WHEREAS, The present administration at Washington, by thus far failing to give recognition to Soviet Russia, has greatly injured that country as well as the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled declares itself in favor of the recognition of Soviet Russia, and for the establishment of full diplomatic and commercial relations between the United States and that country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Amend Constitution Governing Remuneration of A. F. of L. Organizers

Resolution No. 79.—By Delegate John J. Hynes, of the International Association Sheet Metal Workers:

The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be ten dollars per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of eight dollars per day when away from their home city except when, in the judgment of the Executive Council, such salary and expense allowance is inadequate for the services rendered. In such cases the Executive Council are authorized to add to the salary and allowance herein cited such sum as in their judgment is advisable. The remuneration

for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor, shall be determined by the Executive Council.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Proposing Endorsement of Workers' Health Bureau Program for Health Protection

Resolution No. 80.—By Delegates Robert Fechner, I. A. of M.; Frank Basky, Stone Cutters; G. E. McCaffrey, Molders' Union; W. W. Britton, Roy Kelsay, Metal Polishers' Union; William P. Clarke, Thomas Gallagher, American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America; Wm. J. Canavan, Theatrical Stage Employees; Peter G. Cook, O. P. C. F. I. U.; George F. Hedrick, Chas. J. Lammert, Nick F. Smith, P. H. Triggs, John J. Doyle and Chas. J. Eisenring, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, Occupational diseases resulting from poisons, dusts, fumes, gases and other trade hazards, as well as industrial accidents and explosions, are menacing the ranks of the trade union movement in America; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor recognizes the need for controlling dangerous working conditions as part of the trade union struggle to improve the economic status of workers; and

WHEREAS, The Workers' Health Bureau of America already endorsed by nine international unions, nine State Federations of Labor, and having 126 Labor Bodies affiliated with it in the United States and Canada, is assisting its affiliated members in gaining health protection through Health Agreements with employers; by Government Regulations; and, for the purposes of immediate relief by securing adequate Workmen's Compensation Laws to cover all occupational diseases, and by organizing Trade Union Cooperative Clinics for research and treatment of occupational diseases; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled this — day of October, 1925, goes on, record endorsing the Workers' Health Bureau program for Health Protection for Trade Unions, and urges all International Unions to work toward the adoption of National Standards of Health Protection in all Organized trades, to the end that the present wasteful and ruthless sacrifice of workers' lives may be stopped and the introduction of new hazards controlled through the power of Organized Labor.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Urging Demand of Union Hand-Made Window Glass

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Frank Harbert, of the National Window Glass Workers:

WHEREAS, Believing that we should all be more familiar with articles produced strictly by union workmen, we wish to place before the delegates of this convention the fact that hand-made window glass is strictly union made, both in production and finishing to the extent of 100%; and

WHEREAS, We are having our manufacturers mark their boxes to safeguard our interests, hand made window

glass, to also enlighten the public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That at an early date the secretary of the American Federation of Labor communicate with the different State Federations and Central Labor bodies, urging them, through their respective bodies, to notify the building trades and labor movement in general to use a strictly union-made article, hand-made window glass.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

No committees were prepared to submit reports, and upon motion of Delegate Hall, Miners, the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned at 11.40 a. m., to 9.30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 7.

Third Day--Wednesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.

October 7, 1925

Pursuant to adjournment, the convention was called to order at 9.30 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, October 7, by President Green.

Absentees

Myrup, Franklin, Dohney, Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Gochenour, Coulter, Conway, Evans (E. J.), Feeney, Snow, Murphy (M.), Cooley, Kauffman, Lucchi, Fljodsal, Milliman, Hill, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Redding, Pattison, Moyer, Crough, Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Kennedy, Golden, Yarrow, Parker, Burke (Thos. E.), Berry, Olander, Cone, O'Connell, Nigro, Atkins, Nelligan, McAndrew, Steadman, McMullen, Kelley (J. R.), Patten, Martel, O'Dell, Long, Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Bower, Reed, Vaughn, Wood (R. T.), Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, McGeorgy, Tinney, Carozzo, Ruben, Geyer, Simons, Camous, Miller (A. M.), Fitzgerald, Christman.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

The Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C., request by communication that E. J. Tracy be substituted as a delegate in the place of V. L. Young, who is unable to attend the convention as a delegate.

Michael F. Greene, President of the United Hatters of North America, requests that because of the absence of Delegate Jeremiah Scully of the United Hatters for the entire first week of the Convention that Martin Lawlor be seated in Delegate Scully's place for the present week.

We recommend that these requests be complied with and the delegates be seated.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"William Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor.

"I have observed the statement in the Executive Council's report that the campaign to furnish a room in the newly erected International Labor Office Building at Geneva, Switzerland, has resulted in the raising of one thousand, four hundred fifty-five dollars among the membership of the American Federation of Labor. The splendid and early success of this campaign is

a source of genuine gratification and I wish on behalf of the International Labor Office to be permitted to thank the officers, the Executive Council and the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor for this act of International cooperation and goodwill.

"LEIFUR MAGNUSSON,
"American Rep. International Labor
"Office, Washington, D. C."

"William Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor.

"Please convey to the officers and delegates my fraternal greetings. May your deliberations be successful in devising a plan for the organization of the millions of working women who are an important economic factor in our present industrial society. The importance cannot be overestimated of having working women imbued with the spirit of trade unionism and the ideals of the organized labor movement not only as wage earners but also as those who will have it in their power to inspire the future generation of working men and women. I hope that the progress the workers' education movement made in this country, with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, will encourage the delegates assembled at your convention to devise means and ways to further this movement. We all have faith that workers' education will be one of the greatest influences in strengthening the labor movement.

"Fraternally yours,

"FANNIA M. COHN,
"Executive Secretary, Education
Department, International Ladies'
Garment Workers' Union, Vice
Chairman Workers' Education
Bureau of America."

"Hon. William Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor.

"The American Insurance Union congratulates you and the American Federation of Labor in your endorsement of the Constitutional Amendment against child slavery and child labor. We rejoice in the fact that your great organization realizes as the American Insurance Union does that nothing is settled until it is settled right. We are with you to the end of the war. Truth loses battles but wins wars.

"Yours faithfully,

"JOHN J. LENTZ, National Pres.,
"Columbus, Ohio."

"William Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor.

"Our state campaign committee for Woodrow Wilson College extends greetings and wishes for successful convention. Please report to delegates that campaign for funds

in Georgia is progressing favorably and much enthusiasm shown.

"P. A. STOVALL, State Chairman,
"Atlanta, Ga."
"William Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor."

"Municipal employees of San Juan, Porto Rico, members of labor unions, meeting at Federation Hall, extend greetings to the convention and wish success in your legislations."

"PAZ GRANELA, President,
"San Juan, Porto Rico."

Secretary Morrison also read telegrams from the Nevada State Federation of Labor, signed by President Lee Tarbett and Secretary L. M. Barbour, and from the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce, asking that the 1926 convention be held in Sacramento, California.

The chairman asked for reports of committees. No committee was ready to report.

President Green: I have inquired of our fraternal delegates if they are prepared to speak to the convention this morning, and they have assured me that they will be glad to do so. If there are no objections—and I am sure there will be none—we will hear from the fraternal delegates at this session. You will recall that I announced yesterday that the fraternal delegates would speak at this afternoon's session.

Delegate Huddell, Steam and Operating Engineers, was given unanimous permission to introduce the following resolution:

Steam Engineers Protest Encroachment of Building Service Employees

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Arthur M. Huddell of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The Building Service Employees' Union in the city of Chicago are operating boilers and engines; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction over the operation of boilers and engines was never granted to this organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Building Service Employees' Union is hereby instructed by this convention to at once cease to allow their members to operate boilers and engines.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

ADDRESSES OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: Fellow delegates and visitors at the convention, you all recall that for many years we have been favored by repeated visits from fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, and in return the American Federation of Labor has sent fraternal delegates to convey to the British trade unionists and to our fellow workers across the sea the fraternal greetings and

best wishes of the American Federation of Labor.

This custom of exchanging fraternal greetings, which has been maintained without interruption for many years, has been profitable and helpful to the organized labor movement of our own land, and I firmly believe that it has been helpful and pleasing to the organized workers of Great Britain.

In line with that custom we have with us at this convention two distinguished trade unionists from Great Britain, honored by the British Trades Union Congress and selected by it to come to America and speak to this convention. They are here this morning, ready to convey their message to us, and I am confident that we will be happy and pleased beyond expression to hear the message that our fellow workers, our trade unionists, our brothers and our friends will convey to us. The two fraternal delegates from Great Britain are Brother A. A. Purcell and Brother Ben Smith. Brother Purcell will be the first speaker. He has long been engaged in trade union work in Great Britain. He is a member of the Furniture Workers' Association, is an organizer for that Association. He is now a member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and last year served with honor and distinction as its President. He was recently elected from a coal mining constituency as a member of the British Parliament. He is the President of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

These are honors that have been placed upon him by the working people of Great Britain and the working people of the European continent. Surely, this ought to serve as a splendid introduction to this convention and to the American people. Without any further remarks I feel highly pleased that I am permitted to present to you this morning Fraternal Delegate A. A. Purcell.

**ADDRESS OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE
A. A. PURCELL**

British Trades Union Congress

Mr. President, friends, fellow workers, and trades unionists all: I am very glad to have this opportunity of speaking here this morning and conveying the fraternal greetings of the British trades union movement. My colleague, Smith, and myself are the representatives of the four and a half millions of workers in Great Britain who are organized within the four corners of what we call the British Trades Union Congress. We reciprocate the good feelings, desires, intentions and good wishes of the many representatives that have visited our Congresses, and I think that we can easily associate ourselves with you in the condolences that have been so often and rightly

expressed with regard to the late Samuel Gompers.

Some of us had the pleasure of seeing Samuel Gompers—in my own case and in the case of my colleague, Smith—at the Blackpool and Derby Congresses. There was quite a large number of our delegates who were intimately connected with Samuel Gompers, and I think you can therefore appreciate to the full our astonishment that the end should come in such a sudden way. Nevertheless, we place on record our highest appreciation and regard for the tremendous and wonderful work that your great colleague, now passed, went through. The work that Gompers did must be assuredly an incentive to the workers in every part of the world, must be a help, must be an encouragement, and indeed is an encouragement to many of us in the British trades union movement today.

In addition to that I want to say that when we speak on behalf of the British trades union movement, it is very difficult indeed in these days to assert that you represent one view—this is acceptable to every one in our movement. We are such a huge family, and if we all came to agreement it would be the end of our movement. There is such a diversity of opinion that its diversity, I think, is a sign of extraordinary good health, and I am therefore pleased because of that to see that there is not always unanimity in our movement in any part of the world on certain subjects.

We require, I think, in the long run, to magnify the points of agreement, certainly, and to minimize as far as we can the other little oddities that come in the way of points of disagreement. Anyhow, I think we shall have to fight our way through, and indeed, if it becomes necessary, as we appear to be in that position at the present time in Great Britain, we shall probably have to fight our way through very stiffly and argue about it afterwards.

I therefore say I am glad to have the opportunity of conveying these fraternal greetings, and I propose to speak to you in the following terms:

I have great pleasure in bringing to you the greetings, and good wishes, of the British Trades Union Congress and the whole working-class movement of Britain, and to express to you on behalf of our movement, the comradeship and solidarity of the workers of Britain with the workers of America.

In Britain we follow the progress of your movement with keen interest, and take pride in your growth and rejoice in your victories. In some respects you are closer to us than our brother workers on the Continent of Europe. We speak the same language—think and act in very much the same way. What your Unions do here is more easily understood by us because there is not the great barrier of language to prevent us from reading your journals and completely comprehending the speeches of your representatives. I am sure we mutually influence each other to a far greater degree than is generally realized.

Sometimes I think that Britain is speedily becoming a colony of the United States, thus turning history topsy turvy, in revenge for those unfortunate taxations which lost Britain her New England colonies.

I never go to a cinema in London or Man-

chester, or in a mining village of South Wales or a cotton town in Lancashire but what I see movies of Charlie Chaplin and Tom Mix, who are citizens of your great Republic. Your pictures of cowboys and Western life are as eagerly and enthusiastically followed by the youth of Britain as they are by the youth of America. Your newspapers largely set the tone to the newspapers of Britain. The songs you sing about Dixie and Tennessee and Old Kentucky you can hear sung in British workers' homes and whistled down our village streets. It is almost an accepted opinion amongst our business men that they are not really up-to-date unless they have installed a large portion of American plant and machinery, and adopted many of your business methods. During the great war, for instance, an enormous quantity of American machinery was set up in our engineering plants. In nearly every other way the life you live here—the manner in which your life finds expression here—directly and intimately affects us in Great Britain. The little pond that divides us is being so narrowed down by the development of transport and the means of communication that we are being made to see as you see, and feel as you feel.

I think that is good—good for us and good for humanity generally. And I want our two great labor movements to come closer and still more closer together—to be linked together in steel-like bonds of friendship and solidarity, mutually helping, stimulating and inspiring each other, coming to each other's assistance in days of trial and difficulty, giving each other encouragement to tackle those formidable tasks with which we are confronted, engaged in a rivalry—if rivalry there needs be—of organization, of the spread of ideas, of building up and strengthening our movement, and of big and noble human endeavor.

I am sure I am expressing what every organized worker in Great Britain at this moment would desire me and urge me to express, when I say: Organized workers of America, do whatever is conceivably possible to make our two movements one in aim and purpose.

We have so much in common. There is so much that we can do in common.

When the war drums throbbed "Over There" in Europe, when the flower of the young manhood of Europe was being mown down like prairie grass before death's scythe, a call was made to America to play a part in the awful game of blood and terror. America responded, and many of her bravest and her best are now lying in France and Flanders.

I come to make another call. The call I want to make is not the cannon-mouthed, flame-belching, desolating call of war—a call that if made today would go screaming down the ages, from ruined and smoking cities and the agonies of millions of maimed and murdered men. It is a different call altogether. It is a call for the unity of the world's workers—for the world brotherhood of all those who toil. I make no apology for making that call. I consider it my highest duty and my finest privilege to make that call here and now, at this great Convention of American workers.

Over there, in Europe, just as here in the United States and in all other parts of the world, many things are happening. Great changes are taking place. Vast, fundamental changes are taking place. Whether we like

it or not we must take notice of these changes. Of course, we can shut our eyes to what is happening, and pretend that nothing is altering. But would that be wise? Is that the kind of attitude which sensible men of affairs would adopt?

I think not.

If we are to be men of our own time we must become conscious of what is transpiring in our own time, and exercise our influence and do our work in accordance therewith. We must not let pride or prejudice blur our understanding. We must have open minds, clear judgment, and be quick to realize and appreciate to the full the new issues, questions and problems that are continuously arising.

Things do not stand still. Things have not stood still with the world, or with any part of the world. The world is today a vastly different place to what it was even at the conclusion of the Great War.

Science and industry—much of which owes its birth to America—now encircle the world in a mesh which is being drawn tighter and tighter. Our poor little planet is being made to shrink and shrink. You all know what the steamship and the oilship, the aeroplane and electric railways are doing. You all know what the cablegram and radiogram are doing. Geographical barriers are being swept aside, the barriers of race and creed are being broken down.

To cross the Atlantic or Pacific today is less difficult—is less troublesome and dangerous—than it was to cross an inland sea like the Mediterranean a century ago. You are informed here as to what is happening in London or Paris, Moscow or Berlin, Calcutta or Peking, as quickly as to what is happening in Chicago or Little Old New York.

Just as I have mentioned how American films and songs, newspapers and machinery, influence the life of our people in Great Britain so equally could I have said they influence in degree the peoples of Europe, and countries like Japan, China, India, and those other parts of Asia and Africa and Australia where modern capitalism holds sway. So too are you here—the people of the United States—influenced in turn by what is done abroad and exported from abroad. I want you to sense this, to let your minds reflect upon it, and to realize its full significance.

This last few years I have done a considerable amount of travelling. I have visited all the countries of Europe. One day I have been in Manchester and London, another day in Amsterdam, in Paris or Berlin, or Moscow or Vienna. I have visited these places as a workman and as a representative of our trade union and Labor organizations. I have been brought into contact with Labor Union officials and leaders of all kinds, and with the organized workers. I have spoken at countless conferences and meetings, marched in processions, participated in demonstration. I have felt the pulse of our great movement; heard as it were, the beating of the mighty heart of the toiling millions. And in London, Berlin, Moscow and Vienna, and in many other towns and cities, I have watched the serried ranks of the hosts of Labor go marching past. It is impossible for me to convey to you the surge and thrill of it all—to give you any idea of the sweep and passion and power of it all.

I have been made to realize that there is

growing upon this old world of ours a vast and tremendous vital force, a gigantic confraternity of Labor, a world power, possessed of inconceivable potential strength, profound in ideas and pregnant with the genius of a new human mode of life and culture. This, I say, is growing up, taking shape, coming into being. It is only half articulate as yet. Its power is dispersed and, in many cases, unrealized. Its strands have yet to be gathered together. Its forces have yet to be centralized, reorganized and rendered capable of full expression. But there it is.

The call I want to make to you, our fellow workers of America, is to join with us in this great confraternity of Labor. Upon reflection I am sure you will realize that it is to your interest, to your advancement and betterment to do so.

We need the American Federation of Labor in our Trade Union International. We require the American point of view stated in our international deliberations, at our international conferences. We need the presence of your representatives to aid us in planning our world work and developing our world organization.

Just as the Governmental representatives of the United States are in practically every country of the world giving effect to the policy of your Government; just as the powerful American trusts and combines have representatives and agents in every country of the world, advancing their interests, so must American Labor be in a position, also to safeguard its interests internationally.

I tell you that the policy of isolation is a mistaken one. You cannot afford to think only in terms of the United States, or of the Americas. The Monroe Doctrine no longer holds good for your government—as its imperial policy in the Philippines, in China and elsewhere demonstrates—and no longer holds good for your capitalists. It can no longer hold good for you.

Circumstances, the development of capitalism, the establishment of great industrial fabrics in Asia, Africa and Australia, necessarily compels you to take a world view and to act from a world standpoint.

The other day I read a letter which your worthy President, Brother William Green, addressed to President Coolidge, in which he states that: "The organized workers must see to it that the wage-earners of China, who are now turning to Trade Union organization, are guaranteed justice and liberty and the opportunity of the free development of their movement in a land enjoying national freedom."

That was a generous and noble letter to write at a time when the workers of China were undergoing strife and suffering, and confronted by repressive action on the part of the leading governments of the world. And I submit that that is a case in point, which emphasizes the call I am making.

There is an aspect of the international work of our movement which I think calls for very serious consideration here in America. My attention was first drawn to it by the policy of our movement in Australia. For years it has been the settled policy of the Australian Labor movement to maintain a white Australia. Vigorous exclusion laws have been promulgated against Japanese, Indians and Kanakas to prevent them from entering Australia. The fundamental reason for this has

been the determination of the workers there to prevent a lowering of their wage and living standards by the competition of cheap Labor. The same policy has been pursued, so I understand, in California. I think I am right in saying that there has been considerable feeling about this matter, and that it is still a burning question. And, in regard to the United States generally, this question of immigration is a matter of grave concern. Suppose, however, we take a glance at the converse side of the situation. These foreign workers are excluded, but they are still in being. They are outside the country, but they are none the less ready and willing, diligent and intelligent, and capable. There are other parts of the world for them to go to. There are Asia and Africa—thousands of Hindoos are now working in South Africa. They can work in these places equally as well as in Australia or the United States—given the means.

They are being given the means.

It is a fundamental urge, an insistent impulse, of capitalism to go to those places where labor is cheap and where the raw materials are immediately available. Capitalism, the trusts and combines, business men generally, know no frontiers. The capitalists are not concerned about maintaining race purity or the conservation of jobs for the workers of any one particular country. They are merely concerned about profits. Your American capitalist is not concerned whether his factory be in San Francisco or Tokio, so long as he can make the most out of it. If these foreign workers, working for very low wages, receiving cents where you would be receiving dollars, are working in a Tokio factory or a Shanghai factory, or a Bombay or Calcutta factory, they are none the less competitors to the wage earners of this country, just as if they had been working in San Francisco, Chicago, or New York.

I want you to let that fact sink deeply into your minds, and to reflect upon it in relation to the enormous development of industrialism in Japan, India, China, South Africa and the other parts of the world where there are infinite reserves of poor workers—workers of the brown, yellow and black races—anxious and willing to be drawn into the industrial vortex.

In India today there are twelve million wage earners, in the modern sense, working in mills, factories, workshops and mines, on railways and at the ports. And factories and mills are being set up, mines are being sunk, railways are being built, at a very rapid rate. As with India, so with China, and the other parts of the world.

What will the wage earners of America do to maintain their wage and living standards? What will they do against this menacing competition? What can they do by pursuing a policy of isolation, shutting themselves off from the world as though the world did not exist? How can the 750 millions of Indo-Chinese population isolate themselves?

And here I want to say that the world is a battleground of conflicting industrialisms. America aspires to obtain the world market for her goods. Britain aspires to obtain the world markets for her goods. Japan, Germany, France, all the capitalist countries do the same, and the world market is woefully circumscribed, restricted. As things are the

tendency must inevitably be for the world market to go to those countries where the raw materials are at hand, labor is underpaid, and the costs of production are low. And I say further, that the only hope for the future of American labor, and indeed the world's white race, is for the Trade Union movement, internationally, to raise the status of the workers in Asia and Africa, to assist them with Trade Union organization so that they may build up their own Trade Union organization, and through that means secure higher rates of pay and better working and living conditions. We, all the workers of Europe and the Western World, will go down unless we help them to come up. The only way we can help them up is to assist them with our movement, united in one powerful Trade Union International.

Nor is that all. We must now realize that the economy of the world is so highly developed, so technically efficient, and so extensive, that infinitely more can be produced than consumed under capitalism. In Britain we have 12 per cent of our workers permanently unemployed. And our experts tell us that unemployment must grow increasingly worse. Not because our workers have lost any of their skill or capacity, not because they have suddenly been bereft of their ability to work. Nor is it because we have not in Britain the machinery, the plant, the technical apparatus for employing them. No, it is because the markets to which British manufactures were normally sent and sold, are now markets no longer. These places where we found those markets—India, South Africa, Australia, and so on—are now manufacturing, to a large degree, their own goods. Their industrialism has so developed that they in their turn are seeking for markets. Industrialism is making such tremendous strides that it will not be long before a somewhat similar position to that of Britain obtains here in America. What are we wage earners, the people most concerned, going to do about it? We must find a way out for ourselves somehow, and to do that we will need all our organized strength, and all our corporate international intelligence.

Thus we are faced with new fundamental issues and great new tasks.

I have been to Russia. There I have seen the workers assuming vast responsibilities and duties, carrying through the organization of society under frightful difficulties. As a workman I am proud of the genius for organization and the essential grip of things which my class in Russia has displayed. Just as your President sent that warm and helpful letter on behalf of the Chinese workers, demonstrating thereby a desire to help those Chinese workers in their difficulties, so I want you to approach the question of relations with the workers of Russia. Let the same generous spirit prevail. The times we live in are too big, too fraught with fate, to permit of little prejudices, barring the way to human relationships. Russia is a very big place—the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics occupies one-sixth of the land surface of the globe. It is an enormous factor in the world—a tremendously powerful factor in the life of the world. Just recently I read in the press that a great business concession amounting to millions of dollars was granted by the Russian Government

to one of your leading firms. Many American capitalists and financiers have been to Russia, endeavoring to fix up business deals. There is illimitable potential wealth in Russia. The soil of Russia is rich, the mineral resources of Russia are enormous, the timber, flax, hides and raw materials of Russia generally are plentiful. Given a few good harvest years and Russia will become one of the wealthiest countries in the world. I have seen the foundations of the biggest electrification scheme in the world being laid down in Russia. The Russian people are a great people—strong, patient, hard-working and clever. And they number 150 millions. These people, these workers and peasants, are building up a new economy and a new life, keenly and rapidly adopting to their use all the latest developments in science and industry, the most up-to-date machinery, the most modern and technical devices. I say that you, workers of America, have much to learn from Russia. We must not be afraid of new ideas. It has often struck me that while the Americans have been the most advanced—the most receptive—in ideas concerning mechanical invention and business organization, they have been most slow in accepting new social and political ideas. I do hope that from now on, the organized workers of America will establish the closest fraternal relations with the organized workers of Russia. Just as the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, representative of the whole Trade Union movement of Britain, has sent delegations to Russia, so I hope and trust the American Federation of Labor will do the same. Do not be afraid of being called names. Were Abraham Lincoln, Sam Gompers, or 'Gene Debs, those great sons of the American people, ever afraid of being called names, or being reviled, maligned and persecuted?

In Britain, as you no doubt know, we have made enormous strides forward with our movement—not merely in a Trade Union sense, but with our political and cooperative organizations as well. Britain is a compact little island and the difficulties of organization are not so many as you have in this great country. Some months ago we had a labor government in office, a few months hence we hope to have a labor government in power. Our movement, in its different phases, is becoming more and more unified, becoming one in purpose and objective. I think some of our experiences will be valuable to you here in America—just as some of your experiences teach us many valuable lessons over there. Let us exchange experiences more frequently. Give us the opportunity of profiting more by those experiences. Once again, I say, let our comradeship and brotherhood be a real and lasting thing. The workers of the world hold the future in their hands.

Good luck and continued prosperity to the American Federation of Labor!

President Green: Now, fellow delegates, after listening to this interesting address delivered by Fraternal Delegate Purcell, I have great pleasure in introducing to you his colleague, Brother Ben Smith is a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union of Great Britain. He is serving now

as a member of the British Parliament. He is recognized as the Labor Party's whip, and he comes to us with a message of very great interest to the American labor movement. I now present to you Fraternal Delegate Ben Smith, who will address you.

ADDRESS OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE BEN SMITH

British Trades Union Congress

Mr. President, fellow trades unionists and friends: With my colleague I wish, on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress, to offer our sincere condolence in the bereavement that your movement has suffered with the departure of your late President Gompers, and further, on behalf of the Sixty-seventh Congress of Great Britain, I offer you fraternal greetings in the name of the trades unionists of Great Britain. We are miles apart, yet, as has been truly said, there is an understanding between us. Your shipping, your cables, all of those things are bringing us together. Many complaints have been made that the distance is great, that the Atlantic Ocean out there lies between us. Like our movement, it is at times placid, and again like our movement it is at times turbulent, but again like our movement, ever the great highway of fraternity between the peoples of the world.

We in Great Britain watch with interest the development of your movement. We study, as nearly as is humanly possible, the methods adopted by you in America. We in England follow other methods. You believe in the great trade union movement to usurp economic domination from the few to the many. We, on the other hand, believe just as you do, that the first plank in our movement is the great trade union movement in Great Britain, and the second plank in our movement is the great cooperative movement in England, numbering four millions of people, with a turn-over of approximately 500,000,000 pounds a year.

On the other hand, we believe that it is right and proper—and I suppose we are old fashioned—but we believe that it is right and proper that we should be in the councils of the nation, that we who have suffered from the laws should be parties to the making of the laws. That is our belief. But the point I am urging, Mr. President, is this: that whilst our methods may be different our aims are identical.

Friends, may I touch upon what I call the domestic side of the British trade union movement? Your press, like our press, is a biased press. It can't help it, I suppose, having regard to its ownership; one can't expect the press owned by the dominant to reflect the views of the dominated, but your press is continually telling you here—and up to now I have travelled 20,000 miles of the American continent—that the workers of England are idle people, that the workers of England are people who prefer a dole to work, that the workers of England are malingering, that England is going down because of the damnable and pernicious dole.

Friends, I say to you in the name of the British people that there is no such thing

in Great Britain as a dole. What is it? It is a compulsory national unemployment scheme. It embraces fifteen millions of working people from whom are compulsorily deducted every week of their lives, whether they have worked half a day, whether they have worked a whole week, nine pence per week, or 18 pence in your money and from the employer himself, who is compelled to pay a further ten pence per week, or 20 cents in your money. Those two items being brought together form the fund for the payment of the benefits that these men and women are legally entitled to.

We resent, we resent very much, that the British work people should be hounded by a press about the world as men who will malingering, as men who will prefer the stigma of a dole to hard work. It is a strange commentary, Mr. President and friends, that those men who, a few short years ago, lined up upon the side of the people, were dying for the country literally by the thousands, were making the great sacrifice in the name of world peace—it is a strange commentary that those people should, in that day, be lauded to the skies as a Christ-like offering, as a Christ-like sacrifice in the names of the countries for which they fought—it is a strange commentary indeed that today those very men, ninety per cent of whom have served in the army and navy over the seas, should be hounded to the world as people who are drawing a dole and won't work. It is indeed a sad commentary, and, friends, I want to say to you when you read those statements in the press, please understand that those benefits are a benefit by right, established by Parliament and paid for as a right to the men and women of England.

Is it the fault of these men and women that they are idle? May I put it to you, friends, that the reason these men and women are idle is because of the war. Here in Great Britain, under the Treaty of Versailles, we have been receiving for several years millions of tons of new shipping made by the German work people and handed to Great Britain as reparation. Our ship yards have been idle for the whole period, our steel smelters have been idle, our iron ore workers have been idle, our miners, our engineers, have been idle by the mere fact that, having won the war, the people who were defeated by them are now being used to bring the goods into England, which is responsible for the unemployment so prevalent in our country.

You have heard and read that we are a nation who believe in strikes, that we are a nation who are rapidly swinging over to the left and following the Communist doctrines, that we are a nation gone mad for power. Friends, the movement that we stand for, as I have heard it enunciated by your President, is a constitutional movement. We want the things that should be ours, and when the people are ready for them, by the mere incident of a cross on a ballot paper they can get them. We wait for that opportunity, we believe that that is the proper method.

We have today in Parliament 152 members sent by five and one half millions of the people of Great Britain. Only a few

weeks ago, in a by-election—showing you the character of our movement—a 6,000 Conservative majority was turned into a 2,000 Labor majority. We believe in using every possible means to bring about the emancipation of our people, but, friends, whilst you are reading these things in the press, side by side we have growing up in England a Fascist movement, a movement that is offering its services, in the event of a strike, to blackleg the people. Our Home Secretary, as dominant a bigot as ever existed, as narrow a bigot as ever lived, is today parading Great Britain saying, "Join in the special Constabulary; come in and we will welcome you, and if it is to be force we will use force to destroy the opposition."

Friends, is it we who are the people that want to ruin our country, or is it again the representatives of those dominant few in Great Britain? We believe—I assert it again—we believe in using every weapon to bring about the emancipation of our people. We believe, having used those weapons internally, that we ought to forge a larger weapon, we believe in going to the great humanities of the world, as you believe, from the letters and correspondence I have read prove you to believe, on behalf of the down-trodden workers in the world. We believe in garnering together the great humanities of the peoples, believing that in that great humanity we shall find salvation for all our troubles.

You have read again, friends, that our miners are a terrible lot of people. You have read that industry is now subsidized, that a settlement was effected which will end on the first of May which, in fact, subsidized wages. I ask you not to believe it. What has happened is this: that the mine worker in Great Britain is entitled to a guaranteed minimum wage by Act of Parliament; he is entitled to his seven hours from bank to bank by Act of Parliament. He is standing to hold both those Acts of Parliament, he is standing for it, but the employers said, "we can't compete with American coal, we can't compete with the shipments from Newport News and Hampton Roads, American labor is rapidly defeating you; you must work longer hours, you must take less wages." And the miners said, "No, we are below the 1914 standard; we, with the other work people of England, have made our contribution to the cause of national prosperity by the surrendering of six hundred million pounds a year in wages. You have gone far enough."

And the whole of the Unions of Great Britain, without exception, when the employers demanded their pound of flesh, came together and said, "Well, take it, but you will take it with every wheel of industry stopped." And a great powerful government who, in the House of Commons assured us in the morning that not a penny of subsidy should be given, capitulated to them in the afternoon. How did they capitulate? By saying to the owners, "These men's conditions are by Act of Parliament, but you pay the wages out of your profits, your 13 per cent of the total, and if your profits don't equal 13 per cent we, the British government, will make that 13 per cent

up to you." So that it is subsidizing of profits, and not a subsidizing of wages.

Our campaign, friends, goes on; our movement goes on, as your movement will go on. We have had our setbacks, you have had your setbacks, but like the reflux wave, never quite receding to the position from which you started, always a little nearer the goal, always a little more compact, always gradually evolving policy and translating that into action. That is a world movement, it is a movement that must inevitably go on, it is a movement that, were it to be checked, would lead, in my belief, to the destruction of the peoples of the world.

Friends, I heard your President speak of child labor. We in England have had our period of child labor, we have had our women workers. We attended with you a convention in Washington, wherein it was generally agreed and carried by resolution, on the request of the British government, that a 48-hour week or an eight-hour day should become the practice of the civilized peoples of the world, no two shifts to be worked by women, and conditions were laid down for child labor. We in England have continually pressed the point that it is a matter of honor on behalf of the British government to justify their action at Washington, to carry a resolution to an Act of Parliament to that effect, and their reply always is, "yes, we did it in good faith, but if we do it the other countries will take advantage of it, the other countries haven't got this system, the other countries work longer hours and have less wages."

May I ask, Mr. President, whether we and you, with our colleagues from Germany, with our colleagues in Europe, cannot, by some pressure, establish what I believe would be the marking point in our history by forcing our respective governments to honor their pledge at the Washington conference in the name of the children, the women and the men?

Friends, ours is a great human movement, it is a movement that some of us, as we go along and get old in it, get a little conservative. Some of us look down to the rising generation and think they are mere usurpers. That thought has been present right through the ages of men. Friends, let me say to you that we must welcome the young people of the world, that is, we must help them in their aspirations and their outlook, for only by unifying those forces, joining with them, the sage confidence of age and impulse of youth in the world can we bring about the final emancipation of the peoples of the world.

President Green: For years and years there has been developing between the workers of America and the workers of the Republic of Mexico the most friendly and cordial relations; we have been increasing understanding and we have been promoting good will. Those of you who attended the El Paso convention, I am sure, will never forget that inspiring gathering jointly held by the representatives of the workers of the Republic of Mexico and the

representatives of the American Federation of Labor.

It is our purpose to strengthen, by every reasonable and honorable means at our command, the bonds of friendship and of good will and to promote cooperation between the workers of these two Republics. The American Federation of Labor is deeply interested in the economic, political and social welfare of the workers of Mexico, and we have watched with feelings of gratification the splendid way in which the workers of Mexico have united themselves together and have promoted solidarity among themselves. We have always protested when we thought a wrong was being perpetrated upon them. We will continue to protest, and we want the workers of Mexico to always understand that they have in the American Federation of Labor a friend that will prove a friend when they need a friend.

We are honored at this convention by having with us duly accredited fraternal delegates from the Mexican Federation of Labor. I have the honor now to present to you Brother Roberto Haberman, General Delegate of the Mexico Federation of Labor to the United States, who will now address you.

ADDRESS OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE ROBERTO HABERMAN

Mexican Federation of Labor

Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters, and fraternal comrades from other countries: It is both a pleasure and a duty to be here at this convention. It is a pleasure because I have had the opportunity of seeing so many old friends, and it is a pleasure because I bring to you the greetings of one and one-half millions of organized workers. It is still a greater pleasure because I have been asked by the President of Mexico, Brother Plutarco Elias Calles, to bring to you his personal fraternal greetings.

It is a duty for Mexico and Mexico's labor to be represented always at all meetings held by the American Federation of Labor or any organization belonging to the American Federation of Labor. It is the duty of the Mexican Federation of Labor and of Mexico to go to the four corners of the earth and let everybody know what the American Federation of Labor has done for us during very hard and trying days, because I want you to know, brothers, that the open shoppers of America, the same element referred to here in ordinary language as the "Wall Street imperialists," those are the people who have always fomented trouble in Mexico. And alongside these Wall Street imperialists we have the British imperialists, the French imperialists, and the rest of them.

Sixty-five per cent of Mexico is in the hands of foreign interests. But not once has the American Federation of Labor refused a request. At times it has not even been requested to stand up in protest against any injustice done to Mexico. When we had warships sent down to Mexico by the Washington government without any reason whatsoever, in violation of all existing treaties, it was the American Federation of Labor, through the voice of Samuel Gompers, that person whose name will never be forgotten in Mexico, that stood up to defend not only the Mexican Federation of Labor but the whole of Mexico. The American Federation of Labor is the only labor movement that has ever done anything for Mexico; all others have been against it. It was the labor government of one of the largest nations in Europe which broke diplomatic relations with Mexico and threatened war.

The so-called labor government of Russia has not done anything for Mexico but give trouble. Not once have they done a single thing that did not mean trouble for Mexico. Only three months ago Tcheitchern, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in making his annual report to some Congress of Soviets or other, said this about Mexico:

"It is a very fortunate thing that we have diplomatic relations with Mexico. This will give us the opportunity to use Mexico as a basis of operations on the North American continent." What do they mean by that? I will tell you. Russia says that Wall Street imperialism is the most dangerous imperialism that we have. I don't doubt that that is true. Russia says, "We must weaken that imperialism. How can we do it? If we could only start a war between Mexico and the United States! Wars cost a lot of money, and that would debilitate the American imperialism and give us a chance in Russia."

In other words, they are trying to make of us the sacrificial goat, so that they can go on and enjoy these great things that Brother Purcell says they do in Russia. That is very nice, but we don't want to be sacrificed, we don't look like martyrs, you have to have a special kind of a look to look like a martyr, and we don't have that.

At the last convention we held in Juarez the Mexican Federation of Labor saw what was coming, and we passed a resolution saying that the Mexican Federation of Labor would prevent Mexico's being used as a basis of operations against the American Federation of Labor or American institutions. Anybody who wants to attack the American Federation of Labor, the American government or American institutions may do so, but they will have to do it right here in the United States, not in Mexico.

We don't want that to be taken as an attack against the people of Russia or anything like that. You know the Communist movement in Mexico doesn't amount to anything and it is dying off in the United States. I merely mention this thing because I do hope that somebody in

Moscow will get it—and they do have a few honest souls in Moscow, and I hope they don't read the *Daily Worker*, but rather the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor.

To show you how much they know about Mexico in Russia, that country has never been represented by a Mexican in any one of their conventions. They know nothing about Mexico, they have never sent anybody down there who knows the language, but they get that idea into their head and that is all there is to it, and anybody who does not fall in with that particular idea is a fakir, a crook, and what not. The best way for you to know what is going on in Mexico is not to read the *Daily Worker*. There was a time when I used to talk about the terrible lies that the capitalist press wrote about Mexico, but I want you to know that the most infamous capitalist sheet does not write more infamous lies about Mexico than the *Daily Worker*.

This is the way they publish stories. I suppose they send some one down there who opens up a map of Mexico and takes the name of a city; they always have the name of a city correct. They will say, for instance—"Aguas Calientes—troops have been sent here by Calles to shoot down the workers." There was a time a few months ago when they used to print these things in special blocks, and that is why I go all over and say this thing, that is why I talk about this most brilliant page in the history of international labor relations, the relations between the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor.

We have very little in common, the two labor movements, except the goal, and the goal is the betterment of the workers. We may go even further than the American Federation of Labor, because in Mexico we do believe in the class struggle, we do believe in the socialization of all the means of production and distribution. We have different forms of organization, different languages, different ideals. It is up to you to decide who your President shall be; that is up to the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, you have the right to say how you are going to write your own labor constitutions, how you are going to regulate your hours of work. That is none of our business in Mexico, and it is none of your business what we do in Mexico within our own Unions, but it is our duty, as laboring people, as internationalists, to keep on the best terms possible with all the labor movements the world over. We don't send emissaries to bore from within, we don't send money for ulterior purposes, but when we do send money we send it to deposit in the labor banks of the United States. Whenever we do send emissaries to the United States we send them to find out who sells union-made machinery, and we buy it.

As I said a moment ago the Communist Party in Mexico is very insignificant. They had a little bit of a hectic flush of life when Mexico opened up diplomatic relations with Russia. Russia turned loose upon the world a bunch of these people

who want to be somebody; they can't work, they don't know anything, and all they can do is to call you names, and they feel that by calling you names they are superior persons.

You know the history of Mexico; it has been told to you often, that terrible, bloody history of Mexico. It was terrible and bloody up to about fifteen years ago, and it was just about as bloody up to five years ago. We had in Mexico a system of peonage worse than the slaves in the South in your country, for this reason: the slaves in the South used to cost money, some as high as two thousand dollars, and whether they worked or didn't work they were well looked after, they had physical attention when they were sick, they had homes to live in and food to eat. In Mexico the system was infinitely worse, because although the Mexican constitution always prohibited slavery, they got a law passed that as long as a man owed money to another man he could not leave his employ, and it was not long before every worker in Mexico owed money to some master. When the old man died the debt was transmitted to his children. This is how there came about in Mexico a system of peonage that is without equal in the history of the world.

After the first revolution all the workers of Mexico became anarchists and syndicalists. And so they went, revolution after revolution, and the leaders and politicians would promise them all sorts of things before the revolution, but no sooner would the revolution be over than they would turn right against the workers.

In 1917 the Constitution was passed, with its famous Article 123, and in that Constitution were certain provisions for labor. The reason that was done was to get the workers to make Carranza President, and the workers once more organized in Red battalions and fought for Carranza as against Villa and against Zapata. As soon as this revolution was over the Constitution became a dead letter, as do all laws, no matter how radical they may be in countries where the workers are not well organized. Twice that has been our experience in Mexico.

At that time, in 1918, the Mexican Federation of Labor had its first convention. We have had only six annual conventions, and since then the Mexican labor movement has grown to a dues paying membership of one and one-quarter millions, although the membership is about 1,800,000. When I say dues paying membership I mean that the whole dues amount to about \$2,000 per month. The workers earn very little pay in Mexico, as you know.

The Mexican labor movement has always remained very militant; it has not mixed up in political affairs; but here we have these beautiful laws and no way of putting them into practice, because, as I say, no sooner would these politicians be elected by labor than they would turn against labor. And so it was about five years ago that we saw the necessity of going into politics, but we did not go into politics as the Mexican Federation of Labor. Under

no conditions and at no time is it permissible to discuss politics in any union meeting throughout Mexico, but we have founded the Mexican Labor Party, which fights on the political ground for the economic program of the Mexican Federation of Labor. In politics you have to dilly-dally, you have to make deals, you have to trade. It is the Labor Party that does it in Mexico, and not the Mexican Federation of Labor.

It is due to that political party that we have been able to elect Brother Plutarco Elias Calles at the last election, the first labor President on this continent, who, besides being a member of organized labor in Mexico, is also a member of organized labor in the United States, being a member of the International Association of Machinists.

Although the Labor Party of Mexico is the strong political party and the only organized political party, we have only one member in the Cabinet, and that is Brother Morones. We have a minority in Congress. We could have elected the majority, but we did not do so because we are humble enough to realize that we do not know how to do things. People who have been slaves up to a few years ago cannot run the machinery of government or the machinery of production. We, too, tried that experiment that we could create a new society by raising a red flag on the building every morning, but the babies did not have milk, they were crying for milk and not red flags.

So this is the problem we are now faced with in Mexico City—teaching labor how to run things, how to read and write—not just for that alone, but so that they may take the management of government into their own hands, and alongside it the management of industry, because one without the other does not work in Mexico.

They always called us names, they always said we were a bunch of Socialists, anarchists, and what not. When I first went to Mexico nine years ago I went down to the Socialist State of Yucatan. I saw red flags everywhere. I happened to be a member of the Socialist Party myself in New York, and I pulled out my red card and showed it to the President of the Socialist Party, Felipe Carillo. He never knew there was such a thing in existence. Somehow they had heard that Socialism was for the betterment of things in life. Yucatan was being used as the Siberia of Mexico. That was where they sent all the rebellious labor leaders and the politicians who did not agree with the government. When I went down there my head was full of resolutions and manifestos and platforms and programs. In Yucatan over 90 per cent of the people said they belonged to the Socialist Party, because they had been in a state of slavery and they were made free, they were given land and they were helped to build homes, so naturally they all became Socialists.

But irrespective of all that, brothers, we have been able to put across in Mexico probably some of the most miraculous work ever done on this continent. It is truly

a miracle when one studies Mexico as it used to be and Mexico as it is today. We have Article 123 of the Mexican Constitution, which was written one year before the Russian Revolution and which is, up to date, the most revolutionary and radical labor code in the world.

Mexico became a Republic after the United States did—about thirty or forty years after. We naturally looked to the United States for guidance; Mexico borrowed lots of American institutions, it borrowed a Constitution, a Senate, and it also borrowed the Supreme Court, but they put into their laws a provision making it impossible for the Supreme Court, after laws had been adopted in favor of women and children workers, to declare those laws unconstitutional. We have all these things, the eight-hour law, the seven hours at night, child labor is prohibited, we have the right to form unions, the right to strike, the right to boycott, the right to do almost anything we please. The employers have the right to form Chambers of Commerce and merchants and manufacturers' associations. We have all the reform laws that you people are fighting for. We have a minimum wage law that says the worker is entitled to enough wages for his normal needs and his education and normal pleasures. It is the first and only Constitution that has the word "pleasure" in it, and especially in relation to the workers.

The most interesting thing in the Mexican Constitution is this: we have boards of arbitration and conciliation, which are made up just the way they are in the United States—representatives of labor, capital, and the government. Wherever labor is powerful politically the other representative is also a labor man. If the decision of the board of conciliation and arbitration is not accepted by the employer he must pay three months' wages to the workers and all the damages they suffer. If the workers don't obey, the contract they had with the employer is considered at an end, and there is no penalty.

Paragraph 16 of Article 123 says that the workers shall have the right to form unions, syndicates, etc. We recently had a street car strike in the city of Mexico. The company, which is a British-Canadian company employing about 6,000 street car workers, had a little company union of twenty men to whom they were paying salaries of \$1,000 a month. The others formed a Union and said, "We want recognition under Article 16." The company said, "No, you can't be recognized, you already have a Union."

We went to the board of conciliation and arbitration and the board decided with the Union. A strike was called, and for fifteen days not a wheel moved in Mexico City. When we call a strike in Mexico City we take the labor flag, a red and black flag, and we nail it on the door, on all doors, and you can't get in or out. Police and soldiers are sent there, but they are sent to see that property is not damaged, and the strike goes on until it is decided one way or the other. This British company was not going to settle the strike.

After the strike had lasted fifteen days President Calles sent a note to the president of this street car company and said, "There seems to be a conflict of powers in Mexico. On one side is the government and the Constitution? When I became President I swore to uphold the Constitution, and I intend to make my oath a true one, and the Constitution says the workers have the right to unite. On the other hand we have another power, and that is the street car company. These two powers cannot be in Mexico at the same time; one of them is superfluous, and I give you seventy-two hours to tell me which one—the government or you." The strike was settled the next day.

And that wasn't all. There is that queer provision in the Constitution which says that when the employer refuses to accept a decision of the board of conciliation and arbitration he must pay three months' wages and the damages suffered by the workers. In this case there were not three months' wages, because the workers went back to work after fifteen days, but they suffered damages. What were the damages? The wages lost during the strike. I have here a clipping from the New York Times showing where the President of Mexico ordered the company to pay \$100,000 to the workers on account of the disobedience of that company.

It may interest you to know that in Mexico there is no such thing as an injunction in labor cases. In Yucatan we have a law which provides that during a strike the places of organized workers cannot be taken by unorganized workers. The only people who can serve during a strike must be union members and must have lived in that community for six months. We made those laws for one thing, just to convince the workers that all the laws are not worth the paper they are written on unless the workers are organized. In Mexico we go out on strikes wherever we have to, and where we don't we control the government politically; we elect our own governors and our own mayors and they enforce the laws.

Labor is represented in the present government of Mexico, because we believe it is a labor government in so far as it can be, where the workers are 85 per cent illiterate, because they have just come out of slavery, but the day when that government ceases to do justice to the workers, that is the day when Brother Morones and everybody else ceases to work for the government. We have done it before.

We have done other things in Mexico. We believe in internationalism, we believe that the peace of the world rests upon international labor relations, and that is why Mexico has stopped appointing naval and military attaches. We don't appoint attaches to see how many soldiers and how many battleships other countries have. We need the money in Mexico for buying plows, building schools and buying books, and we don't want money to buy arms and ammunition and aeroplanes.

The Mexican government has stopped ap-

pointing these people and is appointing labor attaches to represent the Mexican workers through the labor organizations in the various countries where these labor attaches are going. The first labor attache appointed by Mexico was Brother Vargas, who was sent to Washington last April. We have labor attaches in six European countries and one down in Brazil. We are short of men, and that is the only reason why we have not appointed more.

You who have been in Mexico have seen the poverty that exists there. This year we have had to import corn. Most of Mexico gives three crops a year; it is always like a spring day, and yet we have had to import corn. That is due to these many revolutions, due to the ignorance of labor, and due especially to the disloyalty of some of the revolutionary leaders.

The labor movement is completely subjected to the government in this labor of reconstruction, because we have found out for ourselves that we must discipline labor in Mexico. We have all the rights in the world as given to us by that very glorious Constitution, but we are trying to teach the workers that besides rights they have duties and obligations. We want to teach the workers their duties and their obligations and make them realize that the only way they can rule society, politically and industrially, is by having a high sense of duty, they must know how to do things, their word must be as good as their bond. That is the job we have on hand today.

Thanks to the American Federation of Labor, the good will between the American people and the Mexican people has never been better than it is today. It was shown in this last trouble, when somebody, through some misunderstanding in Washington, sent a note down to Mexico, and the whole American labor movement stood up as one and demanded justice for Mexico. It is due to this great work done by the American Federation of Labor that this great period of undertaking and peace is ruling now in Mexico. We want you to be stronger than you ever dreamed of, because the stronger you are in the United States the stronger we will be in Mexico. As long as the American Federation of Labor goes on in the way it has been going on in relation to Mexico we have nothing to fear. We hope that before long there will be one labor movement on this continent, and I hope your next meeting place will be Mexico City. That is the best invitation I can give to you now.

President Green: I am advised by Brother Haberman and Brother Vargas, who is also a fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor, that Brother Haberman has spoken for both, and that Brother Vargas will not avail himself of the opportunity to address this convention. I know we were all happy to hear the interesting message delivered by Brother Haberman. We enjoyed his humor and his words of wisdom, all blended together in such a way as to be deeply appreciated.

Now we have another speaker, a fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. You know without my telling you how friendly have been the relationships between the working people of Canada and the American Federation of Labor. We hardly know where the boundary line between the United States and Canada is drawn; it is difficult to tell where the Dominion of Canada begins and the Republic of America ends, if I may put it that way. Through years of association and understanding, we have developed a movement of cooperation and good will.

I present to you, with very great pleasure, Brother Donald Dear, Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

ADDRESS OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE DONALD DEAR

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

Mr. President, fellow delegates and friends: I have been entrusted this morning, on behalf of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, to deliver two messages to you. The first one is to express to you our deepest sympathy on the death of your departed President Gompers. The second is to extend fraternal greetings from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Both of these things I do with absolute sincerity.

Our convention, just closed in Canada, revealed that one of the outstanding problems was the problem of unemployment, and year after year this problem is becoming more difficult to meet. It may be truthfully said that no problem confronting society today is so universal in its character as the problem of unemployment.

In close relation to the problem of unemployment comes our problem of immigration. We saw in Canada, during the month of July, which should have been one of the peak years for employment in Canada, 65,000 farm hands that could be procured to go to our Western Canada for the harvest fields.

On the other hand, we saw immigration agents throughout European countries particularly, telling the workers that Canada is in need of labor. I don't for one moment wish to say that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is opposed to immigration, providing it can be assimilated, and I will read now the Declaration of the Trades and Labor Congress in 1924:

"It will be noticed that the principle that Canada should have the right to accept or reject any immigrant coming to Canada is accepted as a definite policy by organized labor, in common with all other classes in Canada; and the defining as to what 'nationalities and classes of people' are not a desirable acquisition to our citizenship must remain with the Canadian Government.

"Of paramount importance in Canada, in this respect, has been, and is yet, the ques-

tion of Oriental immigration. This need not be elaborated, as agreements have been reached between the Canadian Government and other parts of the Empire which have eliminated this so far as Oriental British citizens are concerned. It might be stated, however, that the admittance of Oriental laborers into Canada is primarily sought to supply cheap labor and is of no benefit whatsoever either to the immigrant or the country from which he comes, or to Canadian labor or Canada generally.

"A second phase of this subject is that dealing with the refusal on the part of Canadian authorities to admit British subjects on moral or physical grounds. Numbers of persons charged with various crimes in Great Britain have been in the past acquitted on the consideration that they left for Canada, or other parts of the Empire. Some public bodies in Great Britain have lent themselves to the idea of relieving themselves of a responsibility of maintaining their charges by shipping them to Canada, without any regard to the fitness of the individual.

"Others have been led, by false inducements, to leave for Canada, only to find themselves seriously handicapped in obtaining a living in a country which demands physical fitness to an exceptional degree.

"All these have led to rejections upon arrival and deportations which in numerous cases have created great hardships to the immigrant and often financial loss and personal sufferings to the immediate relatives of the immigrant.

"To reduce this, as much as possible, organized labor has pressed for medical examination of immigrants, to take place in their home country and ask for the fullest cooperation of the British authorities to make this possible and effective. The official declaration of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is:

"Medical and other examination of immigrants to take place at port of embarkation."

Regarding our legislation in the Dominion of Canada, we are going slowly, but surely. A little over ten years ago Ontario was the only province with a workmen's compensation act. Now we have a total of six out of the nine provinces enjoying similar legislation.

The Mothers' Allowance Act and Minimum Wage Laws have likewise been secured in most provinces. Compulsory education has been generally secured throughout the Dominion, and the school age is practically uniformly set at sixteen years.

We have also made great advancement in the ownership of public utilities, and wherever possible we have one or more of our own members on the Boards of Management.

On the economic field we in Canada are practically in the same position as you are in the United States. Most of your problems are our problems, and I feel it is needless for me to take up your time enumerating them to you at this time.

I want at this time to express our appreciation for the unstinted cooperation and support given by the officers of this Feder-

ation and of the various international unions having locals in Canada, and I trust that the same friendly relations will continue in the future.

You have heard from past Fraternal Delegates from Canada of the One Big Union movement. This is now practically a thing of the past so far as name goes, but we find the same forces at work under other names endeavoring to destroy our movement from within.

The National Catholic Unions, located principally in Quebec Province, are still a factor to be contended with, though not as virile as a few years ago. As the name suggests, this organization presents a delicate situation with which to deal.

In order that you may more fully understand just what we are up against in this regard, I will cite you an instance of the workings of that organization in my home city. During a strike of the Typographical Union and a strike of the Plumbers' and Steamfitters' Union in Ottawa, the National Catholic Union shipped their members into Ottawa to fill the places of our men. They sent them in under guise of union men.

Now, Mr. President, I will not detain you longer. One could summarize the labor movement in a lengthy discussion of conditions, but as we meet from time to time, just as you meet, they are conditions with which you are familiar.

I am glad of this opportunity to be with you and to bring fraternal greetings from the workers of Canada. We pledge our cooperation to the American Federation of Labor and ask that you cooperate with us in our work.

PRESIDENT GREEN

Response to Addresses of Fraternal Delegates

Fellow delegates to this convention: I want to impose upon your patience even now as we approach the hour of adjournment, to make some brief observations in reply to these illuminating addresses which have been delivered by the Fraternal Delegates.

I am sure that we have all listened with most serious and deep attention to all that has been said, and we have been very grateful for the words of advice and for the suggestions that have been offered in some of these addresses to the delegates to this convention. In a very large measure do we appreciate the fraternal greetings, the expressions of good will and cooperation that have been brought to this convention by these fraternal delegates. We ask that they carry back to their constituents the fraternal greetings of this convention and express to our friends and fellow workers our deep interest in their common problems and our sincere desire to cooperate and help in every way we can in promoting the general welfare of humanity the world over.

It is indeed pleasing to note the wonderful progress that has been made by the workers in Mexico. Within a brief space of time they have promoted economic and political solidarity to the point where they accomplished marvelous things for the downtrodden.

den people of Mexico. It is a most significant development in world affairs that the working people have exercised such tremendous political influence as to elect a trades unionist as the President of that Republic; and we share with the workers of Mexico in the happiness they must feel over these achievements in the political and economic field.

I might say to our fellow delegates that we here in our American labor movement rely upon the solid economic strength of the workers to work out our salvation and to elevate our living standards. We believe that the primary necessity of working people is to organize, to unite, to mobilize their economic strength and to subordinate every other method to the development of this common purpose. We have been taught to believe out of our experience of over a half century that the salvation of the worker lies within himself, and it is through the exercise of these powers that are inherent within him that he has so far in America advanced his living and economic standards.

We were pleased indeed to observe that recently in Great Britain the principle for which the American labor movement has always stood was vindicated in most convincing fashion; for when the miners of Great Britain were attacked by hostile employers, when there was a concentrated attempt made by the pit owners to lower and drive down the living standards of the workers, it was the economic strength of the workers that saved them from degradation.

They may have believed in the efficacy of political action—and we here in America fully appreciate the influence that may be exercised through political efforts—but we are forced to concede that in that hour of deepest need, in that remarkable crisis, it was not a strange philosophy that helped them, it was not the exercise of political strength, but it was the solidarity they displayed upon the economic field.

So we believe more strongly than ever in the economic power of the workers; and it is the great principle that we are endeavoring to develop and strengthen and build up among the workers of America.

There is a difference, it appears, in the point of view between the workers of Great Britain and the representatives of our labor movement here, and it is but natural that differences of opinion would develop. We believe in intelligent discontent; we want to encourage that everywhere and every place. We here in America are not always in accord; we have our differences of opinion and we have strong, serious-minded men who contend vigorously for their beliefs and for their opinions; but we have certain well-recognized principles upon which we all stand in common accord.

We in America do not believe that the best interests of the workers can be served by accepting reductions in wages or by lowering our standards of living. It seems that in Great Britain the employers of labor, following the war, prevailed upon the workers to believe that the only way they could capture the markets of the world was to accept reductions in wages. They forced

reductions wherever they could, they argued with them when argument seemed to have its influence, and as a result of it all the figures show that the workers of Great Britain have accepted reductions in wages in almost every line of industry amounting to many millions of pounds.

Here in America we adopted a different policy. We do not believe that the markets of the world can be captured through the establishment of low wages and inhuman conditions of employment. We believe that if there is to be a reduction in the cost of commodity production it must be through the payment of high wages and through the increase of efficiency.

How can prosperity prevail in any nation unless you place the great consuming mass of the people in a position to buy the things that are manufactured? To me it is a strange philosophy that would teach a working man that he must reduce his purchasing power, lower his consuming strength, and at the same time promote prosperity through accepting reductions in wages.

So we have fought, and in some lines of industry where the men and women have been somewhat economically weak, stern fate has forced some reductions in wages, but among the bulk of the working people of America no reductions in wages have been sustained since the war. We have fought and fought, and even now we are fighting some place in America upon the economic field for the enjoyment of higher standards, increased wages, shorter hours, improved conditions of employment and the right to be free industrially and economically.

As I speak to you now from this platform in response to the addresses of these fraternal delegates, 160,000 members of organized labor, the union to which I belong, are fighting in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania, not against a reduction in wages but for an increase in wages that they feel they ought to have.

As a result of the solidarity these men have shown and are showing every coal pit, small and great, in the anthracite region, is as silent as King Tut's tomb; and if I know anything about the fighting spirit of these men with whom I have lived all my life, who are my comrades and friends, it is my opinion that every pit will be as silent as death until the anthracite operators yield to our righteous demands.

That is the kind of economic strength that is displayed by the workers; that is what we are trying to preach and develop and strengthen, for these men believe that it will not be by mere pretense, by declarations, by subscribing to some strange philosophy that they can rise in the social and economic scale; they know it will only be by the same method and along the same road that humanity has ever made progress since the day when Adam and Eve lived in the Garden of Eden, and that is through their own efforts along constructive lines.

Our good friend, Brother Purcell, referred in a most eloquent way to this world unity movement, the joining together of the working men and women throughout the

world in cooperation and coordination. The American Federation of Labor has never been unmindful of the situations throughout the entire world. Our sympathies go out to the working people of India, of China, of Asia, of Africa, of Europe, in every remote section of the earth.

I recall that when the revolution developed in Russia the American labor movement sent congratulations to the working people of Russia, complimenting them upon their revolutionary action in overthrowing the power of Czarism and all it stood for. And we succeeded in having appointed upon a commission representing our Republic outstanding men of labor, so that on their trip to Russia at that crucial period of the world's history they could properly convey to the workers of Russia the real, humane, brotherly sentiments of the working people of America.

Our people did this in most commendable fashion, and we hoped and believed that out of that revolution would come the establishment of a republic where democracy and freedom and justice would be the controlling factors in the lives of all the people.

When recently riots and approximating revolutions developed in China, as the spokesman of the American Federation of Labor I addressed a letter to the President of the United States in which, in the name of the working people of the United States, we protested against the inhuman treatment accorded the Chinese working men and women and demanded in the name of labor that justice and righteousness and fair dealing must be accorded to these people.

For the people of India we have repeatedly expressed our sympathy with their hopes and aspirations for the exercise of freedom and liberty. I refer to these things in order that our friends may know that we are mindful at all times of the situation throughout the world, and we respond whenever the occasion calls for it in genuine fashion to the call of the oppressed from all quarters of the world. That is our purpose and that is our spirit.

We realize that there are organizations, so-called, of labor that have sprung up in some nations of the world that preach a doctrine that is the very antithesis of the fundamental principles for which the American labor movement has always stood; and while we are willing to join with and co-operate with labor movements throughout the world that rest upon sound, fundamental principles of democracy and justice and righteousness and human liberty, we are not willing to pay the price that the sacrifice would demand by casting our lot with that class who would destroy us if they could.

I want to be frank and kindly in all I say; but we in America know something about the teachings of communism and the control the Communist Party exercises over the so-called Russian Internationale. We know that here in America that influence emanating from Moscow is seeking, as it has always sought, not to cooperate with us but to capture and control us. They

are frank in their declarations, they call the officers and the representatives of the American Labor movement "fakers, crooks and scabs." They declare frankly that they do not believe in collective bargaining; they call collective bargaining class collaboration. They do not see in any strike an opportunity to increase wages, to shorten hours, to improve the conditions of employment of the workers, but they see in every strike an opportunity to promote revolution. They assert that revolution is the only way the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established and our Republic overthrown.

Well, the working people of America are very hard-headed, experienced people; they are not easily led by these strange utterances; they demand something substantial, and the American labor movement cannot satisfy the workers in America by telling them that they must wait for the enjoyment of economic rights, for the enjoyment of a high standard of life until a revolution occurs and this government is overthrown.

There is no revolution in sight, and if the working men here were compelled to wait until a revolution occurred in America we would starve to death and be buried so deep they would never know we had lived.

The Trade Union Educational League here in America, which is the creature of the Communist Party, controlled and directed by a man who at one time was active in the trades union movement, frankly announces that its policy is to bore within the labor movement, to destroy it and substitute for our philosophy the philosophy of Communism. We are not ready to accept that, and we wish that our friend who has so kindly advised us and has offered us such frank suggestions might take back to the Russian Red Internationale this message, that the American labor movement will not affiliate with an organization that preaches that doctrine or stands for that philosophy.

(At this point the delegates arose and vigorously applauded the statement of President Green.)

Our friends will be here during the deliberations of our convention and at some of its sessions the question involved in the remarks I have made will come before you for consideration and action. Some delegate who seems to believe that the philosophy taught by Moscow is better than the philosophy taught by Samuel Gompers has introduced resolutions here that will touch deeply upon all these subjects; and when these resolutions come before this convention for consideration I wish you to be here so that you may see and understand the registered opinion of these splendid delegates upon that subject.

I think I may be thus frank, and I am sure that the fraternal delegates will appreciate fully and completely the spirit of trade unionism in which and through which I have made this statement. We want them to go back fully informed; we don't want them to be misled; we want them to understand what the duly accredited representatives of the American Federation of Labor feel upon these subjects.

We long, we yearn for the opportunity to promote peace and good will throughout the world. Many times we have declared against militarism. We are for peace and for the promotion of peace, we are ready and anxious to join the representatives of trade union movements throughout the world in the promotion of peace and brotherhood and good will among all the nations of all mankind; and we are willing to join in those constructive movements that may have been established for the purpose of advancing in a practical way the economic and political welfare of all the peoples throughout the world.

But when we are assailed we will fight back; when our principles are attacked we will stand, as I said in my address the other day, as immovable as the Rock of Gibraltar, for there are some things in which we believe firmly and conscientiously, and there are some things for which American trade unionists have given their lives. It is upon that basis we stand and forever will stand as the representatives of the great organized labor movement of America.

Now, my friends, may I say to you that during your stay here you are heartily welcome. Our arms are open to you. Your

welcome is a thrice welcome. You are among friends, and we want to prove our friendship.

We watched with deep interest the proceedings of the British Trades Union Congress at Scarborough, and we have watched with increasing interest the proceedings of the Labor Party at Liverpool and we think we discern in the decisions and actions of these two great gatherings of representatives of the political and economic strength of Great Britain a contradiction, if you please, upon certain questions that were acted upon.

"We are just a little in doubt as to whether or not we ought to accept the decision of Scarborough or the decision of Liverpool as the concrete expression of the workers of Great Britain. At any rate, we are going to watch with increasing interest the developments in the organization affairs of this great country, and we want to assure you that the workers of America will cooperate and help and assist in every way possible to promote the economic, social, industrial and political welfare of the peoples throughout the world.

At 12.30 p. m. an adjournment was taken to 2.30 p. m. of the same day.

Third Day--Wednesday Afternoon Session

Pursuant to adjournment, the convention was called to order at 2.30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

Absentees

Franklin, Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Goche-nour, Coulter, Conway, Evans (E. J.), Feeney, Murphy (M.), Cooley, Kauffman, Lucchi, Sigman, Fljzodal, Milliman, Hill, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Redding, Pattison, Moyer, Crough, Lewis (J. L.), Murray (M.), Kennedy, Golden, Yarrow, Parker, Barry, Berry, Burke (T. E.), Sullivan (J. J.), Olander, Cone, O'Connell, Nigro, Atkins, Nelligan, McAndrew, Steadman, McMullen, Kelley (J. R.), Patten, Martel, O'Dell, Long, Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Bower, Reed, Vaughn, Wood (R. T.), Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, McGeory, Tinney, Carrozzo, Ruben, Geyer, Simons Camous.

President Green announced that the name of James B. Connors, Vice-President of the Switchmen's Union of North America, would be substituted for that of T. C. Cashen on the Committee on Legislation, as Mr. Cashen was unable to be in the convention.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from William F. Russo, Secretary Atlantic City Lodge No. 116, Loyal Order of Moose, in which was extended an invitation to all the delegates and members of the American Federation of Labor to avail themselves of the full privileges and courtesies of the home of that lodge, 716 Atlantic Avenue.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Cohnboy, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your committee gave careful consideration to all matters referred to it. Hearings were given to delegates so requesting.

We therefore submit the following report:

Organization of Women Wage Earners

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 33, the committee reported as follows:

In concurring in this part of the Executive Council's report, your committee wishes to call attention to the action of the Forty-Fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., held in El Paso, Texas, last year, directing the Executive Council to hold itself in readiness to inaugurate an organizing campaign among the women wage workers, just as soon as possible, by and with the cooperation and support of interested and affected organizations.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Organizers

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption,

pages 89-90, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's report. The salaried and volunteer organizers are entitled to at least some degree of credit for the efforts and energies put forth at all times in promoting the growth, advancement and development of the Trades Union Movement.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Requesting a Letter to Central Labor Unions Urging Them to Organize Laundry Workers

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union has not increased its membership during the past year, principally on account of the fact that it is not in a financial condition to place any organizers in the field; and

WHEREAS, A large majority of the City Central Labor Unions have an Organizing Committee, whose object is to organize the non-union workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to have a letter written to all City Central Labor Unions requesting them to bring to the attention of their Organizing Committee the possibility of establishing a Local Union of Laundry Workers in their city.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 1.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Urging Assistance of Affiliated Unions For Organization Campaign Among Office Workers

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegate Ernest Bohm of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646:

WHEREAS, To carry on an effective, persistent campaign of organization among office workers, the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 needs the full support of organized labor, and let it be said to their credit, practically every influential labor man and woman in New York City has given our organization his moral support. But because in a few instances labor men have asserted that our membership is made up almost entirely of workers employed in offices of unions, labor banks or offices closely allied with labor, that none but such offices have been organized, and that the union has accomplished nothing for other office workers, we believe it is our duty to bring the following facts to your attention:

The B. S. & A. U. 12646 has carried on considerable educational work among the

office workers. Every well informed labor man realizes the difficulty of organizing the "white collar" workers, and while we have in our union a very small percentage of the 500,000 office workers employed in New York City, our agitation has been effective in a number of instances.

During the past year tens of thousands of circulars, especially directed to office workers, have been printed and distributed. From time to time considerable newspaper publicity was obtained. Wall Street was "invaded" by a corps of girls, members of the union, to advertise the union. Open air meetings have been held in the financial district.

If results were to be judged only by the number of clerks who joined the union, it would appear that the agitation had been almost a failure. But we have some accomplishments to our credit.

Our attack on the "bonus" plan created a furore in the financial district. The Journal of Commerce on November 21, 1924, carried a long article discussing the attitude of the banks and the union, and stated in a caption: "Question Urgent Due to Plans for Unionizing." Charles E. Mitchell, President of the National City Bank, employing about 3,000 clerks, was forced as a result of the discontent to give up the bonus scheme, and, instead, raised the salaries of his clerks.

Most of the open air meetings conducted by the union were alongside of the New York Stock Exchange. We learned that the management, finding their clerks restless, also increased salaries, and formed a company union, to keep them from joining a bona fide labor organization.

If additional proof was required that our meetings were effective, it can be found in the fact that a Deputy Police Commissioner, a stock broker, ordered policemen to stop our meetings.

And we did get some direct results, organizing clerks in several offices having no connection with organized labor, one of them being the Bank of Athens, on Pine Street, one block from Wall Street, where about 20 clerks obtained substantial increases in pay, and forced the management to engage additional workers to do away with overtime.

Only a few years ago the office employees of the Bush Terminal called upon us for assistance. We held a meeting with them, and were about to present their grievances to the employers, when they learned of the movement, and granted the increase.

About the same time the office workers in the Maiden Lane district, employed in the jewelry business, asked for our aid. We gave them the benefit of our advice, printed circulars for them, and held meetings. Again, the employers granted the demand of their clerks.

Only a month ago about 20 employees of the Public National Bank walked out. They communicated with us, we held a meeting, our representative spoke up for them to the bank officer in charge, the bank was picketed, their grievances were adjusted and the strikers were taken back.

It is the old story. Every international union has had the experience, spending much effort and money, and through agitation in

a certain locality bringing about an increase in pay and bettering the conditions of workers, who, for various reasons, often do not join the union. But this has not dismayed the union. It has kept up its efforts.

We were ready when the call came from the clerks employed in the dairy industry. With the aid of the Milk Drivers' Union, we organized over 1,000 clerks, conducted a two day strike, won recognition of the union, increases in pay and improved working conditions. Perhaps a similar opportunity will come again.

If you think our work is worth while, and that we should keep up our agitation among the "white collar" workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 45th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. at Atlantic City, N. J., that the affiliated unions render all moral assistance in our organizing campaign.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and congratulates Union No. 12646 for the efforts put forth and results obtained during the past year in organizing work.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Organization of Bank Clerks

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate J. Shafr, of the Bank Employees' Association No. 17709, Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L., by granting charters to the Four Bank Clerks' Unions in operation realizes the importance of organizing these exploited workers; and

WHEREAS, The existing bank clerks' locals are not financially strong enough to support organization campaign independently; and

WHEREAS, Under the existing trade conditions the bank clerk has to be extremely cautious on the question of Unionism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., appoint special organizers for the year 1926 in the cities of New York, Chicago, Cleveland and Philadelphia to give their full time to organizing the bank clerks and that organization committees be organized of delegates representing the more influential unions in those cities to help in the organization campaign.

Your committee concurs in this resolution, resolve be changed to read that organizers be directed to give special attention to the organizing of Bank Clerks wherever possible and that City Central Bodies be requested to aid in this work.

With this change your committee refers the resolution to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

To Assist Bookkeepers and Stenographers' Union No. 12646, in Dispute With Ladies' Garment Workers' Local No. 22

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Ernest

Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646:

WHEREAS, On April 28, 1925, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 notified Julius Portnoy, Secretary and Manager of Dressmakers' Union No. 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, that two non-union office workers were being employed in violation of the agreement existing between the two unions; and

WHEREAS, Julius Portnoy continued to employ these non-union workers, and finally on June 18, 1925, locked out the union office workers; and

WHEREAS, Attempts were made by Organizer Hugh Frayne, of the American Federation of Labor, and the officers of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 to settle the controversy amicably, but failed for the reason that Secretary Julius Portnoy and Assistant Secretary Charles Zimmerman apparently avoided a conference; and

WHEREAS, After consulting with Organizer Hugh Frayne, it was decided that Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 declare a strike against Dressmakers' Union No. 22, I. L. G. W. U.; and

WHEREAS, During the strike two of our members, Elsie Meyers and I. M. Alstein, were induced by the officials of Dressmakers' Union No. 22 to desert their union and act as strike breakers; and

WHEREAS, Other non-union workers have been employed by Dressmakers' Union No. 22 in defiance of our request that the agreement be lived up to; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, in an effort to settle this serious controversy, addressed a letter to a group known as the "Committee of Fifteen," stating that since they had established peace between the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Joint Action Committee, we directed their attention to the non-union conditions existing in Dressmakers' Union No. 22, and asked that our agreement be made effective by the re-employment of the union workers and the discharge of the strike breakers, setting October 3, 1925, as the date for their reply; and

WHEREAS, No reply has been received, and the matter is still unsettled; and

WHEREAS, This action on the part of the officers of Dressmakers' Union No. 22 is contrary to all union principles, inasmuch as employers who violate agreements with unions and operate open shops are condemned, and certainly union officials should not set such a bad example; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City, N. J., that the officials of Dressmakers' Union No. 22 be condemned for their action unbecoming union men; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this case be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor so that he may render all possible support and assistance to the Book-

keepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 in its struggle to maintain and uphold the ethics and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council for adjustment.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Recommending That Labor and Cooperative Banks Employ Union Bank Clerks

Resolution No. 12.—By Delegate J. Shafir, of the Bank Employees' Association No. 17709, Chicago, Illinois:

WHEREAS, Organized labor has entered into the field of banking and insurance; and WHEREAS, Organized labor is supposed to set an example to the community in general of what the conditions of labor ought to be; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. at its regular convention assembled recommends that all labor and cooperative banks have their employees organized into the existing union of bank clerks (or office workers if bank clerks' union is non-existent) and that no bank deserves the support of organized labor whose staff does not belong to the union of bank clerks or office workers.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

To Assist Work of Organization in North Carolina

Resolution No. 56.—By Delegate C. P. Barringer, of the North Carolina State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State of North Carolina is one of the leading manufacturing states of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Tens of thousands of workers in all lines of industry are unorganized, particularly textile workers; and

WHEREAS, The North Carolina State Federation of Labor and all central labor unions as well as other labor organizations are intensely anxious that a general organization campaign be conducted throughout the entire state, and believing that this campaign would draw into the fold of organized labor thousands of women workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use every influence and means possible to bring about the organization of these thousands of industrial workers of North Carolina.

Your Committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Proposing That Central Bodies and Local Unions Appoint Committees for Organization Campaign

Resolution No. 67.—By Delegate J. H. Fitzsimmons of the Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Only a small percentage of the great working masses are as yet members of the trade unions, great numbers being still unorganized in nearly all the industries; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs not only militates against the unorganized, who are helpless, but against the organized as well, who find themselves severely handicapped in their struggle for better conditions by the ever present army of unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The organization of these great masses of unorganized workers is fundamentally necessary in order to strengthen the unions to resist the bitter onslaughts of the capitalists in their great "open shop" drive to destroy every semblance of trade unionism in every industry in the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, calls upon all its affiliated organizations to immediately launch a general campaign for the organization of the unorganized; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to initiate and supervise this campaign a general conference shall be held during this convention of the heads of all the International Unions to organize campaigns to unionize the unorganized in the respective industries; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Councils and local unions throughout the country be instructed to immediately establish active organization committees and to start at once a vigorous campaign of organizing the unorganized.

Your Committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Vice-President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee, announced that the committee had but three more resolutions to report upon, Nos. 13, 36 and 72, dealing with the question of jurisdiction of colored freight handlers, and Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. Both parties asked that they be allowed to meet to try and reach an understanding. The committee granted the request provided they report to the committee as soon as possible so that the committee could finish its report.

President Green: In line with the recommendation of the Executive Council, that some part of our sessions be set apart for the consideration of child labor, the Chair wishes to designate Friday, immediately upon convening of the afternoon session, as a special order for the consideration of child labor.

In line with the suggestion which I offered in my opening remarks on the first day of this convention, I suggest that we set apart Mon-

day afternoon, immediately after convening, as the time when we will hold the Gompers Memorial Service.

I want to also request that the organizations and those personally interested in the organization of women workers will meet with me in the sun parlor of the Strand Hotel on Tuesday night at eight o'clock for consideration of the question of organization of women in industry.

No other committees seem prepared to report, and I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to present to you Mr. Spencer Miller, who represents the Workers' Education Bureau. Delegates who have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor for the last three or four years will remember, I am sure, with very great pleasure the instructive and inspiring addresses which Mr. Miller has delivered on different occasions. He has been abroad this summer attending educational gatherings on the continent of Europe and in Great Britain. He comes back to us with a fund of information, and I am happy indeed to announce that he is here this afternoon prepared to speak to you upon his experiences abroad and upon the work of the Workers' Educational Bureau. I take very great pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Spencer Miller.

ADDRESS OF SPENCER MILLER, JR. Workers' Education and Industrial Progress

Seven years ago the delegates to the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorized the Executive Council to make a study of the beginnings of Workers' Education in the American trade union movement. The committee of five that was authorized to make that study, reported its findings after examining the work in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles to the Atlantic City convention just six years ago. One paragraph of that report is worth recalling to your attention at this time.

"Your committee recommends that central labor bodies, through securing representation on Boards of Education and through the presentation of a popular demand for increased facilities for adult education, make every effort to obtain from the public schools liberally conducted classes in English, public speaking, parliamentary law, economics, industrial legislation, history of industry, and of the trade union movement, and any other subjects that may be requested by a sufficient number, such classes to be offered at times and places which would make them available to workers. If the public school system does not show willingness to cooperate in offering appropriate courses and types of instruction, the central labor body should organize such classes with as much cooperation from the public schools

as may be obtained. Interested local unions should take the initiative when necessary."

This report with additional recommendations for classes in English for non-English speaking people, and for the investigation of the matter of selecting for publishing text books appropriate for classes of workers was adopted unanimously at your convention in this city six years ago.

In the intervening period a great deal of water has flowed under the bridge. The Workers' Education movement in the United States, which was called into being largely in response to the crisis of the World War, and America's participation in it, has come to be one of the recognized and most important activities of the American Federation of Labor. Indeed no less an authority than the late President Gompers said, "Whatever progress the American Labor Movement makes in the future will rest upon an educational basis." Within these six years, the Workers' Education Bureau of America, which I have the honor to represent at this convention, was established by a group of trade unionists and teachers, who saw the great promise of this movement in our country both to labor and to education, and sought thereby to give a high standard of educational effort to instruction, and a sense of cooperative unity that comes from a knowledge of a common purpose.

During this same period, and largely under the auspices of this Bureau and with the cordial cooperation of the American Federation of Labor, the movement has spread from one end of the country to the other. Where six years ago there were scarcely a dozen Workers' Educational enterprises in a half dozen industrial centers, today there are upwards of three hundred workers' colleges and study classes in well over 200 centers. In two hundred and twenty-five industrial centers there are permanent educational committees of the central labor bodies to support this activity and serve to keep the rank and file in close touch with local workers' educational efforts. Within this same period of time a resident labor college has been founded for labor under its control, to provide a more intensive course for trade unionists in the problems, policies, and tactics of organized labor. In this resident college alone an investment of over \$100,000.00 has already been made to provide an equipment adequate for the need.

And, in addition, a great development has been made in the provisions for summer schools and labor institutes for workers. Six years ago no such provision existed in our country. This last summer no less than nine distinct summer schools and labor institutes were provided for workmen and women in different parts of this country. While it is obviously impossible to tell you of all these various efforts, I am sure you would be interested to know about the Railroad Labor Institute which was held this summer at the Brookwood Labor College, the first, incidentally, of its kind to be held in this country. To this institute came locomotive firemen, boiler makers, sheet metal workers, stationary engineers, firemen and oilers, machinists, maintenance of way men, carmen, railway clerks, Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Internationals, chairmen of system federations and local lodges and rank and file members of railroad unions to discuss, without passion or prejudice, the prob-

lems, responsibilities and services of the railroad industry to the country. For a whole week these men met together and talked over all the problems of their industry with engineers, economists and lawyers to the great profit of all concerned. In the opinion of Mr. Bert Jewell, President of the Railway Employees Department, who was one of the sponsors of this Railroad Labor Institute, and of many of his colleagues, this institute demonstrated the great service of workers' education not only to the trade union movement but to a constructive policy of industrial relations in this country. This is in part the contribution of workers' education to industrial progress.

There is one aspect of this method that I should like to call to your attention. The way a group of grown men educate themselves is the way of Socrates and his friends. It is the way of endless discussion around a central idea, constantly enriched by new facts and new viewpoints. It is the method of the symposium. It is the method of the Labor Institute. It has this great advantage: men are seeking to know, they are seeking not a decision, an award, a political advantage, but an agreement, an accord, a genuine meeting of minds. Agreements which are had thus, removed from immediate action, are apt to be more balanced and well rounded. It leads ultimately to a sounder opinion.

But, perhaps, the most conspicuous single fact during this whole six-year period was the decision at the El Paso Convention, last year, to recommend unanimously to the national and international unions financial support of the Workers' Education Bureau through a per capita contribution from each such union. This decision marks an important milestone not only in American workers' education but in the American trade union movement.

The response to this plan on the part of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has been most remarkable. Within six months forty-two national and international unions, headed by the United Mine Workers of America, undertook active affiliation with the Bureau and ten more have acted favorably on the matter which represents well over fifty per cent of the membership of the American Federation of Labor. It is our hope to secure the active support of all the national and international unions so that our service may be made available to all American trade unionists alike.

At the fourth National Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau, which was held in the city of Philadelphia in April of this year, the delegates incorporated these provisions of the El Paso Plan into the organic law of the Bureau. The constitution was, furthermore, so amended as to give functional representation to national and international unions as such, to the American Federation of Labor to study classes and workers, colleges as well as to local unions. The constitution provides for an executive committee of eleven members including a president and secretary. The members of the Executive Committee are selected as follows: Three representatives of the national and international unions affiliated to the Bureau. The three representatives that were thus elected were Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America; Thomas E. Burke, Secretary-

Treasurer of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Canada, and Miss Fannie Cohn, Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. President Green designated Matthew Woll, George W. Perkins and John P. Frey to represent the American Federation of Labor. John Van Verenewyck, of the Boston Trade Union College, and David Saposs, of the Brookwood Labor College, were elected to represent the workers' education enterprises, while John Brophy, President of District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers of America, was elected as a representative of local and district unions. At the formation of the Board Matthew Woll was elected as Chairman, Miss Fannie Cohn as Vice-Chairman and Thomas Burke as Treasurer.

By a further provision of the constitution, the aim of the Bureau was defined as an agency to stimulate the free and impartial study of such problems as were of interest to workers, to insure, in a word, the educational character and aim of the Bureau and of its service to the workers.

In addition to the rapidly increasing volume of important educational activities conducted by the Bureau at a service charge, a number of additional and significant developments have been added. In the first place, the Bureau provided educational directors for a short period of time in Massachusetts and for six months in Ohio under the State Federation of Labor, to assist in the establishment of workers' colleges in those states. This work has met with conspicuous success. Furthermore, it has assisted or cooperated in the establishment of educational directors in the States of Arkansas, California, Colorado, Oklahoma and Pennsylvania, as well as aiding in other ways some twelve other state federations of labor either in providing educational programs or advice about methods.

Added to all this is the work of the Bureau in the field of Research and Publication. Among the first of a new series of pamphlets to be published after the El Paso convention was on the Voluntary Basis of Trade Unionism by Samuel Gompers. A second important pamphlet to be published was a valuable primer on Child Labor by William Green. An important study of the Women's Auxiliary to Trade Unions and Workers' Education by Theresa Wolfson, was also published, as was a most valuable pamphlet on the American Federation of Labor by Matthew Woll. We have completed, ready for publication, pamphlets on Workmen's Compensation by Thomas J. Donnelly; Adult Workers' Education and the Public Library by E. C. Lindeman; How to Keep Union Records by Stuart Chase, and we have begun the preparation of brief pamphlet histories of the United Mine Workers of America in cooperation with Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Kennedy and of the United Textile Workers in cooperation with President Thomas MacMahon.

We have now in press an important addition to the Workers' Bookshelf, A Book of Readings in Trade Unionism by David Saposs, Volumes on Cooperative Railroadings by Otto S. Beyer, Jr., and Economic Institutions by Willard Thorpe will shortly appear, thus adding to our growing list of publications expressly prepared for the workers

under the general editorial direction of a Board consisting of trade unionists and students of the social sciences.

These and other series, such as book reviews, special articles and lecture abstracts, which are too numerous to mention, will give you an idea of the nature and character of our educational service to the members of the American Federation of Labor and the American Labor movement.

In the various educational centers, then, there have been enrolled approximately 35,000 workmen and women during the past year alone which you will agree is a remarkable response for a relatively young movement in America. Those reached by single lectures, forum debates and addresses before labor gatherings number many hundreds of thousands.

The workers' educational movement, however, has not confined its activities to an understanding of industrial and economic conditions in America alone. It has reached out to understand world economic and industrial problems. Already we have begun the exchange of both qualified teachers and mature students between the workers' education movements of Europe and our country. By the unanimous action of the El Paso Convention, provision was also made for an exchange of representatives of the American and Mexican trade union movements each year and alternately under the provisions of a memorial fellowship to the late President Gompers.

Furthermore, in Europe, during the past few years, there have been established international summer schools under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions to create an understanding between the workmen and women of the various countries concerning the ideals and character not only of the trade unions but also of the other institutions of the various countries. It has been my privilege during the past two years with the cordial support of President Green and the late President Gompers to lecture at four of these international summer schools in Austria, Czechoslovakia, England and Sweden, on American history and institutions, and the ideals and achievements of the American Labor Movement.

I am convinced of the great social value of these summer schools, in creating a better international understanding. In one of these summer schools alone we had representatives of as many as twenty-three different countries living together under the same roof and studying the various national, and international problems and among the lecturers at these schools have been prime ministers, government ministers, college professors, editors, labor officials and other national leaders. The appeal of these schools to students has been tremendous. So eager was one student, a wood worker, to attend the summer school in Vienna, that he walked a thousand miles from Danzig Free City to enjoy the privilege of a two weeks' course.

Much of the thing, moreover, that we have called internationalism in the past has been a vague and highly emotional appeal. It has had little of the substance of reciprocal knowledge or respect of one another's na-

tional life and ways. It often has meant not inter-nationalism but anti-nationalism. The true internationalism which I discover at these summer schools is one that is based on a knowledge and respect of the culture, institutions and habits of the various countries and supports the right of every people to develop their own ways and institutions after their own hearts' desire and their own genius. This, I take it, is the gospel of American democracy, the doctrine of local self-government, the principle of government by consent as opposed to government by force or dictatorship. The schools, in a word, then, are the symbols of a tolerance in both our domestic and international relations, about which President Coolidge spoke yesterday in Omaha with such power and conviction.

If time would permit I should be glad to tell you some of my impressions about economic, political and labor conditions in Europe this past summer, but I shall confine myself to a few brief observations. The first of these is the great loss that many of the leaders of labor feel in Europe with the passing of Samuel Gompers. He did not always agree with some of these European labor leaders nor they with him, but they all respected him as a courageous fighter, an inspired leader, and a great champion of social justice. When I went to Geneva to the International Labor Office, which owes so much to his far vision and understanding of international labor standards, there was a genuine desire among its officials to honor Mr. Gompers' memory by good works, as well as by a suitable memorial at the office itself. Wherever I went this same spirit was present—a deep regret at the death of Mr. Gompers and a genuine interest to know about the personality and point of view of his worthy successor, President Green.

There is a second observation which I believe will interest you because it means much for the peace of the world. It is the growing spirit of reconciliation between the peoples of Europe—a desire to come together, and live and work together for a better future. The historic decision which was taken yesterday by representatives of England, France and Germany at Locarno on the Pact and Germany's entrance into the League of Nations marks, I believe, a new chapter in European relations if sustained by the home governments.

Then, there was and still is the question of debts which in some countries hang as a heavy cloud over effective economic reconstruction. I suspect that a creditor is never over-popular with his respective debtors. Yet I do believe that we, in America, and the American labor movement, are charged with a grave responsibility on the question of the debt settlement. I do not suggest at this time that America forgive the European debts, but I do suggest that we keep steadily in mind not only what is just and right for ourselves as creditors but what is just and right for our debtors. The test of a nation is the way it uses its strength in the days of its power. It has been our justifiable boast that American labor has put human interest and social justice first; it may be necessary for labor in this vital matter to insist on these stand-

ards because labor does know and understand something of the conditions and needs of workers in the various debtor countries. For their needs are the needs of workers everywhere—for the chance to adequate standards of work and life, and freedom for self-development.

This is but one fact among many others which make constructive forces within the European trade movement eager to draw near to the American Federation of Labor to see that these ideals of social justice are maintained in all international relations.

Let us turn now to our own immediate problems. The recent decision of your Executive Council to revert to its time-honored policy of non-partisan political action, which I regard as an eminently sound decision, places squarely upon the membership of the Trades Union Movement a necessity of even greater knowledge about the social and economic facts of our modern industrial life. For if you are to ask the membership to decide political questions on their economic merits, you have got to give them adequate knowledge about economic questions. If men are to be partisan to principles rather than to parties, they have got to know with a certainty what those principles are; for it is easier to follow a man than a principle. It requires less thought and less imagination. They have got to understand the facts of our complicated modern world and be able to form intelligent opinions on hundreds of public questions that come before them for decision. To the trade unionist the world is his text book; his curriculum is every subject under the sun.

The substitution of facts for formulas, of straight thinking for vague generalizations, is a part of the discipline of education. What is meant by the factual approach in education is the search for the facts, and the basing of opinions and conclusions upon these facts. No man's opinions are better than his facts. To possess workers with living, vital facts, the workers' education movement exists in part.

There is, I believe, an inherent disposition on the part of American workers to face the industrial situation in a realistic manner and with an open mind. American labor has concerned itself with those economic forces in the community which shape the course of our development.

The gospel of the high wage, the diffusion of prosperity among all classes under a system of voluntary agreement by free citizens has become the great goal and economic fact of our day. When it is reported that the Federation Bank of New York has increased its capital resources to \$12,500,000 in a little over two years, we face an economic fact of importance. When we realize in the thirty odd labor banks in America there are capital resources of over \$150,000,000 we face an economic fact of the first significance.

When, in addition, we include in this picture the vast increase in savings by workmen in the past ten years, which amounts to over ten billions of dollars distributed among more than 28,000,000 workers, we witness another economic fact of the first importance.

And if we begin to examine the distribution of life insurance policies we discover, according to one authority, that more than two-thirds of these are held by wage earners, which means that of the total amount of 83 billions of dollars of insurance for more than 60 billions, that two-thirds are held by workers. As a noted economist has pointed out, this amount is greater than the estimated wealth of our country in 1890. Taken with the increases in Building and Loan Associations, and you are facing an economic fact of an importance equalled perhaps only by the vast diffusion in stock ownership which today in this country represents many hundreds of millions of dollars.

Indeed, so significant is this whole economic change that it has been properly characterized as an Economic Revolution by students of our economic life. Professor Carver, in a recent illuminating discussion of this matter, writes:

"The only economic revolution now under way is going on in the United States. It is a revolution that is to wipe out the distinction between laborers and capitalists by making laborers their own capitalists and by compelling most capitalists to become laborers of one kind or another, because not many of them will be able to live on returns from capital alone. This is something new in the history of the world."

This higher strategy of American labor based on the solid ground of capital ownership represents the determination of labor in this country "not to wage a class war, but to conquer the circumstances that give rise to class warfare."

At the conference on organization campaigns last Spring in Washington, I heard George W. Perkins, one of the veteran leaders of labor in this country, who is loved and admired by all who know him, make one of the finest pleas for workers' education that I have ever heard. He was not speaking on the subject of education, but it was of the finest substance of education. For he was saying to the delegates to the conference that if the American Labor Movement of tomorrow was to have the same power that it had in the past, that it would have to keep alive the memory of the self-sacrifice and devotion of the early founders and pioneers; that the new men who come into unions at present, when all the benefits had been secured, had little knowledge of all the past struggle that had made these benefits possible.

It was a moving appeal, and every delegate to this convention would have agreed to all that he said. This was, as I have said, a mighty appeal for Education as an indispensable function of the trade union movement. For education is, among other things, the process by which man associates the past with the present as a guide for the future. Education is the indispensable method by which to give to the modern wage earners and new trade unionists some of the ideals, the struggles, and the achievement of organized labor in our national history. We have long since recognized this fact in our requirements for political citizenship. Everyone must know the history of our country and its Constitution before he is

admitted to the full responsibilities of citizenship. If this be true with political citizenship, how equally true it is of industrial citizenship. For upon the industrial citizens fall not only the problems of government but of moral and economic standards, and social policies of a far reaching nature. I venture to make the prediction that it will not be long before the trade unions of this country will require all their new members to enroll in study groups to learn about the history, aims, and accomplishments of organized labor before being admitted to full membership in the trade union movement. Think of the new power added to your movement by such an addition of positive and constructive knowledge among all new members. In such a service the Workers' Education Bureau can be of undoubted assistance.

It is significant, in this connection, that the organization campaign which you are about to launch will rely almost exclusively on educational methods both of the spoken and printed word, and of the motion picture. Workers' education is the new method to meet a new need in our industrial world.

And yet does not American Labor need a continuous service in addition to this temporary organization campaign? Hospitals and doctors are indispensable in any modern community to care for the sick, but there is one step in advance of curing the sick and that is the prevention of disease. That is the task of the health services in our land: to spread a knowledge of health among all the people continuously, day after day, year after year. The gains of continuous health service are enormous.

Have we not got to consider a similar educational service for the trade union movement which goes on day after day, and year after year for the entire movement? A campaign to meet temporary difficulties is most important, but I am sure you will all agree that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. This continuous service to labor is to be found in its own educational movement—workers' education.

When labor was confronted with the task of its own savings and with the mobilizing of credit power, it gave the most unmistakable answer by the establishment of its own banks. When later it was faced with the problem of insurance it gave an equally effective answer in the establishment of its own insurance company. I believe that labor in America has the power and the vision to embark on a similar venture with workers' education—not selfishly, but in a spirit of a larger and more constructive service to its own membership, to industry, and to the welfare of the entire country.

Let me cite a single example of what may be accomplished. In the Eastern part of the state of Ohio there is a small town by the name of West Lafferty; a mining community of a single store, a mine pit and simple homes, housing perhaps 300 souls, with meagre school facilities.

Cutwardly we might consider this town poor in its cultural opportunities. But actually this is not the case, for in that town there a single miner, William Neely by name, who never even finished the 5th grade, but who has caught the spirit of

learning, and has become a power in his community. Two years ago he wanted to go to the resident college at Brookwood, but the death of his father prevented it. So he has determined to bring the world of knowledge to West Lafferty. Our Workers' Education Bureau has been supplying him with books, and study suggestions and twice a week the faithful have gathered over a Miners' hall in West Lafferty to study American Labor History and public discussion. During the summer the same groups have met together to study and prepare themselves to be better citizens and better miners and better union members. And I say to you that the town of West Lafferty is a happier community, the United Mine Workers of America is a stronger union, and the American democracy is a finer democracy, because of these humble efforts of the miners of West Lafferty.

This is the spirit of Workers' Education which is being duplicated in hundreds of remote places in America. And when the men and women of labor in America begin to follow the example of these miners of West Lafferty, we shall build up a cohesive, articulate and powerful movement against which all the forces of prejudice, darkness, and ignorance will not prevail.

Some years ago Samuel Gompers wrote these words about the great Emancipator: "And there emerged from poverty and obscurity a gaunt figure, the figure of Abraham Lincoln; the figure of a man whose spirit will live as long as there is hope in the hearts of men and in the minds of men to demand achievement and the maintenance of freedom, justice and democracy."

It is not without significance, then, that the symbol of the Workers' Education Bureau of America is Abraham Lincoln studying by firelight, preparing for his great service to America. Though he hardly attended any classes in his life, he read and knew a few of the great books in the world. He communed with the eternal spirit of the ages.

Tomorrow there may arise another Lincoln from some mining village, some humble home or some east side tenement, to call us back again to our great heritage. And if he does come from these habitations, he will come from the ranks of the workers. Let us seek to bring forth many more Lincolns in our country by making possible a fuller life for all our people.

President Green: We have with us Miss Anna Fitzgerald, Fraternal Delegate, representing the Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary. Most of us remember with exceeding pleasure the repeated visits of Miss Fitzgerald to our conventions. She is indeed a faithful and loyal visitor, and I take great pleasure now in presenting to you our co-worker, our sister delegate, Miss Anna Fitzgerald.

Address of Miss Anna Fitzgerald
Representing Women's International Union
Label League

Mr. President and delegates: I am sure it is a pleasure to bring the greetings of the Women's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary to you. Most of the delegates present know something of the work we have been engaged

in for a number of years, and I am not going to take up the time of this convention in repeating.

It is a work with which you are all familiar, but we feel that by coming to this convention year after year, it gives us the opportunity to keep our work before the organized labor movement of this country—an organization without whose assistance and cooperation we could not progress.

I can see that this great campaign that is going to be put on during this coming year will bring forth that which we have looked forward to for many years with great interest. We have had several resolutions in reference to organizing the women workers. This, of course, is a very vital manner and one that we cannot overlook, but, on the other hand, there is a large group of women to whom many of us have not given the serious consideration that we should. I refer to the women who have control of the great amount of money that is expended for the necessities of life, the women in the home, and it is that group of women in particular that our organization has labored with for many years.

While we are making some progress, while we are going on steadily and never looking backward, at the same time we believe that the importance of this great work is so apparent that it is necessary to arouse the trade union men and women to greater action in that effort. We all realize that with the increasing employment of children, with the competition of prison labor that is confronting us, it is necessary to organize and educate the women who buy the goods to look for the union label.

The union label, to many of you, does not seem so important, but we must realize that there are organizations whose very life and existence depends upon the union label, and I am sure that no class of workers, no class of people, can do as much in this direction as the women.

I have been somewhat disappointed in some of the localities in this country where, on a technical point, some of our trades union men raised the question of where the women belong in this work. It seems to me that the closer cooperation we can receive from the women doing this kind of work the better it is for all of us. I don't question whether it shall be in a fraternal way or some other way, but I believe that every central body, every State organization, ought to cooperate in advancing this work of organizing and interesting the women. I hope to see the day when some way can be devised whereby we will not have these questions coming up from time to time.

In many of our states our women are working with the state organizations. In our central bodies they have taken places like delegates from the trades unions, and where this is possible and where it has been practiced we find we have better results, the women are more interested, they feel that they have a greater part in the good work, and they have learned the lesson much more rapidly than they do when they are isolated in their own meeting halls

and discussing the problem in the way they best understand.

We want these women to know something of the history of the labor movement, as well as the necessity for buying union-made goods, we want them to know the struggles of the labor movement, we want them to know what they have to be thankful for.

I want to thank the central bodies and the state bodies, the organizers and all concerned for the cooperation they have given us in our work, and I want to ask you, in returning to your homes, to make a special effort to arouse a greater interest in this work. It is not an organization that is going to be an expense to you, it is an organization that will be a help to you. I know many of the men feel that they have great problems of their own to solve, but I think they would be more readily solved if we had the women with us.

I know that in many organizations, for instance, the broommakers and the bakers, in their great struggles at this time are getting more benefits, the women are really doing more to strengthen their organizations and make it possible for them to continue to progress than anything else that might be done.

I want to thank you for this opportunity; I ask for your continued cooperation, and I assure you that in this great drive that is about to be put on at this time our women are going to be on the job. We are going to try to arouse the women in every locality, but we must have the sympathetic cooperation of the men. We need them to encourage and foster an organization of that kind so that we can get the best results from it.

President Green: I want to extend to Miss Fitzgerald the thanks of this convention for her very illuminating and interesting address.

I want to announce that it has been brought to my attention that the Honorable Tom Johnson, a member of the Transport Workers' Union of Ireland, will arrive in this city as a visitor tonight, and it is my purpose to invite Mr. Johnson to speak to the delegates upon trade union matters at some time that may be convenient and accommodating to him. I wish to appoint the following delegation to meet him upon his arrival:

Michael J. Flynn, of Boston; William P. Clarke, of Toledo; James B. Connors, of Chicago; Timothy Healy, of New York; Frank J. McNulty, of Newark, and Joseph P. Ryan, of New York. This committee will extend to this distinguished visitor and trade unionist from Ireland all the courtesies of this convention.

Delegate Stecker, Teachers, obtained

unanimous consent to introduce the following resolutions, which were referred to the appropriate committees:

Favoring Department of Education With Secretary in the President's Cabinet

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate F. G. Stecker, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The welfare of our nation depends upon the enlightened conduct of its people; and

WHEREAS, The great importance of education demands that it receive formal recognition by our government; and

WHEREAS, Our schools to function at their best must have the benefit of the best information that the science of education can possibly give them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, express its determination to continue, as in the past, to devote itself to the furthering of public education; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it reaffirm its belief in the necessity of the creation of a department of education with a secretary in the president's cabinet.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Favoring Appointment of Educational Attaches

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate F. G. Stecker, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The best interests of our schools demand that there be made available the most complete current information to be had from all countries on education; and

WHEREAS, A more thorough and closer understanding of the peoples of the world will necessarily help promote a spirit of international good will; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that its support be pledged to legislation providing

for the appointment of educational attaches whose duty it shall be to study and report on the development and progress of education in foreign countries.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Urging The Naming of a Public School Building After Samuel Gompers

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate F. G. Stecker, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The history of the organized labor movement of America is largely the narration of the achievement of its labor statesman, Samuel Gompers; and

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers died serving the labor movement and gave his last bit of strength in cementing the friendship of the labor movement of Mexico and the United States; and

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers has always been an outstanding champion of the cause of public education which was brought into being because of labor's untainted efforts and support; and

WHEREAS, School buildings are being erected in the Capital and named after men and women who have made noteworthy contributions to the development of the country; and

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers has not only made such contribution to his country but to the development of public education as well; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endeavor to secure legislation authorizing the commissioners and the Board of Education of the District of Columbia to name the first building hereafter to be erected in the District of Columbia as the Samuel Gompers School.

Referred to Committee on Education.

No further committees were prepared to report and there was no further business to come before the convention at this time. Upon motion, the rules were suspended, and at 4.40 P. M. the convention adjourned to 9.30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 8.

Fourth Day--Thursday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J., Oct. 8, 1925.

Pursuant to adjournment, the convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m. by President Green.

Absentees

Myrup, Franklin, Dohney, Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Gochenour, Coulter, Conway, Evans (E. J.), Murphy (M.), Cooley, Kauffman, Lucchi, Sigman, Fljorjal, Milliman, Hill, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Pattison, Moyer, Crough, Lewis (John L.), Murray, Farrington, Kennedy, Nesbit, Golden, Yarrow, Parker, Berry, Burke (J. P.), Olander, Cone, O'Connell, Nigro, Atkins, Nelligan, McAndrew, Steadman, McMullen, Kelley (J. R.), Patton, Martel, O'Dell, Long, Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Bower, Vaughn, Wood (R. T.), Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, McGeory, Tinney, Carrozzo, Ruben, Geyer (A. E.), Simons, Camous, Miller (A. M.).

President Green: The Chair is informed that Brother J. A. Franklin, representing the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders, cannot be in attendance at this convention. He was appointed a member of the Committee on Resolutions, but inasmuch as he cannot be here the Chair desires to substitute for him on that committee Brother Charles A. Sumner, of the Stereotypers' organization.

The Chair assigned Resolution No. 34 to the Committee on Boycotts. For very good reasons the Chair desires to change that assignment and refer Resolution No. 34 to the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams and letters:

"William Green,
"President, American Federation of Labor:

"The South sends greetings to the officers and delegates to the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. We are confident the deliberations and conclusions of the convention will mark still further advancement of the workers of America.

Fraternally,

"JEROME JONES,
"Editor the Journal of Labor,
"Atlanta, Ga."

"William Green,
"President, American Federation of Labor:

"To the officers and delegates assembled October the seventh, nineteen twenty-five: The women of the labor movement extend their greetings and their service to you. We know you have been the only real safeguard against exploitation of women in in-

dustry and that it is to your mantle of protection that we owe our present standard of living. The standard that has given to us the basic demands of humanity, that has proven to be a spiritual blessing to the women who toil. In return for this we offer our services toward the advancement of your splendid body. We know women have become a tremendous force through the increased purchasing power that has been placed in our homes through the trade union movement. The political and social emancipation of women has also increased our power and in gratitude we offer you this great generative force that lies within our rank. If we are properly trained and organized we can and will render invaluable service for the honor and benefit of the A. F. of L. Your beneficence has reached out not only to women in industry, but has brought manifold blessings to the mothers, wives, daughters and sisters of all trade unionists. Therefore, we ask you to induce all affiliated bodies to emulate our example by adding momentum to the formation of auxiliaries. We have started what we hope will be a state-wide movement in Missouri in this direction. We trust we can convert this army of women who handle ninety per cent. of the workers' purchasing power into a militant army of buyers to be at the command of our benefactor, the A. F. of L. With best wishes and appreciation for the good you have accomplished for women and children, beg to remain,

"MARY E. RYDER,

"President Women's Typographical Auxiliary Number Twenty-nine, of St. Louis, Missouri."

A letter from Hon. William Duquette, Mayor of Montreal, Quebec, and a letter from A. O. Davison, President, Montreal Board of Trade, were read by Secretary Morrison, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

Telegrams from M. S. Connors, Secretary of the Building Trades Council of Sacramento, and Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary of the State Federation of Labor of California, were read. Both telegrams asked that the next convention be held in Sacramento. William Frost, Secretary, Local 17, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, Detroit, sent a telegram asking that the next convention be held in that city.

Mrs. J. W. Wilson, Secretary, Mobile, Alabama, Central Trades Council, sent a telegram asking that the next convention be held in Birmingham.

Secretary Morrison stated that he had received a communication containing the following statement, with the request that the statement be read in the convention:

"At a special election, Arizona voters have written a Workmen's Compensation provision into the constitution of that state. Governor Hunt appointed a Compensation Commission before the official vote was announced.

"The proposal was passed by the last legislature and has been opposed by ambulance-chasing lawyers and certain large employers. Every unfair method was resorted to by these forces to confuse the voters. Organized labor took a leading part in supporting the constitutional change."

Delegate Bohm, New York: I wish to make a statement with regard to a resolution in the second day's proceedings, No. 28, introduced by myself. Local 22 was suspended by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at the time the strike was called. It is under communist management. Today, while the organization has returned to the fold, it is under the same communist management and the strike is still on.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Chairman Hirschberg read the following report:

President Woll, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, requests that Henry F. Schmall be substituted in place of Frank H. Glenn, who was compelled to leave the city.

We recommend that this request be complied with and the delegate seated.

We have examined the following credential, and recommend that the delegate be seated:

New Kensington, Pa., Allegheny Valley Central Labor Union—Frank Hughes, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Green: Fellow delegates, I am happy to announce to you this morning that we have with us as a visitor a representative from the Irish Trades Union Congress. This is indeed a pleasure, I am sure, for every delegate in this convention, to be honored and favored by the presence of this distinguished visitor. We have heard from the fraternal delegates from different trades union organizations in different countries and we have received inspiring messages from visitors from other lands, but I am of the opinion, although I may be mistaken, that this is the first time that a convention of the American Federation of Labor has been honored by having a visitor occupying

a high and honored position with the trades union movement of good old Ireland.

It is needless for me to say to our visitor how deeply interested the working people of America are in the success, the welfare and the happiness of the Irish people. We have in our trades union movement thousands and thousands of loyal sons of Irish birth, men who love this movement, men to whom this movement is a passion and almost a religion, men whose loyalty, with that of other members in our unions, can never be questioned.

And so our visitor, in speaking to the delegates here assembled, can rely upon it that he is living in a most favorable atmosphere and that he will be addressing many, many sons of Irish birth.

I am happy indeed to present to you Brother Thomas Johnson, Secretary of the Irish Labor Party and of the Irish Trades Union Congress, and, as I understand, a member of the Transport Workers' Union.

Address of Mr. Thomas Johnson Representing the Irish Trades Union Congress

Mr. President, comrades and fellow trades unionists: I feel almost overwhelmed by the kindness of the American Federation of Labor convention in inviting me on this occasion to say a few words to the representatives of organized labor of America. I had no idea at seven o'clock last night that I would be given an opportunity to speak to this convention, but in your kindness you have extended me the most cordial of welcomes because I represent the Irish trades union movement. I have been in the United States for three weeks, and I have been impressed with the extraordinarily powerful position that men with Irish names and of Irish parentage have found themselves in the labor movement and in the work of general national administration.

It seems to me that the information that I have gleaned at first hand enables me to take back home the confident message that because men of the Irish race have played so great a part in the building up of a nation here, there should not be the slightest hesitation, there should be no lessening of that confident hope that the people remaining at home will be able to build up a powerful, a valuable and a health-giving administration and national authority in the homeland.

I was asked to say a word or two respecting the work of the Irish trades union movement in Ireland, and in a very few words I shall try to suggest to you that we have, in fact, a movement in Ireland about which we have no need to be ashamed and which gives promise of very great influence and power in the future development of our country.

Many of you no doubt will remember how, half a generation ago and a generation ago,

there was a fear of the Irish immigrants, whether into the United States or into England and Scotland, acting the part of black-legs or strike breakers, that their labor would be cheap in those countries because it had been cheap at home. I cannot speak with authority as to the position in the United States, but I can say very confidently and with the utmost assurance that whatever fears the English trades unionist had a generation ago, no such fears prevail today, because the Irish working man is organized and he is proof against the charge of blacklegging.

We are glad to say that in our country our rates of wages are rather above than below the rates in our neighboring countries of England and Scotland. Our trades union movement has not been obliged to give way from the position achieved during the war and after the war in the same way as has been forced upon the working men of Great Britain. We realize the importance of that tactical position. Trades unionism in Ireland has secured a standard of life very much better than that which prevailed when many of you left the homeland.

But we realize also that it is necessary, if we are to maintain that position, that our whole industrial and social development may be carried along, and that the standard of life of our people at home, whether in the towns or in the countryside, shall be maintained at a level not lower than that which was attained during the war period.

I have been impressed since I came here, both from conversations with men in the employing classes of the community and with trades unionists, with this message—a message which has confirmed my own advocacy at home—that the way to produce economically, the way to maintain standards of production and distribution to a level which we would consider decent, the way to make production cheaper than hitherto is not by a tax upon wages, but by improvements of organization. I am going home with the confirmation of our own teachings, gleaned from my observation of affairs in America, that high wages and high production, with security of life, is the slogan which we have to preach.

I have been impressed with the position that the working men of this country have been able to achieve. I have been impressed with the authority that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations have been able to wield. We have long known of the American Federation of Labor, but I, speaking for myself, have never realized how true it is to say that the voice of American labor is the voice of the American Federation of Labor.

I will ask you to remember, too, when you read reports of doings in Ireland in the labor world, that the authority in Ireland which is recognized as responsible is the authority of the organization which I am proud to be the spokesman of.

The Irish Trades Union Congress represents about 250,000 organized working men and women, and when you realize that the maximum number of wage earners in Ireland, men and women, boys and girls over

sixteen years of age, is not more than about three quarters of a million, and that we have affiliated to our organization 250,000, you will realize that we are a fairly well organized community in the industrial sense. We have hopes of the future, we have hopes arising out of our new status, and we believe that the part which organized labor has to play in the development of our new community is one of very great responsibility, because it has very great power.

If I may say so in this meeting I would like to indicate some of the lines on which we of the labor movement hope that our country will develop. We have realized, Mr. Chairman, I have realized since I came here, a further confirmation of my own views as to the position that organized labor must take, the part that organized labor must play in the common life of the community. We have taught that the trade union's first purpose, its primary objective, is to improve the standard of life, to protect the rates of wages, and to improve the conditions of the working people, and that it is in protection against attack where it found its first primary function. But I am pleased to note, Mr. Chairman, that while your Federation and your movement here have realized that its first duty is the protection of the standard of life of its members, it is also reaching out toward new constructive ideas. Your banks, your associations of other kinds, all suggest to me—without at all pretending to pass judgment on its wisdom or unwisdom—that you are working toward constructive ideas over and above your primary function of protection of the standard of life of your membership.

We, too, have taught that once we can, through our unions, maintain our standards and improve the level of existence of the poorer members of our community, our further function is to assist in the constructive upbuilding of a new community. We haven't your resources; we are a little country no larger than some of your smaller States, a community of four and a half million people, mainly agricultural, but reaching out toward the development of industrial activity, an industrial activity associated with agricultural activity, and leading to the provision of the ordinary necessities of the ordinary citizen.

Those of you who are familiar with the south of Ireland will know the River Shannon, "where the River Shannon flows," and you will be glad to realize that the country, with the enthusiastic backing of the labor movement, has entered upon the task of harnessing that river for the production of hydro-electric power to supply the whole country with power and light, which it hopes to have in actual operation within five years from now. Some of us believe that that will create a completely new outlook for the people of the country; it will help the industrial development of the country; it will help to brighten the lives of the people, to lighten the dark places, to react upon the psychology and to create hope and enthusiasm amongst our people.

We are entering upon a period of industrial reconstruction and agricultural im-

provement. We are hopeful that the labor movement will play a big part in that rebuilding of the old country, and again, if I may say so, some of us have the faith that Ireland may play a part in building up a community, in harmonizing modern development with the old ideals of human service and kindly human relations.

We do not look with favor upon the prospect of having great material industries overwhelming human kind, but we do think that it is possible, and that Ireland may be the place where the possibility may be tested, to take advantage of your experiences in methods of organization of material resources, of your experiences in the methods of organization of human resources, but always bearing in mind that the human personality is higher and greater than the material surroundings.

We are reaching out, probing this proposal and that proposal and the other proposal, hoping to find a way whereby the kindly Irish of the Irish nature may be retained, while great improvement in industrial activity may be arrived at. We want to harmonize human activity, human faith, and human goodness with the material resources of nature. We are of this faith, that Nature and Providence have played their part in giving us a humid climate and a rich, productive soil. We have human material which is capable, healthy, clean, intelligent and imaginative, and now we feel that we have achieved a great measure of political freedom, that the responsibility is thrown upon us to bring together those natural resources of the country and the human intelligence, the human imagination and the human personalities, and make of the country a high, a noble, and an inspiring lesson for the peoples of the world.

It is a high ideal, and we know how far short we are of its attainment up to this time, but without faith we shall do nothing, and we look for and expect at least the kindly sympathy of the Irish in America in our efforts to recreate the old country. We feel that the labor movement of Ireland may play a great part in this work, and we know that if ever we seek the moral assistance of the labor movement in America we shall not look across the ocean in vain.

I convey to you, members of the American Federation of Labor, delegates from thousands and hundreds of thousands of members throughout the country, the fraternal greetings of your colleagues in Ireland, and I shall be the proudest citizen of the Irish Free State when I go back and say that the American Federation of Labor has accorded to me, in the name of the Irish trades union movement, the reception which they have given so generously this morning. They will be proud of the message that I am bringing from you, and they will hope that it shall not be the last time that a delegate from Ireland shall appear on this platform, and that a delegate from your organization, Mr. Chairman, will appear on the platform of the Irish Trades Union Congress.

President Green: I am sure, fellow delegates,

that we are all cheered and made glad by this message Brother Johnson has brought to us as a representative of the Irish trades union movement. We are happy indeed to hear from him and to learn direct from him something about the growth and the development and the aims and the purposes of the Irish trades union movement. If there is any one movement in the world or in America that is sympathetically interested in Ireland and in the Irish working men and women, it is the American Federation of Labor.

We have always watched with growing concern and immeasurable interest the progress of the Irish people and the Irish trades union movement, and we have been made most happy when we have observed that the Irish people have lifted themselves, through their economic and political strength, to higher and higher standards in the social and industrial scale. We express to them the hope that they may go forward along constructive lines, building and holding all they have secured, until the working people of Ireland are free indeed and enjoy all the rights to which they are entitled.

We wish our friend, Brother Johnson, representing the Irish Trades Union Congress, to take back to the Irish working men and women the fraternal greetings of this convention. Tell them that we will cooperate and serve and help them in the promotion of every laudable and constructive effort, and that we regard them as our friends, our brothers, and our fellow workers across the sea. When they need help, we will respond; when they need our assistance, we want them to rely upon its being freely given at all times and under all circumstances; we wish them to know that they have a friend in the labor movement of America.

And now may the Chair be pardoned for referring to a personal experience I had in Ireland, along with two of my friends who are sitting on the stage with me. It was my fortune and pleasure and privilege to make a short visit to Ireland, and along with my Irish friends I wished mightily to visit the beautiful Lakes of Killarney. I had heard through song and story of the traditions and the beauties of the mountains and lakes of Killarney, and it was set upon my heart and mind that I must visit Killarney.

So with my friend, Vice-President Duffy here on my left, and my other friend here, the reporter in this convention, another true friend of Ireland, we proceeded to the Lakes of Killarney. Well, when we started from the little city of Killarney, a beautiful place, a

gem, surrounded by mountains and lakes and hills, a most charming, hospitable people living there, we were privileged to ride with a typical Irishman upon an Irish jaunting car, and during our trip up the valley and through the mountains and up to the head of the lakes I was never so thoroughly entertained in all my life.

This Irishman who drove this jaunting car was an expert, a real artist in entertainment. He told us about the traditions of Killarney, about the mountains, the highways and the by-ways, and he told us of the time when some big giant was there, how he travelled around, and how one day he bit a piece out of the mountain, and St. Patrick hit him on the back and he spit it out into the lake, and that created an island. He pointed to some marks that I could scarcely discern upon the rocks along the lakes where this giant had chased his wife, and she, running from the giant, had left the imprint of her feet upon the rocks.

And as I listened with rapture and pleasure to this wonderful story I said, "My good Irish friend, I know all this is true; you wouldn't tell an unsuspecting American an untruth," and he said, "My good friend, it is the truth; I am not permitted to tell an untruth; it is the only privilege I have is to add a little."

So my friend, this young Irishman, Brother Jim Mahan, who visited his aged aunt upon the west coast of Ireland, and I started through the Lakes of Killarney. The upper lake is a very small one, the second one is not much larger, but the third and last lake is a very good-sized lake, and we were riding across this lake on a raw March day when the wind was blowing and the snow was falling, and two sturdy Irishmen were rowing our little boat. About the time we got half-way across the lake a very decided squall came up, and our little boat began to rock up and down and sideways, and my friend Mahan and I huddled very close together. I looked at him and he looked at me, and these Irishmen who were rowing us across the lake never smiled. I said to them, "Are we safe here?" And they said, "Perfectly safe, but if you drown here you will never have a more glorious death." So I said to my friend Mahan, "Is it possible that we crossed the Atlantic on a great, big ship to come out here in the middle of the Lakes of Killarney to be drowned?"

Well, these good Irishmen took us across, even though the boat rocked and the wind blew, and we landed safely, although we were cold and chilled. We shook hands when we arrived at Killarney and the two Irish boys laughed heartily because we were afraid. In

this simple language I have told you about this personal experience, and I am sure you will pardon me for doing so.

In conclusion, in all seriousness, I want our friend to feel, as I told the other visitors from across the sea and from the other countries, that he is here among friends, true friends, genuine friends, friends that are really friends. We want him to feel free to call upon us for information, for assistance and for help, and to carry back to the Irish trade unionists the good wishes of the workers of America and the assurance that we shall assist and co-operate in every way we can in the promotion of their economic and social welfare.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Flaherty, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Legislative Achievements

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 45, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee commends the Executive Council for having thus made available in handy reference form the record of the legislative achievements of the American Federation of Labor.

While we frequently chafe at delay in reaching a certain legislative objective, one has only to read this notable record of progress to appreciate how steadily the labor movement has gone forward to each successive legislative accomplishment.

We invite the attention of the delegates to the great educational value of this document for use during political campaigns as concrete evidence of the effectiveness of labor's policy of political non-partisanship.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favorable Legislation Enacted

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 45, the committee reported as follows:

We commend the Executive Council for having been largely instrumental in writing into law the measures named, all of them of vital importance, not merely to the groups or interests directly affected, but to the general public welfare.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Bills Favorable to Labor That Failed to Pass in the Second Session of the Sixty-eighth Congress

On that portion of the report of the Execu-

tive Council under the above caption, pages 45-46, the committee reported as follows:

It is noted by your Committee that while these legislative measures failed of passage by the 68th Congress, that substantial progress was made in some instances which will be helpful in securing results from the 69th Congress.

We recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts in behalf of these legislative objectives throughout the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Hostile Bills Defeated in Both Sessions of
68th Congress, from December 3, 1923,
to March 3, 1925**

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 46, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee commends the Executive Council for its effective vigilance in defeating these reactionary—and in some instances dangerous—legislative proposals.

We recommend that throughout the 69th Congress, which convenes on December 7th next, the Executive Council continue its vigorous opposition to these and any similar measures which are in conflict with Labor's principles and generally harmful therefore to public welfare.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Registration of Aliens

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 46, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee heartily commends the Executive Council for having so sharply and pertinently called public attention to this highly obnoxious measure which would, if enacted into law, mean the adoption by our government of the spying practices of private detective agencies.

The potential danger of the principle embodied in this bill is very great. It has all of the elements of a strike-crushing, union-breaking proposal.

It is inconceivable that the American Congress will seriously consider legalizing an elaborate system of espionage such as this measure contemplates, nevertheless we earnestly urge upon the Executive Council a continuation of its opposition so that this dangerous proposition, anti-union and anti-American in principle, will not be written into law.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Deportation of Aliens

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 50, the committee reported as follows:

As the Executive Council points out bills of this kind are potentially dangerous because they can be frequently used by hostile interests to the injury and disadvantage of the labor movement.

We recommend that the Executive Council maintain its policy of watchful vigilance to defeat any measures of this kind that may be presented to the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Immigration

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 51, the committee reported as follows:

In considering this portion of the Report of the Executive Council, your Committee kept in mind one of the last utterances of the beloved departed President Gompers, when, in addressing the El Paso Convention on the question of the need for immigration restriction, he said:

"It is in itself an answer to the whole world of adverse criticism upon America and America's workers that we must, if we intend to safeguard the freedom and insure the progress of the civilization of this continent, see to it that we shall not be overrun by hordes of underpaid and undeveloped workers. It is not with us a question of pure nationality or nationalist feeling; but the men who would not defend their standards of life and progress would not defend the chastity of their homes. Self-protection is the first law of nature and it is the duty, as I see it, for the men of the higher standards of life and progress to help the toilers who have lower standards in their own countries. To relieve these countries by allowing hordes of men to leave them and come to our country, simply means to relieve the situation there and perpetuate here the conditions which there exist.

"If people must fight for right, let them fight as they can in their own land and not tear down the conditions which exist in another land."

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to watch carefully the progress of immigration legislation in the 69th Congress, to see that it conforms to the traditional views of the American Federation of Labor, as so often enunciated in conventions and so pertinently stated by President Gompers in the above quoted speech.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Exclusion of Aliens

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 48, the committee reported as follows:

The position of the American Federation of Labor on the Asiatic Exclusion question has been affirmed and reaffirmed so often that it should be known to all within and out of the labor movement.

We would, however, warn the delegates that propagandists are now exceedingly active in this country in attempting to place Japan within the immigration quota law and to otherwise lessen existing immigration restrictions against that country.

As our emphatic answer to these untenable proposals and to prevent any possible misunderstanding of the position of the American Federation of Labor on this question of Japanese exclusion, your Committee recommends a reaffirmation of the declaration of the El Paso convention that we are "unalterably opposed to substituting exclusion by treaty for exclusion by law."

Your Committee further recommends that the Executive Council continue to guard zealously the barriers we have erected against Asiatic immigration and to summon the full strength of the labor movement in their defense should these now subtle attacks upon them assume dangerous aspects during the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vise Fees

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 54, the committee reported as follows:

We commend the Executive Council for its success in carrying out the declaration of the El Paso convention in favor of this legislation relating to vise fees.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Sales Tax

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 52, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee notes the fear of the Executive Council that the objectionable sales tax legislation may be slipped through Congress due to the indifference of the workers to this reactionary proposition.

We urge the delegates to recall that the American Federation of Labor in previous conventions has denounced the proposed sales tax as discriminatory in its operations against the wage earners. Therefore, a ready response should be made by our members to any call from the Executive Council to defeat such tax legislation should it be brought before the 69th Congress.

In reaffirmation of our opposition to the

sales tax we commend the Executive Council for having thus far prevented its enactment and urge a continuation of their efforts along the same effective lines.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Ship Subsidy

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 52, the committee reported as follows:

The American Federation of Labor has consistently opposed ship subsidies and this latest proposal by the United States Shipping Board, which was properly characterized at the time it was made as a "tip" by President Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union, in no way affects our opposition to the objectionable subsidy principle.

We recommend that the Executive Council observe with care and caution any legislative suggestions of this kind, so that labor's opposition to ship subsidies be made known to the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Citizenship District of Columbia

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 53, the committee reported as follows:

We recommend that the Executive Council continue its active cooperation with the Trade Union Movement in the District of Columbia, to secure full citizenship and the right of self-government for the people of the District of Columbia.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Farmers and Labor

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 71, the committee reported as follows:

In connection with the foregoing, your committee also considered that portion of the Executive Council's Report on page 54, under the caption "Farmers' Relief."

Your committee concurs most heartily and emphatically in the recommendation of the Executive Council that "all state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions give earnest support to any practical movement that will aid the farmers."

Your committee feels that in the direction of such cooperation, which has frequently been urged by conventions of the American Federation of Labor, lies the

solution of many mutual problems and there will follow a more equitable distribution of the rewards of production for both the farmer and the city wage earner.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Transportation of Strike Breakers

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 55, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes the progress cited by the Executive Council in the efforts made to secure the enactment of this legislation and recommends that appropriate steps be taken to have a similar measure introduced and enacted by the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Steel Baggage and Express Cars

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 55, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes the progress made towards having this legislation enacted by the last Congress and recommends a renewal of activities in this same direction throughout the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Tax Exempt Securities

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 55, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes the progress that was made in the 68th Congress in carrying out the declaration of previous conventions in favor of a constitutional amendment to collect taxes on now tax-free securities, and recommends a continuation of activities in this same direction throughout the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Convict Labor

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 63-64, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes the progress that was made since our last convention in having federal and state legislation enacted relating to Convict Labor.

The attention of the delegates is particularly invited to the fact that a model bill, which provides for the approved state-use system, has been prepared and should be placed before the legislatures of those states that have not yet acted upon it.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to seek Federal convict labor legislation from the 69th Congress, and that the delegates to this convention take appropriate steps to have the model State bill introduced before their respective legislatures.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Muscle Shoals

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 47, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Muscle Shoals," page 47, Executive Council's report, your committee noted the failure of the 68th Congress to definitely dispose of this question. A commission is now at work in an investigation of Muscle Shoals for the purpose of making recommendations to the next Congress.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council take appropriate steps to place before this commission the findings of the Portland convention on this subject matter. That convention adopted a resolution which read in substance:

"RESOLVED, That this organization is unanimously opposed to the subsidizing or granting of other Government financial aid to any private corporation or corporations for the purpose of establishing a privately owned and operated power system or to any encouragement whatever to a privately owned and operated super-power system; and, be further

RESOLVED, That we individually and collectively urge upon our respective State legislatures and upon the Federal government, and cause to be given the utmost publicity, the necessity for a co-ordinated public development and control of said water resources for the service of the people at cost, giving due regard to the four-fold duty of water for domestic supply, for irrigation, power production and navigation, and to the necessity for flood-water storage and control and to the rights of political subdivisions to the measure of local control in these matters; and that we favor and urge the withdrawal and curtailment of special privileges to private interests controlling this natural resource for incomplete and costly development for private profit."

Your committee further recommends that this convention reaffirm the position of the Portland convention as above set forth and instruct the Executive Council to do its utmost to have any legislation that may be enacted by the 69th Congress relating to Muscle Shoals conform to the principles herein stated.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Retirement Law

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 49, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its active advocacy of this important corrective legislation and recommends that the legislative fight, which fell just short of victory in the last Congress, be renewed with vigor upon the convening of the 69th Congress, and that every aid be given the groups of affiliated workers directly interested for the speedy enactment of the desired legislation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

To Continue Cooperation for the Enactment of Remedial Retirement Legislation

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lippold, Perry J. Bradish, Charles R. Gale, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, and Charles Wiegand, National Federation of Federal Employees; Thos. McQuade, Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund, Draftsmen's Union; Robert Fechner, Chas. W. Fry, Dan Haggerty, Wm. Larkin, Geo. Marshall, Chas. F. Wills, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, During the five years that the Federal Civil Service retirement law has been in operation it has proven of immeasurable value to the employees of the Government and to the public and it has fully justified its past advocacy by organized labor, which was largely responsible for its enactment; and

WHEREAS, The actual operation of the retirement law has likewise disclosed a number of defects that should be corrected by amendatory legislation, particularly in relation to inadequate annuities and existing high age requirements; and

WHEREAS, Such amendatory retirement legislation in keeping with the desires of the organizations of government workers affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, will be introduced in the 69th Congress, convening December 7th, said legislation to follow in principle the measure approved by the United States Senate in the 68th Congress, and which failed of passage in the House of Representatives; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federa-

tion of Labor in 45th Convention assembled, reaffirming its endorsement of the principle of Civil Service retirement, instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees, for the speedy enactment of remedial retirement legislation by the 69th Congress.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Women's Blanket Amendment

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 55, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council for having successfully prevented any favorable action by Congress on this objectionable and untenable proposition, and recommends a continuation of these efforts should it be necessary throughout the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Commercial Arbitration

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 52, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council for having clarified this legislation in the manner stated, and recommends that the Executive Council and organizations directly in interest observe closely the judicial interpretations of this law in order that its intent shall not be misconstrued to the disadvantage of labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Revision of Copyright Law

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 52, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council for having defeated this measure and recommends a continuation of its efforts should the occasion arise in the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Constitutional Amendment

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 47, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee heartily commends the Executive Council for its militant and effective fight against great odds, to defeat

this obnoxious proposition, and recommends a continuation of same should it be necessary throughout the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Taking Police Power from the States

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 49-50, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its very effective opposition to this harmful proposal and recommends its continuance should it be necessary throughout the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Sunday Blue Laws

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 50, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee commends the Executive Council for defeating this restrictive measure and recommends a continuation of its efforts should any similar measure be introduced in the 69th Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing That Canal Zone Employees Be Excluded From Any Uniform Leave Law for Government Employees

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate W. C. Hushing, of the Panama Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, A movement is now under way to place upon the statute books a law granting uniform leave to all employees of the U. S. Government; and

WHEREAS, The leave now granted to employees of the U. S. Government, on the Canal Zone, is the result of twenty years' experience as to the needs of these employees in tropical service; and

WHEREAS, The leave now granted is satisfactory to both U. S. Government Officials and the employees concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the employees of the U. S. Government, on the Panama Canal Zone, be excluded from any uniform leave law for U. S. Government employees; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the A. F. of L. stand instructed to aid in carrying out the intent of this resolution.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Endorsement of Retirement Plan Agreed Upon by Governor Walker and the Panama Central Labor Union for Canal Zone Government Employees

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate W. C.

Hushing, of the Panama Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Secretary of War has gone on record as favoring, for U. S. Government employees on the Canal Zone, a much more liberal retirement than for similar employees, in U. S. Government service, in the U. S.; and

WHEREAS, The Governor of the Canal Zone and the Panama C. L. U. have agreed upon a plan which is much more liberal than any plan yet proposed or likely to be proposed for U. S. Government employees—as a whole—in the near future; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the plan agreed upon between Governor Walker and the Panama C. L. U. be endorsed by this convention and that the officers of the A. F. of L. render all possible aid to make it law.

Not being informed as to the details of the proposed retirement plan for Government employees on the Canal Zone, your committee recommends reference of the resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Establishment of Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lippold, Perry J. Bradish, Charles R. Gale, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gairnor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, National Federation of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Charles Wiegand, National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, Frequently in Civil Service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials and from which judgment the employees affected have no adequate appeal; and

WHEREAS, This absence of any review agency vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental of Civil Service employment is permanency of tenure if the employee is competent to perform the work available and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who possess, as at present, practically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 45th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to assist the representatives of organizations of Government employees to curb this arbitrary power possessed by administrative officials through the establishment of a Civil Service Court of Appeals to which employees could appeal in demotion and dismissal cases and which would have authority to review all evidence

in such cases and recommend appropriate action.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Higher Differential in Pay Rates for Night Work in Government Employ

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lippold, Perry J. Bradish and Charles R. Gale, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally and Charles Wiegand, National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, For the most part the United States Government in its employment policies has failed to recognize the hardship of night work; and

WHEREAS, In the Postal Service, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and other Federal agencies, there are night work requirements involving the employment of many thousands of wage earners; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of government employees to have the government recognize, in a practical way, appropriate to the needs of each group, the hardship and undesirability of night work.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Legislation to Abolish U. S. Bureau of Efficiency

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally and Charles L. Wiegand, of the National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The United States Bureau of Efficiency has during its entire existence shown itself to be inimical to the best interests of Federal employees, administrators and the public in general; and

WHEREAS, Any possible usefulness of such an agency constitutes duplication of functions delegated by law to the Bureau of the Budget; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in forty-fifth annual convention assembled instruct the Executive Council to use its best efforts to secure the enactment of legislation to abolish the United States Bureau of Efficiency; and; be it further

RESOLVED, That International and National organizations, State Branches and Central Bodies be requested to urge upon

Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States support of such proposed legislation.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution and would invite the attention of the convention to the fact that the United States Bureau of Efficiency has long since ceased to function as such. At present it is under the complete domination of Senator Smoot, of Utah, and seemingly endeavors only to serve his personal interests. It performs no public service and its abolishment is earnestly urged.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Continue Effort to Secure Legislation to Abolish Personnel Classification Board and Transfer Its Powers and Functions to U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally and Charles L. Wiegand, of the National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The Classification Act of 1923, which provided for the classification of titles, duties and rates of compensation of Federal employees in the District of Columbia and for a survey of positions in the Field Service has been practically nullified by the majority action of the Personnel Classification Board; and

WHEREAS, The representative of the United States Civil Service Commission on the Personnel Classification Board has consistently adhered to a correct interpretation of the Act; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in forty-fifth annual convention assembled, instruct the Executive Council to continue its efforts to secure the enactment of legislation which will abolish the Personnel Classification Board and transfer its powers, duties and functions to the United States Civil Service Commission which has shown itself to be an impartial agency competent to administer Federal personnel legislation.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Endeavor to Secure Re-enactment by Congress of the Pittman Silver Act

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Charles H. Moyer and John McMullen, of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The re-enactment of the Pittman Silver legislation will stimulate and assist in the re-opening of mines in the metalliferous industry giving miners and craftsmen employment in Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Montana, Idaho and Nevada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the Executive Council is hereby directed

to secure the re-enactment of the Pittman Act by the U. S. Congress at their next session.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council with instructions to take appropriate action to meet the wishes of the sponsors of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Violation of Immigration Laws by Permitting Vessels to Depart With Smaller Crews Than Carried Upon Their Arrival

Resolution No. 41—By Seamen's Delegation:

WHEREAS, The present immigration law is ineffective because mala fide seamen are permitted to remain on the vessels to be taken out of the country by such vessels on departing; and

WHEREAS, Vessels are permitted to go away with less number of men than they had on arrival; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of men come into the United States in practically safe violation of the immigration law through this open side door; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That mala fide seamen be deported as passengers on vessels other than those on which they came at expense of the vessel on which they were brought to the United States; and, further

RESOLVED, That vessels must take away from the United States the same number of men which they carried on arrival; and, further

RESOLVED, That vessels in the coast-wise trade should pay the cost of deporting such men as are not entitled to sail in such trade because they are not properly admitted to the United States; and, further

RESOLVED, That persons who may not come as immigrants should not be permitted to, as seamen, unless they come in a vessel in distress or in a vessel carrying the flag of the country of which they are subjects or citizens as distinct from countries which are colonies or dependencies of such countries.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that copies of same be sent to the Secretary of Labor, the Commissioner of Immigration, and the Chairman of the House and the Senate Committees on Immigration. Furthermore, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to lend its earnest efforts in cooperation with the representatives of the International Seamen's International Union, towards the enactment of the desired legislation.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: The resolution before you contains a great many

things that are technical, and therefore it seems appropriate that some explanation should be made. When in the 68th Congress it was decided to change the quota law and to tighten the exclusion of undesirable and others, the original proposition coming from the Secretary of Labor, who, realizing that the ability of immigrants to come as seamen and then quit their vessel, constituted an open side door, which would close by compelling seamen—not citizens of the United States—to remain on their vessels unless they could give bond to return with their vessels when they should again depart.

Manifestly this would have made prisons out of the vessels; manifestly it would have repealed the freedom clause of the Seamen's Act; it would have brought back many of the evils the American Federation of Labor assisted in removing. Attention was called to the proposals and the law was changed so that bona fide seamen could come and go as provided under the Seamen's Act. That is not exactly the wording, but the substance.

It is manifest that some specific and proper regulations should be made as dealing with seamen if the immigration laws are to be carried out and have the respect and confidence of the people and accomplish their purpose. So the seamen proposed as a substitute for the Secretary's proposal that mala fide seamen should be taken out of the vessels in which they came into the United States, put in a detention camp, and at the expense of the vessel that brought them in detained there and then sent back to the country from which they came, again at the expense of the vessel that brought them in. This may seem a somewhat peculiar and drastic proposal. It is rather peculiar, I grant you, and in some instances it would be drastic, too, but it is absolutely just and necessary.

You have had a Chinese Exclusion Act now for more than thirty years. It is as tight as Congress knew how to make it, following the advice of those who were specially interested in the exclusion of Chinese. The law has been in operation since 1891. There are very few Chinese women in the United States. Notwithstanding that the Chinese in the United States are as young as ever, and notwithstanding the exclusion, Chinese in the United States have increased in number. This is brought about by the fact that when a vessel comes into the United States having Chinese in the crew, the new Chinamen on the vessel go ashore and the old Chinamen in the United States go on board the vessel. As long as they are permitted to carry Chinese crews there is no possible way to prevent smuggling of Chinese. Some 83 or 84 Chinese were taken out of one vessel in Seattle—and the vessel belongs to the Shipping Board, too. They were there as stowaways and they had not succeeded in landing.

Two years ago in San Francisco I received an anonymous letter informing me that 28 Chinese were to come ashore on a vessel—specifying the vessel, the dock and where they were going to land. I took the letter to the Collector of Cus-

toms. He asked if I had told anyone about the letter. I said, "No, it would not be any use coming to you if I had. What are you going to do about it?" He said he would put his best searchers on the vessel. He did, and found eighteen out of the twenty-eight; ten of them had been so hidden they could not be found.

Not long ago a vessel left China, took eighty odd Chinamen from there and put them ashore at Marseilles, France, because they had somebody on board they could not trust to keep his mouth shut when they arrived at Boston. Why do they do all this? It is worth at least one thousand dollars a head for every Chinaman who can be brought into the United States in such a way that he can mingle with the other Chinamen here. The same situation exactly is applicable to the Japanese.

In every port in Europe, so far as I can ascertain, and I was in Europe three months—there are men going on board the vessels as seamen who are, as a matter of fact, landmen pure and simple, and they are coming here as immigrants. There are 600,000 men coming into the ports of the United States every year who have a right to quit the vessel. In order to get people who are excluded, or who cannot get visa and who want to come nevertheless, they forge seamen's papers, seamen's certificates, seamen's discharge books; they register in the shipping offices and are sent to the United States as seamen, but they are not seamen at all.

The ship owners do not like that situation because they have to pay one thousand dollars' fine when they are caught at it, but they are caught so seldom it amounts to nothing. The seamen do not like the situation because it excludes bona fide seamen from employment. If they can be permitted to go on violating the immigration law in that manner, your 150,000 immigrants that will be permitted to come in here after 1927 will mean nothing, because up to 600,000 can come in this way.

People talk about men coming over the borders of Mexico and Canada. That is a mere blind; a majority of the men are coming in through the open side door. If you want to cure that you will have to do it by making it unprofitable. If ship owners and officers on board a vessel can share between them one thousand dollars for each man landed, it is easy to see why the law is violated.

When in Belgium it costs from one thousand to five thousand Belgium marks to get on board a vessel bound for the United States in one way or another, it is easy to see that somebody is making money out of it and laughing at your immigration system. It can be done even when the shipping people are extremely careful, because the master of the vessel, the boarding master at the port, the man who is assigned on the vessel and the man who wants to go in the vessel may agree about it. One man can leave the vessel and a substitute goes on board. Your immigration system in this way has an open side door.

Then vessels are coming here with 200 men in the crew and leaving with 160. They have come with as many as 450 in the crew and left with 250. There is a wide open door for them, but if it is necessary for safety to have 450 men on a vessel coming from Greece to the United States it is equally necessary for safety to have 450 men on the vessel when it leaves the United States for Greece, and the door can be easily closed.

Now, with reference to the coastwise proposition. The United States has unlimited jurisdiction there. It is under the exclusive control of Congress, and for Congress to penalize the immigrant, or the seaman if he be not an immigrant but is simply a tool and does not know his duties and his rights and will listen to somebody who wants him to work in the coastwise trade, to the exclusion of the American who wants to go there, if there is no penalty at all on the ship owner for employing such men you can very readily see that the ship owner will employ them and that the penalty, if there is any, will fall upon the men who are employed.

At the present time if you find such a man he is arrested, detained and sent out of the country at the expense of the United States. I don't see any reason why those who are guilty should not be punished. There ought to be a penalty, and the simplest and most effective penalty would be to transfer the payment for detention and deportation from the taxpayers of the United States to the criminals who are violating the law.

If a vessel comes here with a crew, if the members will not be admitted as immigrants, and the vessel and the man are not of the same nationality, you have an open door through which you get excluded people into the United States. If a vessel in distress comes in you cannot touch it; that would be brutal, inhuman and no nation would do it, but you can say to the Japanese, "You can come here with Japanese as much as you like and go away, but if you come with Koreans and Chinese we are going to take them from you and send them back where they came from at your expense." They would not carry many Koreans or Chinese if that were done.

A Dutch vessel may come to San Francisco where American vessels are lying idle. Those vessels do not have Europeans on board, they have Chinese. If the Dutch vessel were to be compelled to carry the Chinese back at their own expense they would be careful not to bring them in, and would pay enough wages to get American seamen.

At the beginning it was difficult to get a committee in Congress to agree with us, but step by step they got to understand us. Finally the State Department was asked whether there was any reason why this should not be enacted into law and they said there was none. The Department of Labor was asked the same question and they said there was no reason. The Department of Commerce was asked if it would interfere with commerce. They said there might be a question of the wisdom of

the policy but it would not interfere with commerce.

These amendments could not get into the Immigration Bill, because it was stated there that if that were insisted upon it might result in the loss in the whole of the Immigration Bill. In behalf of the seamen I said, "Cut it out, because the Immigration Bill is more important than this matter." When the Deportation Bill came up last winter this amendment was offered again. Johnson, of Washington, could not see his way clear to favor it then. I don't know how he feels about it now, but I know if the members of the committee vote their convictions they would favor the amendment.

I know that one of the reasons why the Senate Committee killed the deportation bill in the last Congress was because of some of the injustices it contained toward other men, and also because it would become ineffective. Members of the Senate Committee said those amendments would have to go or the bill would go.

If this thing has to do with the seamen alone I would not on behalf of the seamen come before you with it; but it goes to the very root of enforcement of a system which you, in all the time I have been coming here—and I have been here quite often—have stood for, and that is curtailment of immigration. It is your will that such should be the case and it is the will of the people of the United States that such should be the case, and, inasmuch as the case with reference to the seamen leaves an open side door for the admission of immigrants, we are asking you to adopt this resolution after having given much explanation of it as I have given you.

Delegate Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor: The matter under consideration, of course, is of greater importance to the seamen than it is to the members of any other organization represented here, because where sailors from the countries that have lower standards are permitted to come in direct competition with them it means the question of jobs and a fight to maintain existing conditions.

The seamen are more vitally interested, undoubtedly, than are any of the other organizations; but there is a greater consideration that enters into this question than the immediate injury this competition does to the seamen. It not only affects every other organization represented here but it affects the citizenship of our country as well, it affects our standards of life and living, and I am not sure that it does not hold within it a menace to even our form of government.

This is a problem the average worker has not informed himself very well about, and so it is difficult to create interest among the workers in a discussion of the subject; but if they will give some time to it, and if a thorough consideration and study of it be made and all the facts brought home to trade unionists and the people of our country generally, they will feel it is of vital importance and they will take determined action in the matter. I want to see every man and woman in our country get

the same sort of consideration from every other citizen of it, regardless of nationality, religion, political faith, color or any other attribute they may have personally; I want to do what I can to assist the people, especially those who are struggling as workers in every other country of the world; and in doing that I am willing to agree that where they can come into our country without injuring us that that be done; but it is accepted by those who have studied the question that every intermingling of races, while it may raise the standards physically, mentally and morally of those that are lower, it lowers the standards of those that may be higher.

It is also accepted that those races that are considered the most backward are also the most prolific, and when a sufficient number come here it may mean our subjugation; it may mean, not only an immediate lowering of our standards of living and education, but the lowering of the standards of the entire people in the course of time.

A man who has given time and study to this recently says that in twenty-five years, at the present ratio of births and deaths on the Pacific coast the Japanese will have a majority of the population there. If that is even approximately true it is a matter that ought to be given serious consideration by our people generally. And if it is true of the coast states, it means only a matter of further time, under the same death and birth ratio for the menace to become national.

Under present conditions, with hundreds of thousands, yes, millions of working men of our country out of employment, I believe we should plug up every hole that a single one can come through, no matter from what country they come, if they come here to work in competition with our people.

If I were a seaman I would feel exactly as President Furuseth does—that this is a most supremely important question involving my organization that could be brought to this convention. But as workers generally and as a citizen, as one who wants to maintain our form of government and our standards, I believe such steps should be taken that will make it impossible for anyone coming here to go into direct competition with men and women already out of work. We should not permit them to come here, and they ought not to want to come here.

I think a study of the subject should be made and such legislation adopted that even after this crisis is over the more backward races should be prohibited from coming here, except so far as they can come without injuring our people now or being a menace to our standards and form of government later.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 41 was adopted unanimously.

President Green: That completes the report of the Committee on Legislation up to this time.

At 12.30 p. m. an adjournment was taken to 2.30 o'clock of the same day.

Fourth Day--Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 o'clock p. m. by President Green:

Absentees

Myrup, Franklin, Dohney, Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Gochenour, Couter, Conway, Evans (E. J.), Snow, Murphy (M.), Cooley, Kaufman, Lucchi, Sigman, Fljozdal, Milliman, Hill, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Pattison, Moyer, Crough, Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Farrington, Kennedy, Nesbit, Golden, Yarrow, Parker, Berry, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Olander, Cone, O'Connell, Nigro, Atkins, Nelligan, Marshall (S.), McAndrew, Steadman, McMullen, Kelley (J. R.), Patton, Martel, O'Dell, Long, Sommers, Rynearson, Lapert, Bower, Vaughn, Reid, Wood (R. T.), Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, McGeory, Tinney, Carozzo, Geyer, Ruben, Simons, Camous, Miller (A. M.).

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Hirschberg, for the committee, submitted the following report:

We have examined the following credentials, and recommended that the delegate be seated:

Morris C. Feinstone, representing the United Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14581, New York City, 1 vote.

President Stephen C. Hogan, of the Marble Polishers, Sawyers, Tile and Marble Helpers, requests that the name of Louis Rode be substituted in his place, as he is leaving the city.

We recommend that the delegate be seated.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

Secretary Morrison read a communication signed by John Dering, Secretary of Cigar Makers' Local Union No. 22, of Detroit, asking that the 1926 convention be held in Detroit, and a telegram of similar nature from Simon J. Lubin, of Sacramento, California, seeking the next convention for that city.

Secretary Morrison, on behalf of the Committee on Adjustment, announced a meeting of that committee at 2.30 o'clock p. m. Friday in Parlor A, Strand Hotel, and the request was made that delegates from the Upholsterers and Sign Hangers' Union No. 14872 appear before the committee in connection with Resolution No. 7; delegates from the Machinists and Engineers in connection with Resolution No. 22; delegates from the Tailors and Cleaners

and Dyers in connection with Resolution No. 35; and delegates from the Engineers and Building Service Employees in connection with Resolution No. 82.

President Green announced that the meeting of the Executive Council, set for Thursday evening, October 8, would be deferred until Friday evening at 7.30 o'clock, in the sun parlor of the Strand Hotel.

Reports of committees were called for, and the chairman of the committee on Building Trades announced that they were prepared to report on the one resolution submitted to them.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Delegate Hedrick, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Proposing Investigation of Labor Policy at U. S. West Point Academy in Building Construction Work

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Jerome B. Keating, of the Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York.

WHEREAS, A complaint was made to the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity, that Col. E. J. Timberlake, Quartermaster at West Point Academy, West Point, New York, was doing some construction work on buildings at considerably below the prevailing rate; and

WHEREAS, This grievance has existed since the Spring of 1921, and the War Department was cognizant of portions of this violation, it being charged at the time that the Quartermaster at the West Point Academy, West Point, New York, in order to carry out a non-union policy further evaded the law by employing non-citizens on building and construction work; and

WHEREAS, Col. Timberlake's communication under date of September 16th, 1925, to the Secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity, stating tersely that he was not interested in meeting union representatives, clearly indicating that he bitterly was an opponent of the organized labor movement and aligned with open-shoppers, whose religion is closed shop to union men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council make representation to the War Department to hold a non-biased investigation into labor conditions at West Point, New York, and to further watch the Army appropriations through their legislative committee, in order that a fair and equitable wage might be paid on all work done at the West Point Academy, West Point, New York.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Squibb, Granite Cutters, spoke in support of the resolution and said, in part:

"In 1920 there was a cadet barracks built at West Point by a contractor named McCloskey, of Philadelphia. There were about forty or fifty granite cutters employed on that work at a wage rate of \$9.00 per day. I should say that that work was completed in July, 1920. In the early part of 1921 the government advertised for bids for a cadet hospital and rejected all the bids and decided to proceed with the erection of the hospital. This man Timberlake immediately began to advertise for granite cutters at 75 cents an hour. We went to him and told him that the rate was \$9.00 per day and we did not think it fair for him to try to employ granite cutters for 75 cents an hour. He brushed all our objections aside.

"We got in touch with Secretary of War Weeks and he ordered Timberlake to make an investigation. At that time there were about forty or fifty granite cutters employed at Peekskill, twelve miles below West Point, and perhaps one or two employed in Newburgh, just twelve miles above West Point. Union granite cutters were working in Peekskill and non-union granite cutters were working in Newburgh. Timberlake reported that the wage rate in Peekskill was \$9.00 per day and that the wage rate in Newburgh was \$5.00 per day, and therefore he would average the rate and make it 75 cents an hour for West Point.

"The Union granite cutters refused to work on the job, and then the question of getting men arose. We are not in position to prove that the Immigration Bureau of the United States Labor Department was in collusion with the War Department, but we do know that granite cutters, immigrants arriving from Europe, went directly from Ellis Island up to West Point.

"We then appealed to the Secretary of War, declaring that aliens were being employed on government work. Timberlake had them declare their intentions to be United States citizens and then reported that all men employed on the job were either citizens or had declared their intention of becoming citizens. It was evasion from beginning to end. Work has again been started at West Point under direct government control, and we are confronted with the same problem once more, and we believe that the position of the West Point authorities, backed by the War Department, is absolutely indefensible. We would like the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in establishing what is right at West Point."

Delegate Keating, New York Central Trades and Labor Council, stated it was evident that the investigation which the Secretary of War ordered made was made

largely by Colonel Timberlake, and therefore those who were affected felt that the prestige of the American Federation of Labor behind the resolution would have a better effect.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hedrick: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the committee on Building Trades on all matters assigned to us. It is respectfully submitted and signed:

GEORGE F. HEDRICK, Chairman,
JOS. F. MULLANEY,
EDWARD RYAN,
D. D'ALESSANDRO,
JOHN DONLIN,
FRANK FEENEY,
FRANK J. McNULTY,
ARTHUR M. HUDDLELL,
WILLIAM J. MCSORLEY,
RICHARD PATTISON,
M. W. MITCHELL,
SAM SQUIBB,
GEORGE T. WALKER.

Committee on Building Trades.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole, as read.

President Green announced that arrangements had been completed for the first showing of the picture to be used in the organization and education campaign during the coming months. He stated that the picture would be shown at the Stanley Theatre at 9.30 o'clock Friday morning, October 9, the theatre having been secured through the efforts of Delegate William F. Canavan, of the Stage Employees.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department, supplemented the announcement with a motion that when the convention adjourn today the rules be suspended and the delegates and visitors assemble at the Stanley Theatre at the usual hour of convening on Friday morning to view the first showing of the picture. The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green urged every one to see the picture at its first showing.

No further committees were prepared to report, and no further business coming before the convention Delegate Gainer, Letter Carriers, moved that adjournment be taken to the Stanley Theatre at 9.30 o'clock Friday morning, October 9. The motion was seconded and carried, and the convention adjourned at 3.25 p. m.

Fifth Day--Friday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.,

October 9, 1925.

The convention was called to order at 11.15 o'clock a. m., by President Green. Previous to the convention the delegates and visitors had assembled at 9.30 o'clock at the Stanley Theatre to witness the first showing of the picture, "Labor's Reward." The Stanley Theatre orchestra, prior to the picture being shown, gave a delightful musical program.

Absentees

Myrup, Franklin, Dohney, Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Gochenour, Coulter, Conway, Evans (E. J.), Snow, Cooley, Kauffman, Lucchi, Sigman, Fljozdal, Milliman, Hill, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Pattison, Moyer, Crough, Yarrow, Parker, Burke (T. E.), Olander, O'Connell, Nigro, Atkins, Nelligan, McAndrew, Steadman, McMullen, Kelley (J. R.), Patton, Martel, O'Dell, Long, Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Bower, Reed, Vaughn, Wood (R. T.), Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, McGeary, Tinney, Carrozzo, Ruben, Geyer, Simons, Camous, Miller (A. M.).

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following cablegram:

"Mr. William Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor,
"Hotel Strand, Atlantic City, N. J.,

"Would be grateful if you would please make known to the honorable convention that you preside over, my best wishes for the success in its labors that so much interests me. I greet you fraternally.

"LUIS N. MORONES, Secretary,
"Commerce, Industry and Labor,

"Mexico City,
"October 8, 1925."

Telegrams urging that the 1926 convention be held in Birmingham, Alabama, were received from R. J. Bailey, Organizer of the American Federation of Labor for the Muscle Shoals District; John R. Meeks, Acting Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Florence, Alabama, and E. H. Clifford, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Tuscumbia, Alabama.

Communications of similar import in behalf of Detroit as the 1926 convention city were received from T. E. Peters, Secretary of Laundry Workers' Union No. 207, of

Detroit; James McConnell, Secretary of the Detroit Conference Board of the International Molders' Union of North America, and H. B. Teneyck, Business Agent of Detroit Local Union No. 25, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Chairman Hirschberg read the following report:

We have received credential for an additional delegate from the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers, Joseph W. Morton, and recommend that he be seated.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

Reports of committees were called for in their order, and Delegate Baine, chairman of the Committee on Legislation, announced that that committee had reported upon all matters submitted to it.

A meeting of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies was announced for Friday afternoon at 2.30 o'clock in the sun parlor of the Strand Hotel.

No committees were in readiness to report, and President Green asked Vice-President Ryan and Delegate Michael Flynn to escort to the platform Miss Elisabeth Christman, Fraternal Delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

President Green: Miss Elisabeth Christman represents the National Women's Trade Union League of America, and is its Secretary-Treasurer. She has been honored on many occasions by being delegated by the League to meet with us as a fraternal delegate. Most of the delegates who have been attending our conventions for years remember Miss Christman, her familiar face and charming personality, and you know of her devotion and loyalty to the trade union movement and its principles. We have been very fortunate in having her with us at so many, many conventions. We are glad she

is here now, and we sincerely hope she may be permitted to serve in this responsible and honored position for many years to come.

I take pleasure in presenting to you, sisters and brothers, Miss Elisabeth Christman, who will now address you.

ADDRESS OF MISS ELISABETH CHRISTMAN

Representing the National Women's Trade Union League

Mr Chairman and delegates: I bring to you the heartiest greetings of the National Women's Trade Union League. I need not tell you anything about the League's work, because you know it very well. It works for and with the trade union movement. I think that is all that need be said here at the American Federation of Labor about its particular work.

Each annual convention brings home to us certain heartening facts about our movement, and about the acceptance of the principles for which we have been contending now for generations. We see industrial standards improving, we see human labor sharing as never before in this country the rewards of its toil.

But with all there is that is heartening, all there is that registers progress, we have also to recognize great needs still before us, great work still to be done. Four million members of the American Federation of Labor seem a vast number until we remember that it does not equal more than one big city-full of people, does not represent quite ten per cent of the whole number of men and women who work for wages in the United States. Collective bargaining established in some great industries, or in some areas, seems a great achievement until we turn our eyes to other great industries and other great areas that are still untouched by organization. Free public education established in every state, as a result originally and primarily of the demands of organized labor, seems a great work done until we find over five million men and women in the United States who can not read or write. Child labor some would have us think to be a thing of the past. But the Census Bureau shows us nearly half a million children from ten to fifteen years of age in factories, stores and workshops.

We face these things and they turn us back to our problem—how to do the job they call for. And then we find that just as the country has grown, just as industry has developed and life in general has become a vastly more complex affair, so have our labor problems grown. The levelling processes of our machine age have given us new kinds of work, fewer grades of skill. They have broken down craft lines in industry, and confused jurisdictional lines for organized labor. They have compelled us to think in new terms of organization method, and they call for a new approach, for new method itself in organization work.

What we need, it seems to me, especially as we engage in our forty weeks' drive for

organization, is appreciation of the need for public support. Great movements succeed in proportion as they are able to gather public opinion with them. Too often we trade unionists are content to talk among ourselves, hold meetings for ourselves, tell ourselves the need of organization which we already know. We are not the people who need the telling. It is the public—those millions of men and women we think of so intangibly under that designation—the public whose opinion creates the atmosphere friendly or unfriendly to our movement, making it easy or leaving it hard for the unorganized workers to join the union. The union ought to be as much in the atmosphere of the factory or the workshop as the church is in the home. It ought to be as natural and as obvious to the worker. But the unorganized workers are a part of the public. We can not extract them from the mass with a magnet. We have first to leaven the mass—if not actually to move it all with the force of our ideas.

The public does not yet understand trade unions. It does not realize what is meant by collective bargaining in any concrete sense. It does not see the workers' case as a collective problem. It sees the workman, the working woman, and sees them individually. And the worker himself, until he is organized, is a member of that uncomprehending, indifferent, or even hostile, individualistic public.

So it is education we must do, after all. It is an educational problem. We have to think of and address, not ourselves or our own kind, but the public, of whom nearly thirty-six million are wage earners who do not belong to the American Federation of Labor, or any trade union.

There is our problem in its bulk. Analyzing and classifying, we find our job is to reach some thousands who are craftsmen of old-time skill, and millions who are but semi-skilled. And this brings us down to something we have not always faced as squarely as we should—the organization of the less skilled. The importance of it, in justice not only to the men and women who are at the bottom, but to our movement as a whole, can not possibly be overestimated. Neither can the difficulties.

It is these millions of semi-skilled who face most acutely the problems and the hardships of unemployment, who have the longest hours and the lowest pay. And just because they are already hardest hit by circumstances, just because they get least pay and have the most uncertain jobs, they are more dependent on those jobs and can least afford to take chances with them. They are consequently, the most easily intimidated by labor-baiting employers. And just as long as public opinion tolerates the employer who intimidates his workers, or discharges them for union membership, this group of workers will be hard to organize. The loss of a poor job is worse than the loss of a good one, and men and women without bread or shelter can not resist with the strength of the well-fed and prosperous.

That is one reason why women are hard to organize. Women do not go to work for pin-money—not many women. They

work to make a living, usually for others besides themselves. But they hold, as a group, the poorest jobs there are. It is safe to say that more than half of the wage-earning women in the United States today are paid less than \$14 a week, and most of those not more than \$10. It is a far more serious thing to lose a \$10 job than a \$25 or a \$50 one. They can not help fearing that.

So I come back to the necessity for getting the public with us—for doing the educational job of creating a favorable public opinion. We must build our case and base our arguments on facts and careful statements, backed up by expert studies and reliable surveys. We must present it convincingly to the public, where the unorganized workers are found. That means addressing, not trade union bodies, but other organizations, and corresponding with them, and gaining access to their press for a hearing of our case. It means securing their cooperation at every point we can. It means making our campaign a reality to whatever press is friendly, and making our purposes understood by the men and women who write about them. Our officers and organizers must be not only preachers of the gospel of trade unionism but liaison officers with the public, to gain and hold its good will, and insure its understanding.

I, for one, believe there is a great and willing public, ready to receive and respond to us if we make our message clear.

President Green: Both in a personal sense and in behalf of the delegates attending this convention, I wish to thank Miss Christman for her visit here and for her most interesting and instructive address. I am

sure we will all be helped by it, and I suggest that all of you read it as it will appear in the minutes of today, and particularly those of you who were not so fortunate as to be able to hear clearly. It is well worth reading over two or three times.

The delegates will please bear in mind that there is a special order of business immediately upon reconvening the convention this afternoon. It is a special order for the consideration of the question of child labor and child labor legislation. I ask that those who feel that this great, humane proposal lies heavily upon your hearts and minds be prepared to express your feelings this afternoon.

Then I want to announce the Gompers memorial service as a special order immediately upon the reconvening of the convention in afternoon session on Monday. We wish to have this a very solemn and memorable service, and we trust that those of you who feel like saying something at that service will come prepared to do so.

Announcements were made as to time and place of committee meetings.

No further business coming before the convention, a motion offered by Delegate Connors, Switchmen, to suspend the rules and adjourn to 2.30 p. m. was adopted, and the convention adjourned at 11.45 a. m.

Fifth Day--Friday Afternoon Session

Pursuant to adjournment, the convention was called to order at 2.30 o'clock p. m.. President Green in the chair.

Absentees

Myrup, Franklin, Dohney, Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Gochenour, Coulter, Conway, Evans (E. J.), Snow, Murphy (M.), Cooley, Kauffman, Lucchi, Sigman, Fljozdal, Milliman, Hill, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Pattison, Moyer, Crough, Yarrow, Parker, Berry, Burke (T. E.), Olander, O'Connell, Nigro, Atkins, Nelligan, McAndrew, Steadman, McMullen, Kelly (J. R.), Patton, Martel, O'Dell, Long, Sommers, Ryneerson, Lappert, Bower, Reed, Vaughn, Wood (R. T.), Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, McGeory, Tinney, Carozzo, Ruben, Geyer, Simons, Camous, Miller (A. M.).

Telegrams seeking the 1926 convention for Birmingham, Alabama, were read, signed by J. F. Calhoun, Secretary of the Alabama State Council of Carpenters; by D. L. Sigmon, President, and Robert Butler, Secre-

tary of the Central Labor Union of the Muscle Shoals District (Florence, Sheffield, and Tusculmbia), and by O. Bunn, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Birmingham.

Lansdale Post No. 67, Veterans of Foreign Wars, sent a telegram in behalf of Sacramento, California, as the next convention city.

A telegram from Detroit urging the selection of that city for the Federation's next meeting place came from James P. O'Toole, Secretary of Lodge No. 82, International Association of Machinists.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Frank Morrison, Secretary,

"American Federation of Labor:

"The Central Labor Council of Anaconda, Montana, wishes you a great and success-

ful convention and that much good will accrue from your efforts for the emancipation of the workers. May your deliberations be fruitful and inspire trade union membership to further activity for the labor movement.

"E. B. CATLIN, Secretary,
"Central Labor Council of Anaconda, Mont."

President Green announced that the meeting of the Executive Council, set for Friday evening, had again been postponed to 3.00 o'clock Saturday afternoon, October 9.

He also requested the President of the Railway Clerks and Freight Handlers and his associates, with the representatives of the Teamsters' Union, to meet him at 1.30 o'clock Saturday afternoon.

President Green: The hour has arrived for the consideration of the matter set apart as a special order for this afternoon's session. You will recall that the Executive Council recommended in its report that a part, at least, of one of the sessions of this convention be devoted to consideration of this very interesting subject. Pursuant to the recommendation of the Council, the Chair fixed this afternoon for the consideration of this subject. I assure you we will be glad to hear from those of you who wish to contribute your thoughts and your judgment to the consideration of this question and the procedure that might be followed in order to bring about success. We will spend as much time as possible in discussion, and any who desire to ask questions may do so and we will endeavor to answer and give you such information as we are able to submit.

It might be well just in the beginning for the Chair to refer to some phases of this subject of child labor that lay upon our hearts and minds. We all know of the experience in the different states and with the different state legislatures in our endeavors to persuade them to ratify the constitutional child labor amendment which was practically unanimously adopted by the Congress of the United States, and you, coming from the different states represented here, know the opposition you met. So it is well for us to take an invoice, to take stock of the situation, to reshape our lines if that is necessary, and close up our ranks, to find out the way we can best succeed and follow it through until victory crowns our efforts.

We were all disappointed with the re-

sponse that came from the different state legislatures during the past year. Instead of finding sympathetically inclined members of the different state legislatures, we found that as a result of the circulation of vicious propaganda and indefensible falsehoods, members of the state legislatures were opposed to the adoption of child labor legislation. In some instances even members of state legislatures who had been elected upon a written pledge to support the amendment violated the pledge and refused to keep their word. In some states the political parties incorporated in their platforms planks and sections pledging themselves, if elected and placed in power, to support the constitutional child labor amendment.

What caused this change in public opinion? It was only a short time since Congress responded to what seemed to be an almost universal sentiment in favor of the adoption of a child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and labor rejoiced, the friends of the children were happy because we thought our victory was won, we thought our work was accomplished; we believed that, having succeeded in prevailing upon Congress to adopt the child labor amendment, it would be an easy matter to prevail upon a sufficient number of states to ratify the constitutional amendment so that it would become a part of the organic law of the nation.

This opposition to which I have referred was due to vicious propaganda circulated by the enemies of this constitutional amendment, by so-called manufacturers' associations, by Chambers of Commerce, by hostile employers in the textile industries of the nation, by those who profited from the exploitation of the child labor of the land.

It had its effect among the farmers, it influenced many well meaning people, and inasmuch as many state legislatures reflect most keenly the sentiment of the agricultural districts, it was most difficult for the representatives of labor to persuade the farmers that they had been misled and misinformed. So that as a result of it some legislatures voted against the ratification of the child labor amendment, some were indifferent and did not vote at all, and in some sections our labor men, for strategic reasons, decided not to press the question until public sentiment had changed.

There are two or three things in connection with this matter to which I want to refer briefly, and one is this: Inquiries have been made as to the present status of this child labor amendment. Some have asked this question: Can a state legislature which has already approved the child labor amendment change its vote? I am legally informed that a legislature that voted in the affirmative cannot change, so that the few states who have ratified this amendment by action of their legislators will stand as approving the child labor amendment.

The other question is, can a state which voted against the child labor amendment change its vote and vote in the affirmative? The answer to that is yes, state legislatures which have passed upon this amendment and will meet again next winter or the following winter may, if they see fit, reverse their position and ratify the child labor amendment.

Another inquiry: Is there a time limit in which the constitutional amendment must be approved or rejected? Our information is that there is no time limit, that we have the future in which to work, that we can carry on this campaign indefinitely until we hope enough states will ratify this constitutional amendment so that it will be effective.

Now what is the opposition of the farmers—and it is that opposition we must meet and overcome. The farmers have been told that if this constitutional amendment is adopted the farmer's son or the farmer's daughter under eighteen years of age will not be permitted to work on the farm or around the house, but instead will be compelled to remain idle until the age of eighteen years is reached.

This is vicious propaganda, it is far from the truth, because after all the child labor amendment in no way whatsoever limits or prescribes the age at which children may be employed in the mills, mines and factories of our nation. It is an enabling act, merely conferring upon Congress the power to pass a child labor law that will compare favorably, if you please, with the child labor legislation already enacted by the advanced and progressive states. It gives Congress only the power, it confers upon Congress the authority. In itself it is not legislation, it is an enabling

process, an enabling act, and Congress must necessarily respond to the requirements of this act by passing a statute providing for the employment of children in industry before child labor is regulated.

Why, the income tax amendment to the constitution of the United States merely conferred upon Congress the power to pass an income tax measure. Congress has the power to pass such legislation because the Federal constitution was amended conferring upon Congress that power, but because the people conferred upon Congress the power to pass such legislation it did not necessarily mean that Congress in the exercise of that power would pass an unreasonable income tax measure.

Is there any difference between conferring upon Congress the power to pass an income tax law and the power to pass child labor legislation? If you vest Congress with the power to levy taxes, then can't you confer upon Congress the power to protect children and child life? If the Congress of the United States does not pass an act levying an income tax which may be regarded as unreasonable, have we not the right to believe that Congress, exercising its power under this constitutional amendment will, under no circumstances, pass a child labor law that is unreasonable? The situation is the same. It is a matter of power—power to pass an income tax law, power to pass a child labor statute.

Congress, exercising its authority and its power, must respond to the reasonable requirements of the American people; otherwise, the people have it in their power to turn Congress out and put a new one in. So that that argument will not stand analysis, it cannot, it should not appeal to the intelligence of reasonable people.

It is that drive, that vicious propaganda that has been circulated that must be cleared up by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor. Why is there a necessity of a national child labor law? The argument is put forth that it is too much power to vest in the Federal Government, that it belongs to the States, that the people are jealous of home rule, that they do not wish to lodge in the Federal Government the power to regulate the employment of children. Some have even gone so far as to say that if this constitutional amendment is adopted it will give Congress the power to come into the

home and regulate the homes and lives of people, all of which is vicious, indefensible propaganda.

Can Congress exercise any more power under the authority conferred upon it by other constitutional amendments than a power that is reasonable and just and fair? If it cannot in other instances, certainly it cannot in this instance. Why should it be pointed out that it is in this instance that Congress will abuse its power? Why do the opponents of child labor emphasize that Congress is not fit to deal upon this subject, but that it is fit to deal upon all other questions affecting human happiness and human welfare?

As a nation of people we have found that, with the development in industry and in industrial processes, the indistinct and almost indefinable state lines have been wiped out. In this day of rapid transportation, of wonderful industrial development, we find that we hardly know where the state line between Pennsylvania and New Jersey begins and ends. People are crossing and recrossing, working here and working there, and the goods manufactured in one state are being sold in other states. We know of many states that produce commodities which market practically all of those commodities outside of the state in which they are produced, and if we are a nation with this change in our modern way of living having taken place, even in our generation, then is it not but proper and right that we should meet, through uniform legislation, these rapid changes which have taken place?

Here is one of the best answers, I think, to the inquiry, why is a national law needed? Because this is the only way in which the child labor problem in the United States can be effectively handled. As an example of how the state laws are abused, manufacturers in New York send work across the Hudson River to Jersey City and Newark, where children in tenements are employed. This is a violation of the laws of both New York and New Jersey, but the New Jersey authorities cannot prosecute these manufacturers because they are in New York, and the New York authorities are powerless because the work is actually done outside the boundaries of the state.

Is there any better illustration of why a Federal child labor law should be passed than this? Can you conceive of any bet-

ter reason—children coming across the Hudson River to work in New Jersey, and children in New Jersey coming across to work in New York, and the New Jersey authorities unable to prosecute the manufacturers in New York because they reside in New York, and vice versa.

Carloads of children are taken from states where they are not permitted to work into other states where they may do various kinds of work. These are not isolated cases, but everyday occurrences. Child labor is not a problem of each separate state, isolated from its neighbor, but it has become one in which two or more states are involved. Therefore, it is not a state question but a national one, and as such it must be dealt with by the Federal Government.

The states today are willing to accept Federal aid in building their roads, in health measures, in pure food measures and various other problems. If this is so, why are the states so loth to accept Federal aid in dealing with their most far-reaching problem—that of child labor?

We have prepared this primer on child labor; it contains many unanswerable facts. I wish that you might read it and study it and take it home with you and be prepared to answer the opponents of this humane legislation. I am not going to take up any more of your time. There were these two or three things I wished to refer to right in the beginning. One was that a state which has approved the child labor amendment cannot change and disapprove it; a state which has not voted for the child labor amendment can change its vote, even though it voted adversely, and vote affirmatively.

We need a national child labor law for the reasons I have set forth here and for other reasons. These are two or three thoughts I wish to leave with you. There are over 500,000 children of tender age employed in the mills and mines and factories of our nation, children that ought to be in school, children that ought to be permitted to live their young lives in happiness, children that ought to be given a chance to develop and become sturdy American citizens. Does the prosperity of America depend upon the exploitation of our children, and are we so inhuman as to stand by and see this exploitation go on? As I stated the other day, other groups

of people, sympathetic or unsympathetic, may be hostile or indifferent; they may lose faith in the fight, they may become weary, they may say in despair, it is no use, but let them say it as they will, so far as I am able to influence this great labor movement the fight will go on as long as we live and through the succeeding generations until the children of the nation are saved.

Vice-President Duncan: I am not going over the ground President Green has gone over, because he has done the job so well that to attempt to go over it again would only harm it. I desire to add two observations to what he has said.

First, a few years ago when we were advocating that the children of our country should be in the playgrounds instead of in the factories, one of the most formidable men we met in Washington was United States Senator Beveridge, who told us that he did not believe one word of what we said about the exploitation of children in the southern states. Between sessions of the Congress Senator Beveridge went south and he found that not only what we had said was true but that we had stated it too conservatively. When you drifted into those towns the first thing you saw was the spire of a church pointing toward heaven, thus indicating that they were moral in their inclinations. Senator Beveridge found that what we had said was short of the whole facts. Eighty-five per cent of the mounds and the little monuments they had around these churches, with their cupolas pointing toward heaven, were the graves of little children who were not yet twelve years of age. And he came back to the United States Senate and delivered the greatest address, in my opinion, in favor of the exclusion of child labor that has ever been spoken or written, and I advise those of you who desire to know the opinions of a man who does not carry a union card in his pocket to get the document through the United States Senate and find out how fully and how clearly United States Senator Beveridge approved the whole course in the prevention of the employment of children.

My second addition to the splendid address that the President has just made is with reference to a judicial, if not a political aspect. You men and women here know that our child labor act, which eventu-

ally became a law, was declared unconstitutional by a vote of five to four of the United States Supreme Court, and one of the five who so declared was an ex-President of the United States of America, Brother Taft. I don't know exactly in what Union he carries an honorary card.

Subsequent to that, however, he submitted his name again to the voters of the United States of America for election. He was sent back to private life, but later on became a public man again by appointment. Two states in these great and glorious states from which we come voted for Taft for President—Utah and Vermont, and I don't think that many delegates will stand up here and say that either one of them are very progressive states. This man was repudiated by the balance of our states for President of the United States, and then as Chief Justice of our United States Supreme Court he exercised more authority than the President of the United States. The President signed our anti-child labor bill, and by a vote of five to four, Mr. Taft being one of the five in delivering the decision, the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional.

We not only need to have a constitutional enactment to prevent the employment of children in the factories and mills of our country, but we need to have some change made in the concept and make-up of the United States Supreme Court, whereby five men cannot declare an act of the Congress of the United States, approved by the President, to be unconstitutional.

You men who were present when Bob LaFollette stood upon this platform heard him tell you, not only as a statesman but as a lawyer having some concept of international law, that the courts of our country, when they are in doubt upon anything, refer to Blackstone and to the courts in Great Britain. He told you that but one Supreme Court in Great Britain had denied the right of Parliament to enact law to be official, and after the Supreme Court of Great Britain had done that they hanged the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and sent all the other justices out of the country, with distinct information that if they came back again and anybody killed them they could not be tried in court. And the Chief Justice of our Supreme Court and his collaborators did not dare quote that part of the law from Great Britain, for fear that some of the fellows might get up on

their hind legs and hang him and send the other four back to God knows where.

In addition to the efforts we are making at the present time to get an anti-child labor law enacted by the Congress of our country, because certain of our states are very backward in that direction, we are also trying, in connection with it and because of it, to have some reform made in the make-up of our United States Supreme Court. It has been suggested that in order to bring about such remedial legislation as we have in mind, it might be a good thing to do as they did in the British House of Commons recently in connection with the alleged House of Lords, that if the court decided against us the subject matter go back to the Congress of our country and if it was approved by a two-thirds vote it should become law, irrespective of our United States Supreme Court. I don't hold that view, but I am not a lawyer and therefore am not bound by precedents.

I figure that if that were done our United States Supreme Court, with the Honorable Mr. Taft at its head—and as an individual I am not criticising him, because I know him very well. At one time when he was President he came to Massachusetts, and having suffered a slight injury to his foot while there he asked his good friend, John Hays Hammond, to get John Mitchell and Jim Duncan to come up and while away a couple of hours with him and incidentally discuss the eight-hour act. Hammond knew his job and he got us there, and after I had told our dear friend Taft what I knew about the eight-hour legislation he said this to me: "I have not now, as the chief officer of the United States, to say to you, Duncan, what I am going to do, but when my next address goes to the Congress of the United States, if I recommend what you have said I will sign your bill. If there is no mention of it there I am against you, but in order to help me out in this difficulty, send me a brief of the statement you have just made about the eight-hour day." And I did. I don't remember just now how much of the time of the Congress President Taft took to tell them about the eight-hour day, but the Boston papers contained three-fourths of a column of my brief in President Taft's address to Congress, and the bill was passed and he signed it.

Therefore, in saying these things about him, do not understand that there is anything personal in them.

Senator Clark, of Ohio, recommended an amendment that I think we are safe in following, that hereafter, in place of relying upon a two-thirds vote by Congress to turn down a decision of the United States Supreme Court—because I think the Supreme Court would declare an act of that kind unconstitutional, but the Supreme Court knows that Congress may define the position and the procedure of the United States Supreme Court—and if we get an amendment that an Act of Congress cannot be turned down by the Supreme Court of the United States unless by a vote of seven out or nine, we will be upon safe constitutional grounds and we will always get enough of the members of the Supreme Court to stand for those principles for which the American Federation of Labor is famous.

That part of it may appear, because of this discussion, not to be so very much in order as simply recommending that we do everything we can to keep the children out of the mills, factories and workshops of the country, but I submit it to you because it is a method whereby we may accomplish that for which we stand.

What I have to say in conclusion is a tribute to my old pal, John Mitchell. When the Scranton miners were in trouble and he was sick he sent me a telegram to come to Scranton and deliver an address for him on Mitchell Day. I took the first train from Boston, and when I arrived in Scranton I found that John was too sick to speak. The Pittsburgh papers paid me the great compliment of printing my address for him in full. That may be unimportant at the present time, but let me picture to you the scene on that platform from which I delivered this address. During the ceremonies it was announced that a committee of five boys were about to come on the platform, and they were led by the biggest of the five boys. He had a shoe on one foot and the other foot was bare. There were about 12,000 people in that great audience. The boy apologized for his appearance by saying that he had played a game of football in the morning and had kicked off his other shoe. He had been practicing for this speech to John Mitchell

for about three months, reading it three times each night as a breaker boy, and he had it committed to memory so well that they had selected him for the spokesman of the event.

When he came on the platform with the medal which I will tell you about shortly, he scratched his leg which had no shoe on it with the foot that had the shoe upon it, and then the thoughts didn't come. In his dilemma he walked up to John Mitchell, who was sitting alongside me, and this was his speech: "Here, John, take that." John took it, and what do you suppose this medal was? An old fashioned silver dollar, which had been polished off on both sides, and upon it was the smallest and finest expression in connection with child labor that has ever been written into our discussions. Upon one side it had the simple word, "from," and under it a cut of a coal breaker. On the other side was the one word, "To," and under it a cut of a schoolhouse. And all the dear boy could say was, "Here, John, take that." John Mitchell never missed an opportunity to tell of it after that.

The coal miners of Pennsylvania had got an Act through the legislature of that somewhat reactionary state prohibiting the employment of children in the mines, mills and factories, and none of the kids in that state understood it better than the breaker boys, and hence this compliment to our friend, John Mitchell.

Now we are not looking for anything different in the other states than we have in the forward-looking states; we are looking to Congress for action, and we propose to follow it up by another bill or a reformation of the United States Supreme Court, or perhaps clean out the Supreme Court, as Abraham Lincoln did, and put another court in there that will carry out the wishes and the will of the people of our country.

I say to you, don't miss a chance, by means of this legislation, to let our kiddies go to the playground and enjoy the sunlight and fresh air in their early days, so that their bodies, when they become developed, will be the flower of citizenship in this or any other country.

Delegate Walker, Illinois State Federation of Labor:

The subject under consideration today is perhaps of greater importance than any other question that will come before us,

except those questions that have to deal with the liberties of the parents of the children—and that will, of course, mean the children themselves when they become of age and start to fight the battles of life. I think that sort of legislation should take precedence even over legislation to provide an education for the children, for their physical and mental development and their moral training, but outside that question I think this is the most important one with which we can deal.

It is rather a complicated question, rather involved in its present status because of the difference in our form of government and the form of the other governments of the world. Ours, I think, is the only country in which there is a government that gives local, subordinate divisions of that government power greater than the Federal government has itself in some matters, and in which the Federal government exercises only the power that is given to it by these subordinate divisions, which in our case are the states. The states' rights question, whether we want it to be an influence in this matter or not, whether we think it is right or not, is an important influence and one that by indirection the enemies of the adoption of this amendment are using, perhaps more effectively than any other to prevent its ratification by the states.

This makes the question more difficult to deal with than would be the case in any other country in the world. In the states where they have reasonable laws on this subject, because they are already taking care of their children in this respect, it is difficult to get people aroused to the importance of this matter and to take the kind of determined action in the interest of children in other states that they would if the law was intended to bring about needed reformation in the interests of the children they are directly in contact with. For this reason, in dealing with the matter we cannot discuss it in a general way; in order to be effective we have got to take up this aspect of the question.

I am going to read a statement compiled from the Federal Census of 1920, which shows the number of children of fifteen years of age and under who are working in gainful occupations in our country. There are a total of 1,060,858. There are 647,309 in agricultural, forestry and animal husbandry industries. In the extraction of minerals there are 7,991; manufacturing and mechanical industries 185,337; in transportation 18,912; in the trades there are 63,368; in public service 1,130; professional service 3,465; domestic and personal service 54,006; clerical service 80,140. This, I take it, is a conservative rather than an exaggerated statement of the facts. I think those folks who took this census did not place in the category of workers in gainful occupations children who were working in any of the ordinary pursuits around home or elsewhere that were incidental. I think they only put in that category children who were actually employed continuously for wages working in those kinds of gainful occupations.

And because it is so difficult to get

those figures correctly my experience has been that the worst enemies of this amendment that we have in this country are not at all proud of the fact that they are employing children; they hide the facts as to numbers of the children working for them in every way that they can.

The amendment itself provides—

"Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age."

"Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article, except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress."

There isn't anyone who is familiar with this subject at all who gives any weight to the arguments of the enemies of this amendment when they say that if Congress is given this power it is likely to enact laws that will keep children from doing chores around home or that they will prohibit the labor of young men and young women between school sessions where it is helpful, clean and sanitary and is not injurious to them, because the Congress of our country, when it thought it had that power, already has acted twice and in neither case did it enact any such provisions. No one who knows the make-up of our government thinks the Congresses of today will be any less reasonable in dealing with the interests of the nation than they have been in the past, and the only reason that argument is used is as a hugaroo to scare people who do not know or do not understand the subject that is being dealt with.

It is just the same as issuing a charter to any sort of organization. The average man has as much right to go into past history to find everything wrong that has been done by every other organization in the world and raise all these questions as reasons why another charter should not be given to an organization composed of human beings. The fact is the ordinary organization acts decently and charters are being issued every day, no matter what has taken place in the past. And when we speak of organization of men generally in that sense, I think we can go farther in speaking of an enabling act of the Congress of the United States in that respect, and say we can be sure that there is less danger of any unreasonable or injurious action being taken by them.

I sat in the conference in Washington, I think, that finally adopted the language of the amendment. I raised the question at that time with President Gompers. I said I believed if the age was fixed at sixteen years it would take away the most effective weapon of the opposition to the ratification of the amendment. We went into it in detail. However, we did not have time to go so very far into it, and I was not quite sure when we got through that fixing it at eighteen years, that it was a wise thing to do; I was skeptical about it, but I have come to the firm conclusion that there is no other way in which you can really effectively legislate to prohibit the

employment of children in occupations that are dangerous to their health and morals except by the actual language contained in the proposed amendment.

If they had only the power to regulate it would mean that they could not stop children working in the mines, where they happen to be non-union; all they could do would be to prescribe conditions under which they could work. The children would have the right to work there and the employers would have the right to employ them there unless Congress prohibited it. In night work, where the conditions are dangerous from a moral point of view, you could not stop them from working unless the power to prohibit was incorporated in the law. There is no way by which you can figure it out by which the really effective elimination of children from those occupations that are dangerous can be accomplished unless you have the language that the proposed amendment now contains.

I think it is conceded by every economist in the world that has any standing that the greatest, fundamentally important essential for the successful operation of a democratic government, in any form, is a well-informed citizenship. You cannot have a successfully operated democratic form of government unless you do have an intelligent citizenship.

I think perhaps one of the wisest declarations that our movement has made on any subject at any time is the one made in the El Paso convention which recommends education, and through the Workers' Education Bureau provides the machinery for having it done, for not only an education for the children but even after the children have been given all the education, within reason, that can be given them before they start to fight the battles of life, when they are grown men and women, that one of the things, vitally important, was a continuous adult education.

We have arrived at the place in the development of industry and of human affairs where it is utterly impossible to do anything on the plane in which we are acting now except men and women are informed and know what they are doing. You may have, perhaps, more than ordinary intelligence, but if you have not informed yourself especially on the problem with which we are dealing you will be as likely to do injury as to help us in dealing with it. It is agreed that one of the biggest things we have before us today is to educate the grown men and women, and I cannot understand by what process of reasoning any men or women who believe in our American institutions can refuse the children an opportunity to have an education and to give them the foundation on which further education will be built when they are grown men and women.

I did not know that I would speak on this subject when I came here. I have at home a rather well-filled file of information dealing with this question. I must speak now from memory of what I have learned in the past in dealing with this subject. For that reason I cannot give you a great many of the things I would

like to present to the convention that I believe are important in getting a thorough understanding of this problem. If we, the friends of this amendment, do not get a thorough understanding of it ourselves how can we expect those who are not so directly interested to get that understanding?

Wall Street just recently made a public declaration that is significant. Wall Street represents the big financial interests of this nation and they have more than a passing influence in the industries of our country, in the finances and of the governments of the world. I think perhaps they have more influence than any other aggregation of men in the world today. Just a few weeks ago they made the declaration publicly in their official organ—that goes to every big industrial establishment in the country—that we have reached the place in America where the power of the working people to produce the things that are needed is so great that if an attempt were made to work them six days a week, within a very few weeks there would be such an over-production that the markets would be glutted, industry would become stagnant, depression would take place and panic would follow.

That declaration had more significance in it than almost any one thing I have read during my time. It means, if it means anything, that we have reached the place where we have got to provide not only an intelligent distribution of the products of industry in order to enable industry to operate with the highest efficiency and in the greatest degree possible but it also means that we have got to raise our own standards of life and living so as to absorb those products in a rational way if we are going to maintain industry on its present basis, or approximately so. It also means that if we do not do this we are going to have to provide for intelligent control and regulation of these industries in such a manner that such periods of depression as we are going through now will not take place.

I ask you, in the light of that sort of official pronouncement coming from the seat of authority of control of our industries, how can any decent man on the other side oppose having the industries in which children work regulated, and regulated in such a manner that those children will be able to get a decent education and decent physical and mental development?

My experience has been—and I will talk quite frankly to you because I believe this matter is of vital importance—that if the farmers of our country had not been poisoned with false propaganda against the amendments and against the labor movement itself, they would have been friendly to this amendment; and it is my judgment that if the farmers had been friendly to our amendment and to us it would have been ratified in almost every legislature in the nation in the last two years. If that is true, before we can have it ratified we have got to reach the farmer with the truth. You cannot do that by incidental measures, by snap judgment or chance; you have got to deliberately reach the farmers

and tell them, "we don't want a thing that is not right, and we believe you want to give us the thing that is right. We don't believe you want anything that is not right, we believe you want only the things that are right. We are the two greatest factors in production in this nation, and if we stand together and act wisely for a thing that is of common interest no danger can arise to our form of government, no injury can reach our people. We are the great producers, but if we permit ourselves to be divided, if we permit ourselves not only to be divided but used to oppose each other while the exploiters trim us both, then there is danger, not only of great injury to us for the moment but to our form of government as well."

I believe this great movement of ours must take whatever steps are necessary, even if we have to go to the individual farmers themselves in large enough numbers throughout this nation with the real truth of the problem sufficient to convince them and to influence them through their organizations to work in cooperation with the other workers of our country. If that is done we can have this law enacted and we can solve a great many of our other problems in the right manner that are pressing now and that may arise in the future.

Unless we do form a point of contact that will enable us to understand each other, I am afraid they will continue to do as they have done in the past. There are no farmers in the world that would have stood as patiently or as peacefully while being destroyed financially by the deflation process inaugurated by the big financial and corporate interests through the United States Congress on May 20, 1920, which practically ruined over eighteen million farmers and completely ruined nearly twelve million. It not only caused loss and suffering, but caused the suicide of thousands. No farmers in the world would have stood for it but our own, and they only stood for it because they did not know what was being done to them and they did not know who was doing it.

That experience has had some beneficial results. Since the farmer has had that done to him he is going to question the honesty and the intelligence of the advisers representing the big financial interests, the big industrial and corporation interests of our country that have been controlling his organizations in the past. He is in the frame of mind just now to listen to the men who come to him honestly to tell him the truth and point out that we are having the same thing done to us by the same interests, and if we can get together we can stop it, but if we don't get together it is going to continue.

This report of the 1920 census of our government is a conservative statement; it is an under-statement rather than an over-statement, not only with reference to numbers but with reference to conditions as well. I have talked to some of those who helped to make it, and they said they kept out of their report any extreme case that might be used by demagogues. They told

me that little children of six years of age were being worked in the factories in the south, and in the sweat-shop industries where things were brought to their homes to be made for northern and southern states.

Every one of those boys and girls when they reach manhood and womanhood will have a vote in all of the affairs that affect vitally every other citizen or every other state in this nation, so that not only are they an injury themselves to their own states but they are an injury to our national government.

If an alien seeks to come from a foreign country today, when he reaches the immigration depot on the shores of our country he is detained, he is questioned, and if he cannot measure up to educational standards set by international agreement he is sent back. If the nation from which he came were to come here and insist that he be permitted to come into our country we would declare war with and would fight that nation with everything we had to prevent that man from coming here. But if it happens to be a boy or a girl who lives in a backward state who has been compelled to work in a factory since he was six years of age, who is totally illiterate, has no conception of what democratic government means, is an injury and menace to everything in it, he can come from the state that has done nothing but try to make that kind of citizens and go into a state that has taken the greatest precautions, that has done the greatest work to give its children a decent education, decent physical and mental training, and perhaps becomes a burden and an evil influence to that commonwealth.

We would not permit any other nation to send such a man into our country. Are you going to permit one of our own backward states to so injure and menace all the rest of our country, its institutions and its standards, when we do not permit any other nation on earth to do it? The men and women who are opposing the enactment of the amendment, in my judgment, either do not know what they are doing or they should not be citizens of our republic.

A great many organizations have been formed, on paper, for the purpose of opposing this amendment. One of them has called itself "Sentinels of the Republic." They attach themselves to the name and memory of the men and women who died to found this republic, and they are being used in the most unscrupulous manner to propagate the influence of a so-called farmers' organization that they know is not a farmers' organization.

This so-called farmers' organization was organized by the cotton mill manufacturers and associate interests in the southwestern portions of our country. Nevertheless they can claim connection, or at least some of them can, with the men and women who fought for our republic, and it makes it a difficult and delicate subject to deal with those influences in a sane and practical manner in order to get wrong impressions cleared up and the real facts brought before our people.

When I speak of the "Sentinels of the Republic" I only mention them because they

are notorious for their work in this particular matter. Institutions of a similar character have been organized all over the country to appeal to men and women in the name of patriotism to prevent our children from getting an education.

In Illinois we feel we are going to be able to get the amendment ratified. I don't know whether we could have had it ratified at the last session of the legislature or not. We had our injunction-limitation bill up at that time. That deals with a vitally important problem, it deals with the liberty and freedom of the people of our state and is of particular importance to the trades unionists of Illinois, because we had a few judges over there, most of whom were appointed for the corrupt work they did in politics and legislation in the past and they were trampling upon every right of the people of our state and substituting the wishes of the selfish employers.

We felt that the injunction limitation bill was the most important thing that was up at that time—and in thinking that we did not detract from the importance of this question—but it required all our effort to secure the enactment of that bill. I am happy to say that we were successful.

The best evidence of the value of our injunction limitation bill is the work of the courts now. There hasn't been an injunction issued in Illinois State Courts since that bill went through—and they are the same courts that would prevent an American citizen from exercising his constitutional rights. I think you will realize the importance of the act when I tell you that every enemy we had in Illinois who was opposed to the injunction limitation bill was also opposed to the child labor amendment. The men who led the fight in opposition to our injunction limitation bill were the men who led the fight against the proposed child labor amendment; they were the men who led the fight to establish a state military constabulary armed to the teeth who would not be responsible or liable for any act they would commit. Men who were in favor of that kind of institution for the workers of Illinois led the fight in opposition to the child labor amendment.

Those men who led the fight against the proposed child labor amendment said that education was a states' rights question, that the national legislature should not deal with it. In the same breath they said the question of what people should drink, whether it was good or bad, was a national question. I leave it to you if the child labor amendment goes through if there will ever be such an aggregation of law breakers, criminals and corruptors of our government charged with the enforcement of that law as are charged with the enforcement of the Volstead Act.

It was interesting and sometimes humorous. A man would say to me, "You cannot take a drink of grape juice; that is a national question; but if you want to prevent your child from getting an education, if you want to put him in the industries where his physique and health will be ruined and he will be a burden on the nation and a menace to the country, you have a

right to do that, it is not a national question."

There is nothing that will do the country more good today than a thorough consideration of the question of states' rights as compared with national rights, the functions of government the states shall exercise and that the federal government shall exercise.

My judgment is that if the men who died to found our national government were given the determining influence they would say the question of greatest importance a nation could act upon, from the point of view of material wealth, from the point of view of intelligence, from the point of view of civilization and Christianity is that of providing that the children shall have a decent education. I believe that would be the thing set aside first as being the question of greatest importance that our national government should deal with.

The national legislature of every other country in the world but ours has full power to deal with that question, and if the peoples of the world, in the most democratic as well as the most reactionary countries, have all agreed with that, I believe we should take our place with the other nations of the world for the protection and promotion of the interests and welfare of our children.

Brother Duncan pointed out that in the Supreme Court a majority of one man declared two previous enactments of the United States Congress, signed by the President of our country, null and void. One man declared the action of our highest authorities on this subject, cast the deciding vote that declared it unconstitutional. No other one man in this world has power to do that in that kind of question except that one man in our own nation. If the men who founded our government were living and they had the power to determine whether or not one man should have that power they would say, as they said in 1776, "We don't want a King George in our country, whether he was born in England or was born here and appointed to such a position under any guise." I believe if they had a choice between the two they would take a chance with the man who inherited his position rather than someone who secured it through corrupt politics.

I believe if that body had been responsible to the citizens of our country for their actions they would not have taken the action they did. I believe that things should be changed. I think this is the most important question politically we have to deal with. I am speaking from a practical, political view and out of our experience in Illinois when I say to you that the united action of Illinois trade unionists in the selection of judges or in the selection of the men who appoint the judges has had influence in the right direction. In this matter we say to them: "If you are going to appoint the judges we want to know what kind of men they are, we want to know if they are going to be decent, humane men or are they going to favor the financial interests?" If you can elect or secure the appointment of decent, honorable, honest judges who have a human point of view you need not be afraid of their decisions.

We in the past have made our main fight for members of the legislature, members of Congress and the Senate, but I tell you that if you could elect fifty-one per cent of the precinct committeemen in the political organizations in one election you would have a different situation because those committeemen in the last analysis select the officers who control the party organization; secure the appointment of all appointees and really determine who will be candidates for elective positions. I believe if we will analyze the American Federation of Labor non-partisan political policy we will find it is the only practical plan that has been advocated. If we hold to that we can vote for any man in any primary or general election. We have the absolute right to do that under the American Federation of Labor political program and on no other have we that right. If we will adopt it and all really became wholeheartedly part of it, it will have a beneficial effect not only on this law but on other laws we favor in the future.

I am not sure if this constitutional amendment is ratified by two-thirds of the states of this Union that a Supreme Court composed of judges like Mr. Taft would not find something in the constitution or some fundamental declaration of the founders of our government on which they would lay the basis for nullifying the amendment, or nullify it by misconstruction. If we had had friendly judges the other two acts of Congress would not have been declared unconstitutional.

This is a vitally important matter, and the only way to solve it is to get the truth to our own members and then convey it through the members to all others who are sympathetic with it and get them organized and working in favor of it. If we can do that we will get the amendment ratified in the coming legislature.

There is nothing that makes a real American feel so resentful as to see little children of six years of age going into a factory among dangerous machinery, working in foul air, being crippled and killed, or infected with tuberculosis, etc. That condition is a menace to our republic. I sincerely hope we may see this thing in its true light, that we may wake up to the importance of it and in the near future get it corrected in the right way.

Delegate Conboy, United Textile Workers: I could not let this opportunity pass by to speak about child labor and the child labor amendment. There is probably no other industry within the American Federation of Labor that has as many children employed as the textile industry. Much has been said about the textile mills of the South, and I agree with all that has been said, but I have as many apologies to offer for some of our Northern states.

When the child labor amendment was passed I felt that a dream had come true. I felt that the realization of a dream of the former president of our organization who has passed away and the dream of hundreds of those who had worked in this industry had come true. That dream, like many other dreams, was shattered so badly that it will take a lot of time and work to rebuild it. We have to start at the begin-

ning again and try to get a law on our statute books that will take care of the children of our country.

My own state, Massachusetts, considered perhaps one of the finest states in the country, was one that opposed unceasingly the child labor amendment. I don't know what influence was brought to bear, but it was strong enough to cause Massachusetts to vote overwhelmingly against the child labor amendment. What we need is a campaign of education. People have said to me, "Why, if that is adopted you can go into our homes and prevent our children from washing dishes!" I had only one answer to make and that was, "My God, where do you live?" There was nothing else to say.

So much has been said by the previous speakers that it is hardly necessary for me to go into this matter deeply. We must educate our own people, we must educate the legislators, we must educate ourselves in order that our children may be taken out of the factories, mills and mines.

It is true that cotton manufacturers' associations have spent millions of dollars in order that there shall be no child labor law, but the time is coming when the hearts and souls of the workers of America will be stronger than the dollars of the cotton manufacturers' associations. We cannot let the work drop, we must go on and on, accepting defeat when it comes, but going on stronger and better for the next fight.

I am of the opinion that until the time comes that we change our system of federal judges we cannot get anywhere but where we are today. Men are put in there for life, and when one man can decide upon the welfare of thousands of little children who work in mills, America is indeed a backward nation and is taking a long step backward instead of a long step forward. Those judges should be elected, and the people of America should feel that when those judges are put in there they represent the views of the people of America and not the views of the corporations.

All throughout the South, beginning with Alabama, you will find no labor laws of any description, no educational laws, children can work any hours, day and night, and with unguarded machinery. Nothing is done to prevent it. If these states claim the supreme right to make their own laws, and they do not make right laws, then their parent should chastise them and make laws for them that are right. The time is coming when that will be done. I think America got a terrible blow when the child labor amendment was declared unconstitutional. I cannot help but feel if each one here will become an apostle for the children and go out from this convention to work for the child labor amendment it is going to go through.

Delegate McCullough, International Typographical Union: I feel that I would be a little short of doing my duty if I did not say a word on this very important subject. I do not believe it is necessary for me to declare to a convention of the American Federation of Labor what my attitude is on the subject of child labor. Those of

you who were present at the Cincinnati convention will readily recall what I had to say at that time, and nothing has transpired since then that has in any way altered my views. I am heartily in favor of the constitutional amendment as proposed, which will give Congress the power to regulate or prohibit child labor in the United States.

I realize fully the great difficulties that lie in the way of accomplishing the approval of that amendment by the various states. I am not entirely in sympathy with all that has been said here this afternoon, because I think a great deal of it has been said more out of the heart than out of the mind, and this is a problem that we must deal with, not in an emotional fashion, but in the light of reason at all times.

It is unfortunate that the structure of our government is such as will permit one state in effect to nullify all the acts or aspirations of other states, to the extent that a single man in a single cotton mill in one state of the United States could go into a federal court and complain that he was being deprived of his parental control of his own children; and it was on that complaint that the two acts of Congress were brought to the attention of the court and were found to be unconstitutional, because under our constitution Congress has no right to pass, or the government to enforce, a law that takes from the parent the control of his children, even when the exercise of that parental control is detrimental to the welfare of the child or detrimental to the welfare of the community. That is a lamentable fact. We propose to remedy that condition by adopting an amendment to the constitution of the United States.

And let me say, to quiet an apprehension that may have been aroused by a previous speaker, that once that amendment is adopted by the people of the United States, ratified by the legislators of the states representing the people of those states, there is no power anywhere that can declare that amendment unconstitutional. It becomes a part of the fundamental law of this great country, adopted and approved by the people, and there is no agency short of high heaven itself that can set that enactment aside; and any law that is passed in conformity to such amendment must, of necessity, be declared constitutional. So if we succeed in ratifying this proposed amendment it will govern, it must govern, because it is the expression of the people of the United States.

I know as well as any of you can know the character and nature of the propaganda that was used to encompass the defeat of the proposed amendment in the legislatures that met last winter. I come from an agricultural state where more than ninety per cent of our people are connected directly with the farms. It will interest you to know that every organization in that state representing, or assuming to speak for the farmers, opposed with all their power and prestige the passage of that amendment. Agents paid by the farmers' organizations went through the state and discussed this before farmers meetings, always misrepresent-

senting it. As far as I know there were very few voices raised in that state for the amendment.

We have heard much said today about the lawyers. The only men who have the courage to stand on the floor of the legislature to defend that amendment were lawyers. The men who debated most strongly against it were farmers. Don't delude yourselves as to the character of the fight that is before you. You are not combating the courts, you are not combating the lawyers—you are combating the common people of the United States. You must clear away from their minds the clouds and doubts that now surround them, the haze that hangs over their judgment and show them what is being put over on them by the men in whom they put their confidence for the moment.

I am deeply interested in the subject of general education. I have in the last few years given a great deal of my time to the propagation of a law that would give federal assistance and direction, not federal control, to the general educational welfare and cultural development of the people of the United States and I know from inquiries, from investigation and from experience from whence the great opposition to this beneficial proposal—that is, to my mind it is a beneficial proposal—because it proposes that the United States shall do for the public schools just what the United States is trying to do for the highways—and I submit to you in all fairness and in all candor that it is just as essential that the children of the United States have an untrammelled opportunity to have an education at the public expense as it is that the automobile owner shall have a highway on which he can travel from coast to coast in comfort.

There is one barrier we will have to vault if we enact this proposed amendment. I refer to the decision recently handed down by the Supreme Court regarding an educational matter. People in certain states felt they had control of their own educational system, paid for by their people. In one case they adopted a law by referendum vote. That law was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States and declared to be invalid because it interfered with the personal, individual right of certain citizens. In its last decision the Supreme Court said in so many words that the state had no absolute control over the children; the Supreme Court upheld absolutely the parental control of the child.

That was not a question of going into the mill at the age of six, it was a question of going into the public school at six, and the Supreme Court of the United States said the state could not compel them to go into the public schools. The same agencies that are opposing the child labor amendment opposed, and effectively opposed the educational bill that would have created an educational department with a member of the President's cabinet at its head. The great educational institutions of the United States, splendid institutions, contributing immeasurably through their efforts to the general fund of information and enlightenment of the world, dread the competition of the public schools; they dread the growing in-

fluence of the state university; they realize that when the time comes that when the boy and the girl can go to a great publicly owned, publicly supported, publicly controlled and administered school and receive the same educational value he can at one of these high-priced private institutions, he will go there and the sun of the great privately controlled schools will sink just as the star of the state controlled school will ascend.

The two questions are vital beyond expression, because you cannot expect this government to continue as a government unless you establish the intelligence of the citizens of this government. It will shock anyone who will study the vital statistics and take just that one point to ascertain the facts. At the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor I reported in favor of the adoption of a resolution providing for the literacy test for immigrants. I had from the platform to defend that resolution, because it met with serious objection from the floor. It required a most strenuous argument to induce the convention to adopt that resolution.

I said to the convention then, and I repeat it now, "I would shut the gates of opportunity in no man's face; I favor giving every man every opportunity, every chance to develop himself, to improve his condition, to benefit himself and those dependent upon him." But then and now I felt that the interest, the welfare, the good of all the people of the United States was more important and should be considered above those of any unfortunate individual who might come here from abroad. I still feel that. But when we get them here the people of our own country should have this opportunity. Do they have it?

We boast of our public schools, of our magnificent institutions of learning that are supported from the general purse. But what is the fact? The selective draft developed the fact that among the men who were called upon to enter the army of the United States there were 6,800,000 illiterates. That astonished the people. Some people said, "They are all foreign born." "Then they come from the black districts of the South."

"No, they do not come from the black districts of the South."

More than one-third of that 6,800,000 illiterates were native born white Americans; over 2,700,000 native born white Americans, born and raised in the shadow of the little red schoolhouse. Think of that, and then decide whether there is need for the enactment of a child labor law that will prevent this.

Brother Walker told you, and emphasized it very frequently, that these are a menace. It matters not how good their intent, how pure their heart, how sincere their purpose, they are undoubtedly a menace to us, because every ignorant man is a menace to an intelligent citizenship.

There is only one way. Delegate Conboy expressed that perfectly when she said we must go out among our own people and educate them. We must train our own people to understand these things, to know

these things, and then go out and work for them, to argue, to debate, to contend, to inform themselves and then inform others. The housewife has been told that her daughter will not be able to wash the dishes if this amendment is passed; the farmer has been told that his boy will not be able to do the chores about the farm if this amendment is passed. Every one of these arguments has been used. Foolish? Of course they are foolish, but people listen to them and they listen to them because they are not informed, and it is our duty to inform them.

We could stand on this floor and orate from now until the crack of doom and we will make no progress; the place for us to do our orating, to make it effective, is on the job. Talk to the man who works beside you, engage in conversation the man you meet on the street car. Don't put in all your time talking about the world's series. Talk a little something about the child labor amendment, talk a little something about the necessity for a better development of the public school system of the United States, something that will give, give, give a greater opportunity.

Now let me just digress for a moment to another phase of the question. Complaint is made from time to time about the heavy taxes that we pay in this country, about the great cost of government, about our expenditures in all directions. I want to say to you that you cannot reduce the cost of government as long as you keep extending the government. The more government you have the more your government will cost you. There is only one way to reduce that, and that is to make your life such as will require less of government.

Now the first place they start upon when they begin to talk about reduction in taxes is the immense sums of money we are paying to support the public schools. A very recent compilation, and one which I think is fairly accurate because it has been widely quoted and comes from a dependable source, shows that in 1923 the American people expended of their income three-fourths of one per cent to support the church, one and one-half per cent to support the public schools, nine per cent to support crime, twenty-one per cent for luxuries, and fourteen per cent for waste. Nine times as much money wasted as they spent for the support of public schools; six times as much money for the support of crime and criminals as went to the support of the public schools.

If you are going to reduce your expenditures in any way I ask you to cut down your waste a little, cut down the money that goes for the expense of crime, and give a little more money to the public schools of the United States, and you can't have a successful public school administration until you have successful child labor control, and that will only come when we have the two together, established in the national government at Washington, a Department of Education with a Secretary of Education in the President's Cabinet, and the child labor amendment empowering Congress to pass a law that will regulate or prohibit the employment of children in industry.

Vice-President Woll: I am not going to add to the many impressive reasons presented why this constitutional amendment should be the law of our land in order that the child life of our nation may be amply and fully safeguarded. It is urgent that we connect this into the fundamental law of our republic, but in carrying out the many suggestions made, in undertaking to educate, first, our own people, then our sympathizers and friends and the public in general as to the urgent need of this constitutional amendment, we may also exercise our influence in other directions in order that the child life of our nation may be more fully protected.

It is well that we do all within our power to impress our state legislatures as to the need of this amendment, but let us not forget that it is through the American trade union movement, through the organized direction of the American Federation of Labor all of these many years that we have succeeded in so many states in enacting legislation making the employment of children under certain ages illegal and prohibiting their employment. While seeking national redress, while seeking a national pronouncement, don't let us overlook the fact that there is yet before us as well the opportunity of state appeal, of state pronouncement, and of state prohibition.

I understand quite fully that in some of our more backward states the appeal will not be as readily received, and yet I am sure that even a great number who sustain a position against that which we believe essential for the saving of our national child life may be aroused from their error, and if not aroused from that error at least led to the support of the enactment of state legislation in these backward states, and thus hasten the day for the salvation of child life in every state and in every community.

Then, too, do not let us forget that even before we had state legislation the first great appeal in the interests of the children of our nation came from the trade union movement, expressed crudely at first, it is true, but nevertheless impressively. So we find, as a trade becomes organized, slowly and then gradually rising in strength and influence, what is one of its first purposes, what is one of its first decrees, what is one of its first objectives other than the removal from that particular employment of child life, and therefore taking care of young men? And through our organized activities, through our trade union movement we have closed the door against the employment of child life in many industries and occupations, even where our state laws are lacking and where child life is bartered over the counter.

And so in our trade union movement let us not forget that by promoting organization, by aiding each other and co-ordinating our activities on the economic field, strengthening the hand of a weaker union, building up an organization where there is none in existence at the present moment, indirectly, if not directly we will further contribute to this great human appeal, the cry of child life for safety and the full opportunity of life.

And may I then, too, direct attention to another opportunity, another agency within our command, an agency the value of which, unfortunately, is not recognized? I speak of that great symbol, that great insignia that identifies articles produced and sold, the conditions under which they are manufactured. If we of the trade union movement, five million strong, controlling a purchasing power of twenty millions, if we would but exercise and direct that consuming power so that child life should not enter into our purchases, then indeed would we be able to accomplish even greater results in the saving of child life.

Oh, yes, we protest strongly when the state organization does not respond as we believe it should, and rightly, and the next moment we enter into the store and we forget all our high ideals and the great human appeal, and we buy the cheapest thing we can get, we purchase the very thing that we denounce the people and the nation for purchasing, for not protecting child life.

Please do not understand that I am not heartily and fully in favor of the actions of these conventions and their pronouncements upon the most impressive and human appeal ever made. I rise only to indicate that while engaged in this national crusade, while inaugurating this great educational movement to make the human appeal to our great Republic and its people, to safeguard the life and limb of the innocent child and the newly born youth, let us not forget that there are other avenues we must pursue and there are other opportunities we must not neglect, and there is incumbent upon us, as well as upon the legislature, a duty to give not only word pronouncement, but to give deed and actual pronouncement to our professions and our convictions.

Thus if we unite our appeal for national legislation of constitutional order, our state appeal for state prohibition, and our development of organization, closing the door to these exploiters of child life, and our appeal to consummation of that produced under union conditions, minus child life, and the protection of the youth of our land, then we will hasten that ideal that so inspires this great movement and which contributes so much to the benefit of human kind.

Remember one of the first declarations of this great body, as disclosed by the records of the first convention, was the protection of child life and the promotion of the life of the youth in order that there might be the full bloom of womanhood and manhood, that we might have an intelligent and effective democracy, and in order that the full opportunities of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness so ably declared for in our great Declaration of Independence may be realized in our every-day life and in the life of each and every one of us.

Delegate Max Hayes, Typographical Union: The thought that I had in mind, in listening to the preceding speakers, was that it is practically the unanimous sentiment, not merely of the delegates assem-

bled here or the delegates in any of our International or state conventions, state or central bodies, but of the whole trade union movement, that the curse of child labor must be abolished. We agree that under the present circumstances, with our highly developed system of industry, where it has been computed by eminent statisticians that every working day in the year there are at least six million people unemployed—not throughout the year, but on a given work day, because of lack of employment, sickness, and many other causes, considering merely those who are involuntarily unemployed—it is a great national disgrace that with all of our developments, with all of our so-called advanced civilization, we are yet compelled to exploit more than a million little children, who ought to be in school or upon the playground, in the production of more gain for the parasitical few.

Why employ children? Why not furnish work to the grown-ups, the adults? What excuse can be offered by any manufacturer? I have not heard one yet, and I have read a great deal of this literature that they sent out during this campaign from these various associations. I have never found any logical argument to support this crime against civilization, and that is precisely what it is.

I am not criticizing the Executive Council because of the lack of action on our part as delegates and the loose resolutions dealing with the subject, but I presume that the Executive Council can take up the question of developing some concrete program to be broadcast to the organized workers of the country, some general plan that can be made operative in every state, in every legislative or assembly district, because you have got to adopt a program of education before you can expect to put over this amendment to the Constitution.

We ought to at least have in mind the plan that was inaugurated and successfully prosecuted by the so-called Anti-Saloon League of America. All political parties have declared in favor of the abolition of child labor, but after the representatives are elected to the legislatures they break their pledges, sometimes solemnly made.

Over in the state of Ohio we had more than a majority of the members of the legislature pledged outright to vote for the child labor amendment. It is a discouraging thing to be compelled to relate some of the details. I will just give you one. I am not pessimistic and never expect to become a pessimist. I am in the fight to win, no matter how long it takes, but you do become discouraged when legislators sit down for an hour and discuss this thing and agree with it in every detail, as a woman member of the legislature in Ohio did. She came to my office on her own initiative and pledged by all that was noble and holy that she would not only vote for the child labor amendment but that she would take an active part in putting it over, and at the very first opportunity she arose on the floor of the House of Representatives and attacked the child labor amendment and admitted that she had

been pledged to support the amendment, but, she said, "these pledges are simply so many fishhooks with which we cater suckers." Think of a member of the legislature openly and brazenly making that statement upon the floor!

The bill was defeated, it was defeated before she made that statement, because they had their program laid out and they poisoned the minds of the voters of the state of Ohio, as they did in other states where the test was made and the bill defeated.

Now I would make this suggestion, Mr. Chairman, that the Executive Council direct some intelligent individual who is able to gather all of the facts possible bearing on this subject to arrange to send literature, prepared statements and copy to the newspapers of the country, particularly the labor press, the friendly daily, weekly and monthly newspapers, and get the publicity that they are able to give you in precisely the way that it was obtained by the opposition, and, as I remarked a moment ago, by the Anti-Saloon League of America when they were in the contest to secure an amendment to the Constitution. Every newspaper and every printing plant in this country was flooded every week and every month with literature and with copy dealing with this particular subject. A great deal of it was printed in the newspapers and the people naturally read it and formed their opinions.

Now we have bushels of facts and figures dealing with this subject, but unfortunately the labor press is weak, both nationally and locally. There are, however, some friendly daily, weekly and monthly publications that will print some of this matter.

Then follow that up with propositions to the city central bodies and local unions to hold mass meetings in halls and take up this one subject, and bring in not merely our own trade unionists who are agreed upon this subject, but other men and women from all ranks of society. Let us use the moving picture. I believe it would be practical to make a special film showing the contrast of poor exploited boys and girls who are employed in these establishments with those who are on the playgrounds and in the schools.

Instruct the central bodies and local unions to make contacts with other organizations, fraternal bodies and religious societies. Establish joint boards or committees to carry on this campaign. Then you are beginning to reach the point where the politician who signs an agreement to abide by your request and breaks that agreement will sit up and take notice. You get some church organizations, and particularly the women, interested in this cause and I want to tell you that the politicians you elect and send to the legislature will realize that they have got to walk straight or down they go.

In the meantime it is up to you delegates who are here to interest your own central bodies and not wait for the Executive Council to formulate some plan of action, but whatever you do you have got

to get into a nation-wide, comprehensive plan and establish a program and have that program submitted to the local and central bodies, for that is where you elect the members of the legislature.

Vice-President Woll: May I have a word more, and I will promise not to take more than three minutes? We might take a lesson from the Anti-Saloon League, as has been indicated, and that is in seeking at this time Congressional legislation enabling the state having a child labor law in force to enact further legislation preventing the shipment within that state of commodities manufactured by child labor under requirements less than those provided in that state. If that be done and if the avenue of the markets of the great industrial states be closed to the agricultural states, you will readily understand the immediate response of these states to open these great industrial markets for the sale of their commodities.

It is in that fashion that the Anti-Saloon League was able to promote its agitation for the prohibition of alcoholic drinks, and it did not retard or interfere with their campaign for constitutional legislation on that point. I am confident that if, in addition, that method is applied, the day that we all hope for will be hastened.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union: Right in line with what Delegate Woll has just told the convention, I would like to call your attention to what is known as the Reed amendment. The Reed amendment provides that an article of interstate commerce, the sale of which is prohibited in any state, cannot be sent into that state from another, and that has already been declared constitutional and is as fine a support for the suggestion made by Delegate Woll as you could possibly ask for.

President Green: I am sure that this has been a most interesting session of the convention. The suggestions that have been offered, the facts to which our attention has been drawn by the various speakers will be helpful to all of us in moving forward in this great humane campaign.

The Chair desires to express his appreciation to the various speakers for their addresses and for their manifest interest, and also to the delegates for the very patient and interesting way in which they have listened to all this discussion.

The Committee on Education is considering various resolutions dealing upon the subject of child labor and child labor legislation and also the sections of the report of the Executive Council dealing with the subject. In due time the Committee will bring in its report and the convention can then register its sovereign will.

Delegate Duncan, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, offered a motion that

the report of that committee be heard as a special order of business at 10.30 o'clock Monday morning, October 12. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Secretary Morrison read the following announcement:

The Workers' Education Bureau of America extends a cordial invitation to the women delegates and the wives of the delegates to the convention to attend a special meeting on Monday evening in the parlor

of the Hotel Strand at eight o'clock. The meeting will be devoted to a discussion of labor saving devices for the home. The discussion will be led by an eminent engineering authority on electrical matters and by a student of home economics who will tell of the development of labor saving devices in the province of Ontario, Canada.

At 5.40 p. m., the convention adjourned to 9.30 o'clock a. m. Saturday, October 10.

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Sixth Day—Saturday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J., Oct. 10, 1925.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 o'clock a. m., President Green in the chair.

Absentees

Myrup, Franklin, Dohney, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Gochenour, Coulter, Conway, Evans (E. J.), Snow, Murphy (M.), Cooley, Kauffman, Lucchi, Fljozdal, Milliman, Hill (C. E.), Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Pattison, Moyer, Crough, Yarrow, Parker (M. H.), Berry, Burke (T. E.), Olander, O'Connell, Nigro, Atkins, Nelligan, McAndrew, Steadman, McMullen, Kelley (J. R.), Patton, Martel, O'Dell, Long, Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Bower, Vaughn, Wood (R. T.), Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, McGeorgy, Tinney, Carrozzo, Ruben, Geyer, Simons, Camous, Miller (A. M.).

Secretary Morrison read a telegram from the City Commissioners of Birmingham, Alabama, urging that the 1926 convention be held in that city.

The invitation extended by the city of Detroit to hold the 1926 convention there was supported by communications received from Alex Meiklejohn, Secretary of Millwright's Union No. 1102, Retail Cleaners; Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17837, and Electrotypers' Union No. 54, all of Detroit.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"American Federation of Labor,
"Convention Hall, Atlantic City, N. J."

"The Photographic Workers' Union, Local 17830, A. F. of L., takes this occasion to address organized labor of America in convention assembled, urging it to come to the aid of the struggling photographic workers in our desperate attempt to organize. Time and again for the past twelve years the photographers have made numerous attempts to organize only to finally disperse, helpless and desperate because of lack of support on the part of labor and the general public. We have neither the organizing talent nor the financial means to carry on an extensive propaganda to bring home to every worker in the country the idea of demanding Union made photographs. We feel that unless organized labor lends us their prestige and influence and helps us by whatever talent and propaganda they can serve us, unless the American Federation of Labor goes on record in this convention to call upon organized labor to demand union made photographs and help us organize our union men on a national scale, we shall be doomed to remain with our unsanitary sweatshop conditions and starvation wages. We wish the convention Godspeed in its labor and wish to assure you that we are with you to the

last, but again we remind you that unless you come to our aid, we fail.

"H. ROISMAN,
"President Photographic Workers'
"Union, Local 17830, A. F. of L."

Secretary Morrison read an invitation to the delegates and visitors to attend a special service at St. Nicholas' Catholic Church on Sunday, October 11th, at 10 o'clock. The invitation stated that the Rev. Thos. E. O'Connell would be celebrant of the Mass and that the sermon would be delivered by the Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby, of the Catholic University of America, and that the center aisle would be reserved for delegates and visitors.

Report of Committee on Labels

Delegate Weaver, secretary of the committee, presented the following report:

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 5, after amending the same by striking out all the language after the word "America" in the last resolve, striking out the names of the nineteen firms, and recommending that such names be furnished the secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

The resolution as amended reads:

Urging Demand of Union Labelled Wall Paper

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate C. A. Alexander of the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America:

WHEREAS, It is not generally known that WALL PAPER that is UNION MADE can be purchased in every city, town, village and hamlet in the entire United States and likewise in many Canadian cities; and

WHEREAS, The spreading of this information throughout the length and breadth of the Labor Movement will be of inestimable help to the embattled Wall Paper Trades, who have become embroiled with a number of Wall Paper Manufacturers more than four years ago, when the latter believed their opportunity was at hand to crush Organization and Unionism within the Wall Paper Industry, joined in the so-called "open shop drive" by locking out all of the union employees at their mills; and

WHEREAS, A number of those manufacturers have stubbornly refused to consider any proposal leading to the re-establishment of friendly relations with the Union or to consider agreements similar to those in existence with Union manufacturers of Wall Paper; and

WHEREAS, Their stubborn resistance has caused the struggle for the preservation of our Union to go on unabated during the past four years, at the cost of great sums of money and inestimable sacrifices by members of the Union who are still loyal to the principles of Trades Unionism and who are still hopeful of ultimate victory; and

WHEREAS, our Fellow-unionists, Officers of the various Unions and Delegates to this the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor can be of great help to us in bringing this long-standing struggle to a successful termination by giving this resolution publicity throughout their respective Organizations and by urging upon their membership the importance of giving preference in the selection of Wall Paper to the products of the Union Mills; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the great loyalty of the membership of the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America to the principles of Trades Unionism shall be encouraged by the full moral support of this Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That at some convenient time following the close of this convention a communication shall be sent out by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to all City Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor and through those several channels urge upon the entire Labor Movement to confine purchases and selections of Wall Paper strictly to papers bearing the Union Label of the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.

Respectfully submitted,

United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.

EDWIN GEUTZLER, Secretary.

C. A. ALEXANDER,

Vice-Pres. and Representative.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

To Cooperate With Joint Union Label
Board of Hatters and Cloth Hat,
Cap and Millinery Workers

Resolution No. 38.—By Delegates Michael F. Greene, Christopher F. Donigan and Jeremiah J. Scully, of the United Hatters of North America; M. Zaritsky, M. Zuckerman, Nathaniel Spector, of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union have met the jurisdictional problems, which divided these organizations for several years, in a spirit of true labor solidarity; and

WHEREAS, These two organizations issued a Joint Labor Day message announcing to the labor movement that whatever jurisdictional friction there may have been

between them, is now entirely a thing of the past; and

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union have not only developed the most friendly and brotherly relations, but have also established close organizational relations so that they may jointly work for the mutual benefit of the membership of both organizations and of all the headgear workers in whatever branch of the industry they may be employed; and

WHEREAS, These two organizations decided to exchange fraternal delegates to their conventions so as to strengthen still more the ties of friendship and cooperation between them; and

WHEREAS, These two organizations have established a Joint Union Label Board through which both organizations will do all the work jointly for their Union labels; and

WHEREAS, The establishment of such close organizational relations between International Unions in kindred industries is fully in accordance with the aspirations of the American labor movement, since it affords the most effective method for the overcoming of the difficulties with regard to jurisdictional demarcation resulting from the development of modern industry, and since ever greater unity in the ranks of labor is the best means for the protection and advancement of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor welcomes the step taken by the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union and calls upon all working men and women to cooperate with the Joint Union Label Board of these two organizations and give it all the necessary encouragement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Labor Day message of these two organizations attached hereto be made a part of the records of this convention.

Labor Day Message

September 1, 1925.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Labor Day has always been consecrated by organized labor to the cause of labor solidarity, by bringing within the folds of unionism the great masses of unorganized workers and strengthening the ranks of the organized workers.

On this Labor Day of 1925, when a concentrated attack is being made by the National Manufacturers' Association and its numerous units and subsidiary organizations upon the standard of living of the wage earners (as exemplified by the unjustifiable wage reductions in the textile industry and by the aggressive attitude of the mine operators to the modest and just demands of the anthracite miners), it behooves organized labor more than ever to devote itself to the furthering of harmony, unity and cooperation within the labor movement.

We wish to take this occasion to announce that the two organizations controlling the various branches of the headgear industry, the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, have combined their resources to work jointly for their union labels. We sincerely believe that there is a cheering message to organized labor in this announcement.

We trust that all labor organizations will be glad to know that whatever jurisdictional friction there may have been between these two organizations is now entirely a thing of the past. Not only have the most friendly and brotherly relations been established between the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, but these organizations have gone a step further, actually joining hands in one of the important fields of their activities—in the work for the union label.

The union label has been generally recognized as an effective weapon in the struggle of labor to come into its own. The recent conference called by the American Federation of Labor at Washington unanimously decided that the union label can and must become even more effective by having all organized workers and sympathizers refuse to buy any goods except those bearing the union label.

We wish to conclude this Labor Day message with the urgent request that your membership, when buying felt hats (soft or stiff), wool, straw and panama hats, cloth hats or caps, buy only such articles as have the proper union label, of the two appearing on this letterhead, sewed in under the sweat-leather.

By adopting such resolution to buy only articles with the union label, you will greatly contribute toward our common end, that this Labor Day marks another milestone in the continuous progress of organized labor.

Fraternally yours,

JOINT UNION LABOR BOARD,

United Hatters of North America and
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers'
International Union.

M. ZUCKERMAN,

President.

MARTIN LAWLOR,

Secretary-Treasurer.

M. F. GREENE,

Vice-President.

MAX ZARITSKY,

Vice-President.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Demand of Union Hand-Made Window Glass

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Frank Harbert, of the National Window Glass Workers:

WHEREAS, Believing that we should all be more familiar with articles produced strictly by union workmen, we wish to place before the delegates of this convention the fact that hand-made window glass is strictly union made, both in production and finishing to the extent of 100%; and

WHEREAS, We are having our manufacturers mark all their boxes to safeguard our interests, hand-made window glass, to also enlighten the public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That at an early date the secretary of the American Federation of Labor communicate with the different State Federations and Central Labor bodies, urging them, through their respective bodies, to notify the building trades and labor movement in general to use a strictly union-made article, hand-made window glass.

Your committee offers the following amendments and recommendations on the above resolution: Strike out "We are having our manufacturers" and insert in lieu thereof "Manufacturers who employ only members of the above named organization agree to mark; insert after the word "interests" and between "hand" in the third line of this Whereas the word "union" and add after the word "public" in the last line "This mark to be under the control of the union."

The resolution as amended reads:

Urging Demand of Union Hand-Made Window Glass

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Frank Harbert, of the National Window Glass Workers:

WHEREAS, Believing that we should all be more familiar with articles produced strictly by union workmen, we wish to place before the delegates of this convention the fact that hand-made window glass is strictly union made, both in production and finishing to the extent of 100%; and

WHEREAS, Manufacturers who employ only members of the above named organization agree to mark all their boxes to safeguard our interests, union made window glass, to also enlighten the public, this mark to be under the control of the Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That at an early date the secretary of the American Federation of Labor communicate with the different State Federations and Central Labor bodies, urging them, through their respective bodies, to notify the building trades and labor movement in general to use a strictly union-made article, hand-made window glass.

We further recommend that the National Window Glass Workers' Union, in order that their membership and interests might be more securely safeguarded, adopt a union label which will be the sole property of the union.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Several members of the Committee on Labels were privileged to serve as delegates to the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department held in this city on October 1 and 2 of the present year.

It is gratifying to be able to report to this convention the continued activity of that Department in its own special field and to commend the officials thereof for the enlargement of ways and means for the dissemination of educational information among the workers throughout the country. Your committee cannot stress too earnestly the importance of conserving purchasing power and centralizing the same in channels best calculated to obtain results. We are taught that consistency is a jewel which is one of the noblest adornments of human character. Let us wear it and exemplify its teaching in our trade relationship with our fellow union men.

Unflinching loyalty to the union label principle by the more than four million members of organized labor in America and their millions of dependents for one year would, in the opinion of your committee, go a long way toward ushering in the dawn of a new industrial day.

Your committee furthermore desires to recognize and endorse the earnest and intelligent activities of the several national and international organizations which have been carrying forward union label educational work, and to make special note of the magnificent campaign now being vigorously prosecuted by the International Typographical Union; and we recommend that the efforts of that body and all other unions pursuing a similar course be emulated by all trades under whose authority labels, shop cards or buttons are used.

Delegate Weaver, secretary of the committee, moved the adoption of the committee's report as a whole. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department: I hesitate somewhat to intrude on the proceedings of the convention and possibly delay it unnecessarily, but in view of the fact that we had quite a lengthy, interesting and educational discussion yesterday on the child labor problem confronting us and our country, I thought it wise that we stress a little more than that set forth in the report of the committee the need of using our tremendous power, if not to eliminate, at least to minimize that awful attack upon the future citizenship of our country through the employment of children for commercial gain.

Those of you who were at the convention in El Paso will remember that the convention adopted recommendations from this committee that all national and international unions be requested to write their local unions, urging them to name at least five women with whom

the proper officers of the Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary might communicate, with the end in view of organizing and educating the wives, daughters and sisters of our members. I can say truthfully that that recommendation was complied with much more largely than I had hoped for, and in the report of that organization to the Union Label Trades Department convention they assured us that the result of that appeal had given them new heart and confidence that the labor movement was behind them really and truly, after their many years of endeavor to secure that support.

Why do I couple these two questions, that of the prevention of the exploitation of our children and the organization and education of our women? The answer, to me, is very simple and plain. Yesterday we heard a wonderful discussion for more than three hours in trying to bring about ways and means to curb the child labor evil. The Eighteenth Amendment was quoted several times and mention was frequently made as to how that amendment was secured. Continued reference, of course, was made to the proposed Twentieth Amendment, but between the Eighteenth Amendment now in our Constitution and the one that we desire to have added thereto, is a very highly important amendment adopted primarily, and, I believe I say it truthfully, Mr. Chairman, that the pioneers in securing the franchise for women were the workers of America. We banded every effort in that direction, and if we want to get our Twentieth Amendment across we should appeal directly to those numerous millions of women who are clothed with the full authority of citizenship in our country.

In organizing the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of our families we are reaching out into that field that the Nineteenth Amendment helped so tremendously, and to whom can we better make an appeal for the welfare and protection of our children than to those who bring them into the world and help to develop the best that is in them? I say to you, Mr. Chairman, there are enough delegates in this room now, if they will apply themselves to this question thoroughly and continuously, to turn this whole country upside down and bring about that reform so much needed.

The trouble is that with our citizenship generally it is not their child that is being exploited. We must make this thing personal. What would we do if we were unable to protect our children from this awful condition? It is all right enough to resolute, it is all

right enough to applaud when the sentiment hits the heart, but if we are going to get the results that we want we must be missionaries, each and every one of us, not today and tomorrow, but until the fact is accomplished, and I know of no better way than by carrying out the thought expressed in the recommendation of this committee this morning, and in addition thereto doing our full share in reaching these women and getting their support behind the amendment, and the best and most powerful way to get that is to educate them, first, to the need of organization, and secondly, to conserve that great power of purchase, which, after all, if applied will obviate the necessity of legislation.

I contend, Mr. Chairman, that what the trade union movement has done to obliterate the child labor evil has been a tremendous factor in bringing about even the poor conditions that we have today. I point to this fact, that in any factory, shop or other place where people are employed, where they are under a union agreement with their employers, there you don't find ten and twelve-year-old children working. If that be true why can't we be, as the recommendation of the committee says, consistent and advocate the use of that power of purchase previous to the adoption of this law, so that we will make the conditions, not by law but by order of those most directly interested.

I am hopeful, Mr. Chairman, in making this appeal, that the men and women of our movement who are appealed to to help this organization of the Women's Union Label League will respond more fully and thoroughly this year than last, because there is a power there that no one can wield but the women, and I say to you I would sooner have one-tenth of the women organized and working than one hundred per cent of the men loafing on this question. I say to you that regardless of legislation, regardless of other outside influences, if our movement will be as true to this particular question and make it the paramount issue of our work, then the solving of that problem is more than fifty per cent on the way.

After all, wherever you turn, real progress has come in the wake of action of our movement, pointing the direction we ought to take to conserve all of the best interests of our country, and I am sure that when the Executive Council, in their wisdom, outlines a plan to help the children, to protect our future, to lead the way in making a better and greater and wiser citizenship in the future, they will

inculcate in that recommendation the serious consideration and the demand of each and all to do their full share by the conservation of that power which we alone can control—the power of purchase.

The motion to adopt the committee's report as a whole was carried unanimously.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Manning: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

JOHN J. MANNING,

Chairman.

CHAUNCEY A. WEAVER,

Secretary.

THOMAS SWEENEY,
MAX S. HAYES,
MAX ZUCKERMAN,
H. LINDEMAN,
JOSEPH OBERGFELL,
R. S. SEXTON,
CHARLES KREINDLER,
JACOB GOLDSTONE,
NICK F. SMITH,
FELIX BELAIR,
THOMAS J. BEASLEY,
CHRIS DONIGAN,
P. J. RYAN,

Committee on Labels.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATION

Delegate John T. Mugavin, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Lincoln's Birthday

On that portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 55, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee commends and heartily approves the efforts made to establish the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln as a legal holiday. We believe the life and work of that great patriot and liberator should be recognized by legal enactment, designating February 12, as "Lincoln Day" and recommend the continuance of the movement started for this purpose and urge that every effort be made to secure the enactment of such a law in the next Congress of the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Porto Rico

On that portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 54, the committee reported as follows:

In connection with this report of the Executive Council, your committee directs attention to the fact that at the El Paso Convention,

after a recital of the outrages against the Trades Union workers, that took place during the General Election held in Porto Rico on November 4, 1924, resolved:

"To suspend the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor to any legislation granting more self-government at this time to Porto Rico until a joint sub-committee from both houses of Congress shall proceed to the Island to investigate the aforesaid elections and conditions of the people and take the proper measures to grant these people the right to hold a new general election and to insure to said people of Porto Rico an honest and free exercise of the suffrage."

And that inasmuch as the conditions depicted in the preamble to the resolution quoted above are still unchanged and the people are suffering from even more severe and intolerable conditions because of the encouragement received by the opponents of organized labor, due largely to the failure of the Federal authorities at Washington to carry out the investigation and policy demanded by the people of Porto Rico, we firmly believe that no further action be taken by the American Federation of Labor on the legislation referred to above until after the original demand of the Porto Rican Trades Unionists for an investigation of local living, working and industrial conditions be complied with or until after the forces opposing organized labor in that Island show their willingness to deal fairly and honestly with the working people in their industrial and social struggles and in the expression of their free will through the exercise of the suffrage and with all the necessary guarantees that should be enjoyed by all peaceful and law-abiding citizens.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men: Do I understand that the committee recommends that no action be taken in this matter until the people there act?

Secretary Mugavin: The committee had before them the delegate from Porto Rico, and we incorporated in this report what he says is the desire of the trade unionists of Porto Rico, that the American Federation of Labor withhold support of any bill, such as attention is called to in the Executive Council's report, H. R. 6583, until such time as their original request for an investigation of the previous election and the working, social and living conditions of the people of Porto Rico has been complied with by a committee from both Houses of Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGISLATION IN THE STATES

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 56 to 60, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee has very carefully considered the report on legislation enacted and defeated in the various State Legislatures that have met in session since the Executive Council's report of last year.

The record of affirmative achievements in the several states in behalf of the well being of wage earners and the welfare of the public generally is only exceeded by the record of the defeat of proposals intended to limit the rights and defeat the hopes and opportunities of the workers of our several states and to benefit solely the possessors of great wealth or those scheming for wealth without giving in return full and adequate and helpful service.

The achievements both affirmative and negative are a great tribute to the alertness, efficiency and proficiency of our several state federations of labor. They show beyond the question of doubt that the policies heretofore pursued are practical and effective and constitute a force in our several state governments that make for constant progressive, constructive and helpful legislation to the common people of our several state governments.

Your Committee recommends not only words of commendation for that which has been done but urges even greater attention in the future on the part of our several state federations of labor in this field of wholesome and beneficial legislation for the masses.

We also approve and commend the Executive Council for its practical and constructive guidance and coordination of the organized efforts of the wage earners in all our States and Territories in this legislative sphere of action.

We further direct attention to the statement of the Executive Council in connection with this work and recommend full concurrence in the recommendations of the Executive Council contained in their report to the convention on this subject.

Your committee gave full consideration to the recommendations of the representatives of the state federations of labor who are in attendance at this convention and heartily approve their evident desire to be mutually helpful in the collection of and distribution of information relative to legislation intended to improve the conditions of the work and the

people generally and recommend that whenever state federations of labor cause to be introduced bills that enter new legislative fields or bills that are of particular importance to the labor movement generally and where public hearings are held upon said bills that a transcript of said hearings be sent to the President of the American Federation of Labor and that copies of said hearings shall be available to all interested state federations of labor upon request.

We further recommend that International Unions be requested to lend every assistance to state federations of labor in their efforts to secure the affiliation with state federations of the local unions of their craft in the industry within the State.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The subject matter was discussed at some length, and a partial resume of the discussion follows:

Delegate Barringer, North Carolina State Federation of Labor: In the recommendation of the committee, do you leave it within the expediency of the Executive Council as to whether or not they shall send out the provisions of legislative enactments in one state to the councils of the Federation in another state?

Delegate Mugavin, secretary of the committee: The Executive Council, in their report in this matter, point out the fact that by action of the El Paso convention they are directed to send copies of all bills to all state federations of labor. They point out the fact that their experience has shown that bills introduced in one state are not altogether applicable to other states, and because of the fact that they have been sent out by the American Federation of Labor a misapprehension might arise, and it does arise, that these measures have received the official sanction of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. They seek authority to pass judgment on these measures and send to the various states only such measures as would, in their judgment, apply within those states and be in conformity with the measures introduced within that state.

Delegate Frey, Molders: I have listened to the committee's report with considerable interest because it is another step toward coordinating the legislative forces of the American trade union movement. The action of the El Paso convention was not due to a request on the American Federation of Labor that the state federation should endeavor to carry

on their work more efficiently; it was a request from the representatives of the state federation of labor to this body that an effort be made so that the state federations themselves could carry on their work more efficiently.

The representatives of the state federations of labor attending this convention have had several meetings. It was their opinion that the efforts made last year had been very helpful. Experiences during the year, however, convinced these representatives that it was necessary, if the state federations of labor were to accomplish most satisfactorily their legislative efforts, that the American Federation of Labor headquarters should be a clearing house for information for the state federations of labor themselves.

Yesterday afternoon it was necessary for me to leave the convention hall before there was an opportunity of referring to the subject of the Twentieth Amendment, and I think that one subject will afford me the opportunity of calling the attention of this federation and these international unions to the tremendous importance of these state federations of labor and the necessity of their receiving the hearty support of the international unions and of this body.

I don't need to call your attention to the fact that we have a dual form of government and that this fight exists, so far as these legislative efforts are concerned, in the Federal field, but that the all-important question of state legislation is left to the state federations of labor themselves, and that more legislation affecting labor is placed upon state statute books than upon the Federal statute books.

If we are to secure the adoption of the Twentieth Amendment it must be due more to the efficient work carried on by the state federation of labor than by any other force. If this American Federation of Labor is to take a practical hand in securing the adoption of the Twentieth Amendment, outside of arousing public opinion, it can only do so by working through these state federations of labor themselves, because upon their shoulders depends the responsibility and the work of arousing public opinion and of using their organized machinery so that the proper pressure and the proper efforts can be made in the state legislatures.

I am calling attention, Mr. Chairman, to this matter because I believe that in some states the necessary assistance is not being given by the international unions, that those who are deeply interested in securing legisla-

tive benefit to their members must realize that there is only one body through which they can successfully work, and that is these state federations of labor themselves.

They have come into this convention with a desire to make their work more efficient. Instead of waiting to be called upon they have come here and requested help, and I am not only in accord with the report of the committee, but I want to add that sentiment alone is not going to carry the Twentieth Amendment. Sentiment is necessary to light the fires that should burn in our minds over this question, but the all-important thing is the practical use of the practical methods by which we are compelled to secure legislation.

I am saying this much upon the question because some times in our conventions the representatives of the state federations of labor are jokingly referred to because of the single vote they cast, but in the field of legislation they are the most important bodies in the country, and on many occasions we must pave the way for Federal legislation by first securing legislation in some of the states where the trade union movement is aggressive and progressive.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Do I understand the committee to report that stenographic records of hearings before the different legislative committees in the states having before them bills dealing with labor should be sent to the Executive Council at Washington? I don't know what they do in other states, but I do know that no stenographic reports are taken in the States of California, Oregon and Washington, so there is no means of carrying out any such proposition. You would have to have a special stenographer present, and that is an expense that you can't saddle people with.

Delegate Ryan, chairman of the committee: This portion of the committee's report is in compliance with the request made to the committee by representatives of the state federations of labor. If there is no stenographic report made there can't be any sent in, but if one is made and it is sent in it can be made available for all those who desire it.

Delegate Hall, Minnesota State Federation of Labor: The impression I gained from meeting with the representatives of the various state federations was that where it was possible to have at least a stenographic report of those opposing our bills, we would thus know just what the opposition was saying against us. We hope to be able to bring before the Minnesota legislature at its next

session something of the realization of the need of an anti-injunction bill, such as has been passed by the recent session of the Illinois legislature. The only way we will be able to repeat the decision will be from the information we get from the officials of the American Federation of Labor, and that will apply similarly to legislation in our state, where the state federations are in position to take a stenographic report, especially of the opposition to our measures.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union: There should be not merely a compilation of these bills to be distributed to the various states and interchanged by the states, but it seems to be there ought to be some plan devised to bring about better team work on the part of the various international unions to assist in putting through in the legislatures outstanding labor measures. For example, several years ago we had a state referendum in Ohio on the question of the adoption of an old age pension measure, and I know that efforts were made by the officials of the state federation of labor to enlist the support of the various international unions. In fact, I believe a general letter was sent out to the international unions, requesting that they designate some representatives, one or more from each international union, to come into the state and assist in the work of organizing, to participate in meetings rallying the workers and the people of the state generally to the support of this referendum measure at the polls. I regret to say that there were but one or two international unions that acquiesced in the request.

The anti-injunction bill is another one of general importance. I was glad to learn that the State of Illinois adopted that measure. Now similar bills will undoubtedly be introduced in other states and in the more poorly organized communities, as well as in those that are fairly well unionized in the industrial centers.

There is a lack of efficient organizers and speakers to assist in the work of educating the public to the necessity of supporting our measures, and the public is usually sympathetic. I know in our test upon the old age pension measure there was no great difficulty in getting opportunities to come into fraternal, civic, religious and women's organizations to explain our proposition, but we were handicapped by the lack of men and women who would come to the front and explain this meritorious measure.

You will observe that the opposition is al-

ways ready with its speakers, its organizers, its writers and its propagandists to wage opposition against these bills. And so when some of these important measures of national concern as well as local and state concern come up, such as the old age pension, the anti-injunction bill, the child labor amendment, and similar measures, something should be done to organize a team of workers to be thrown into any state where the request is made by the state officials, and in that way we will be able to get better results than we have in the past.

Delegate Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor: As a representative of one federation I want to speak in gratification of the co-operation rendered our organizations by the report of the committee. I want to emphasize that portion of the report urging national and international unions to help bring about the affiliation of subordinate local unions. It has not alone been within the experience of the speaker, but within the experience of every state federation executive in this and other conventions that the effectiveness and efficiency of our state organizations has been sadly hampered because of the non-affiliation of subordinate locals.

I have in one instance been told by the locals of one international union affiliated with this federation that they were advised by their international office that it was contrary to their international law for them to affiliate with either central or state bodies.

The progress of this trade union movement of which we are all a part is going to depend more in the future than it has in the past upon the amount of effective cooperation we can get from local and state bodies, and the keystone of the situation, to my mind, is this: to bring into affiliation all those legitimate local unions that rightfully should be affiliated, thus making your local and state bodies something more than a mere promise of action deferred. However ambitious your legislative programs may be in your various states, however desirous we may be of promoting legislative reform, we can only make those laws effective or those efforts effective as we have the practical and continuous co-operation of subordinate local unions.

I have heard it said upon the floor of this convention that the best, the most practical cooperation can be secured where we have voluntary affiliations. Regardless of anything that may be said, your trade union movement in the final analysis relies for its chief strength upon the fact that after we use all the means

possible to bring about voluntary affiliation of our locals, we have means of bringing those in who still stay out, and the same means that we use to bring in the malingering mechanic who will not join his rightful union, the same moral pressure that is employed to bring in that man or woman who insists upon working on a union job and not joining the union, may, in years to come, have to be employed upon those locals who enjoy every benefit of federated effort and pay nothing in return.

Delegate Ohl, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: In Wisconsin more money was spent to defeat the ratification of the child labor amendment than in any other state in the Union. The ratification of that amendment did not come about because the legislators, of their own volition, were extremely sympathetic to it. It was because organized labor was on the job and we offset the propaganda that was carried on by those who were opposed to the amendment. Had the local unions, the city central bodies and the state federation of labor not taken an active part in the effort to secure that ratification, I want to tell you that Wisconsin today would not be in the column of states which ratified the amendment.

There are international officers sitting in this hall today who know perfectly well the importance of the work that the various city central and state bodies are doing. In Wisconsin we have now two or three city central bodies who are considering sending in their charter to the American Federation of Labor because of the lack of affiliation of certain local unions. We are appealing to the international officers here to urge their locals to support these federations. I know that many of the internationals have given that assistance, I know that some others are rather discouraging them and that some of them, as I understand it, have sent communications to the various locals rather discouraging affiliation with state federations or city central bodies.

We have had very good cooperation from the American Federation of Labor, and in some instances the internationals have asked their organizations to affiliate, after having been requested to do so by the officers of the American Federation of Labor. I hope that the delegates will take this up with their colleagues, their international officers, and make a general effort to make the state federations and the city central bodies more powerful. It is not altogether a question of per capita tax from the local unions into

these bodies, it is a question of how solidly they may be organized in order to give the city central bodies and the state federations of labor legislative prestige, the respect of the public, and consideration on the part of employers.

Delegate Barringer, North Carolina State Federation of Labor: I come from a state that has secured as little labor legislation, I suppose, in recent years as any state in the Union. If the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in acting as a clearing house or a bureau of information concerning labor legislation in the various states, withholds certain information, it will work a hardship on a number of state federations of labor and handicap them in securing the best possible legislation.

For example, in my state there is no boiler inspection law. Last year we secured a copy of the bill which came up to the requirements of the American Federation of Labor, and when that bill was introduced in the legislature of North Carolina it got nowhere.

I don't think it is exactly right that the American Federation of Labor should withhold certain information just because some state might introduce a bill which does not come up to the standard of the Executive Council. I think all this information should be sent out, and then let the Executive Council send out a supplementary statement with it.

Delegate Reilly, Texas State Federation of Labor: I merely wish to emphasize some of those things that have been said here this morning in reference to the various international unions insisting on their subordinate unions affiliating with the central bodies and the state federations of labor. It occurs to me that the best way to promote the welfare of the American labor movement is to coordinate those forces which are already in existence.

I have in mind the remarks made this morning by the President of the Union Label Trades Department, when he said that he would much rather have ten per cent. of the women of this country organized and working than one hundred per cent. of the men organized and loafing. It seems to me that that is a very pertinent remark and one that should receive a great deal of consideration at the hands of the delegates here.

Down in Texas we have a wonderful country, one in which the possibilities are

immeasurably great. Unfortunately, our cities are very far apart. Sometimes we can't get into rapid communication, one with another, as you can in the east and in the north, but once a year we get together in a state federation convention, talk matters over, and lay our plans and do something effective for the labor movement. Without that intercourse, which is permitted by a great many affiliations, of course, we don't have the opportunity to spread the gospel of the labor movement and the cause of labor as we otherwise would.

And so I am urging and insisting and pleading that these international unions urge their members to not only affiliate with the local labor movement in the various centers of this country, but to get into the state federations, and through the payment of per capita tax give us something with which to work. God knows, we have the willingness to do if you will but furnish us the powder to do it with.

Delegate Burke, U. A. Plumbers and Steamfitters, said in part: I have listened with intense interest to this subject before the house this morning, which to my mind is one of the most important, not only in relation to the affiliation of local unions with their central bodies and state federations of labor, but it means a great deal more. I also listened with the most intense interest yesterday afternoon to the splendid dissertations on that most important, fundamental question of the constitutional amendment to protect our children; and there is no better way to institute that amendment to the constitution than through complete organization in our central bodies and state federations.

I believe the state federation is one of the greatest arms of the service of this great American labor movement, but we have all been too lax in having our local unions properly affiliate themselves. The organization that I have the honor to be the general secretary of, that is, the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, makes it compulsory on the members of our local unions to properly affiliate themselves with their building trades councils; and while we might decry compulsion, yet at the same time we will never amount to much unless we use some similar measure to have all our local unions properly affiliated with central bodies and state federations.

There is no measure to the magnificent

work of those fine men in our state federations of labor in securing legislation for the advancement and elevation of not only the trade unionists but society in general, and it is a shame and disgrace that we are not giving them the support they so richly deserve. We cannot rise any higher in our activities unless we organize, we cannot rise any higher in the social scale unless we are properly educated. There are two functions the whole world agrees upon for progress, organization and education. And how are we going to make progress unless we organize and give these men that are willing to fight, and are fighting night and day for our progress, the support they ought to have? We can do that only by affiliating ourselves with state federations and central bodies.

How can we make progress better than having the local unions of the internationals affiliate with the central bodies and state federations? I know when we want legislation for my trade we refer it to George. And who is George? The few hard working men who are always on the job in our state federations, and we don't give them the consideration they ought to have.

How can we advance to higher freedom, self-government and democracy unless we organize and educate to use the great arm of the American Federation of Labor, that great utility that is so necessary, that brought us all the liberties we have today? By taking advantage of the Workers' Education Bureau. With organization and education, and the proper affiliation of ourselves together in combating the powerful and desperate force we are fighting against, it is only in that way we can secure progress and elevation and everything we need for the benefit of ourselves and those depending upon us.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Completion of Highway System Undertaken by States With the Support of the Federal Government

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate D. G. Ramsay, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers:

WHEREAS, From the beginning of our country the Federal Government has maintained its responsibility for the national defense, the postal service, interstate commerce, and anything that pertains to the general welfare, transportation has been encouraged by the Federal Government at all times, rivers and harbors, canals and railroads have received millions of dollars from

the Federal Government for their development. While the Federal Government as early as 1803 made some effort to accept the responsibility of highway construction, it was not until motive power on the highway eliminated distances that the Federal Government was made to see the tremendous value that highway improvement has upon the general welfare and protection of the people; and

WHEREAS, In 1916, after three years' investigation by a committee of Congress, the Federal Government, through Congress, began to make definite appropriations to co-operate with the states in the construction of highways. In 1921 a definite system of highways of interstate character was laid out by the several states and approved by the Federal Government, on which system the Federal funds were to be expended. This system of highways when completed will connect all of the county seats and main market centers of the country with an improved highway; and

WHEREAS, Up to the present time this system of roads has been about half completed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Federal Government should continue in this work with the states until such time as this system has been completed according to agreement heretofore entered into, as few if any Federal expenditure has added so much to the public convenience, better living standards and general prosperity of the country as the improvement of our highway system.

The committee recommended concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

To Assist International Association of Machinists in Organizing Automobile Mechanics

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Robert Fechner, Chas. H. Fry, Daniel Haggerty, Geo. W. Marshall, Chas. H. Wills, William Larkin, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of Automobile Machinists employed in garages in all parts of this country; and

WHEREAS, This Class of Mechanics are working under all sorts of conditions as to hours, wages and shop conditions; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists is engaged in an active campaign, in an endeavor to organize this class of Mechanics and are meeting with encouraging results; therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to give every assistance in this campaign, both by their cooperation and that they request all State Federations, Central Bodies and Affiliated Unions to lend all assistance possible, to the end that Mechanics employed in this industry may be organized.

The committee recommended concurrence.

Vice-President Wilson: I suppose they

mean the people employed in garages who properly come under the head of that organization.

Secretary Mugavin: The introducer of the resolution appeared before the committee, and that was the idea he conveyed to the committee.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Ryan: This completes the report of the committee which is signed:

Respectfully submitted,

MARTIN F. RYAN,
JOHN T. MUGAVIN,
S. C. HOGAN,
C. M. PAULSEN,
J. M. GILLESPIE,
CARL BERGSTROM,
D. P. HAGGERTY,
E. G. HALL,
WALTER NESBIT,
L. L. WOOTEN,
PETER COOK,
FRED W. BAER,
MICHAEL MURPHY,
JOHN FITZGERALD,
T. M. TAYLOR,
MICHAEL J. FLYNN,

Committee on State Organizations.

Report of Committee on Laws

Treasurer Tobin, chairman of the committee, reported as follows: The committee has a communication that was addressed to President Green, who turned it over to the Committee on Laws. The communication from President Green reads:

The following is an extract from a letter addressed to me under date of September 21, in reply to which I advised my correspondent that it would be referred to the committee on laws of this convention:

"On pages 27 and 28 of the constitution of the A. F. of L. and section 17, the following appears: 'No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall disband so long as seven members or five local unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.'"

"Does the above quoted law also apply to Central Labor Bodies? If not, would it be

the proper thing to so amend the A. F. of L. Constitution that the same rule would apply to Central Bodies?"

In answer to the above, your committee desires to say that in view of the fact that central bodies and state branches of the American Federation of Labor are directly chartered by the Federation of Labor, and under the guidance and supervision of the Federation, therefore we believe that in this matter of dissolution the same law should apply to central bodies and state branches as now applies to local trade and federal labor unions, and so amend the constitution, and, as amended, will read as follows:

"No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body, or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five local unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body, or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Chairman Tobin: The committee recommends that the same rule be applied to state and central bodies when they become dissolved as is now applied to federal local unions. Where it applies to seven members, it should only apply in cases where the central body or state branch goes out of business and has its charter rescinded.

Delegate Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I am not in opposition to the report of the committee, but I want to call your attention to what appears a real necessity in order to make that apply and hold good. Unless the charter issued by the American Federation of Labor stipulates upon its face a similar provision to that contained in the communication those organizations can beat us in court.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Does the report mean that the body cannot be dissolved as long as there are seven delegates in the body?

President Green: A central body may retain its charter so long as five local unions are affiliated. The amendment provides that when a central body or state federation disbands the property shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, the same as the

property of a disbanded federal labor union reverts to the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Furuseth: Suppose there are seven unions in a central body that in one manner or another succeed in controlling the central body in violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor, will the Executive Council or this convention have the power to suspend that charter?

President Green: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor or a convention of the American Federation of Labor has the authority and power to revoke the charter of any central or state body, providing they violate the laws, customs or traditions of the American Federation of Labor without regard to the number of locals affiliated. Under the amendment the property reverts to the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Furuseth made a statement in which he called attention to the fact that many central bodies own labor temples.

President Green: The Chair would desire to explain briefly that under the present section of our law there is no provision which would give the American Federation of Labor any authority to take up the property of a disbanded central body or state federation; there is no provision as to where such property would go. The amendment offered will clarify that situation by providing that the property of these disbanded organizations will revert to the American Federation of Labor, the same as the property of disbanded federal local unions.

Delegate McCullough, International Typographical Union, in discussing the question, said in part: First I would like to say that the suggestion made by one of the delegates, that this be written into the charter is not only superfluous but dangerous. If you undertake to write the laws into your charter you are getting into the same predicament that you do when you enact a policy into the fundamental law. Your charter is the grant under which the body proceeds, and it is specifically required that that body at all times obey the laws of the American Federation of Labor, which are easily accessible and do not need to be expressed in the charter.

My understanding of this amendment is that it refers to personal property, the books, the records, and perhaps the funds that are ordinarily under the control of the central body or the state branch. This merely intends to put them into the hands

of the president of the American Federation of Labor, who will be a trustee for them, and I take it, in the event of the restoration of the charter, the president will be only too glad to restore this property.

As far as the labor temple is concerned, I doubt if there is anywhere in the United States a central body duly qualified and incorporated to hold that real property. The holding companies for the labor temples are made up of representatives from the various unions that have subscribed their money to the purchase and erection of the building. That is an organization entirely separate from the central body that is chartered by the American Federation of Labor and the title of that property would still remain in the keeping of the special corporation formed for the purpose of holding that property.

Treasurer Tobin stated that the only purpose the committee had in reporting as it did was to provide that property belonging to the federation will come back to it in case a state or central body has its charter revoked or goes out of business, and the question of a labor temple would not be involved, as it would be in the hands of a separate corporation, as stated by Delegate McCullough.

Vice-President Woll, in discussing the question, said in part: I would like to believe the statements made with reference to the central bodies having merely assets and no liabilities in the event of suspension or revocation of charter; but it must be true that if we claim the right to the assets of any organization chartered under our direction we are likewise responsible for the liabilities that may exist at the time of taking over the assets.

I don't know in what financial condition central bodies are situated, but I do know that a number of central bodies where labor temples are in existence, while they are apparently owned by the separate institutions, the shares in those companies are owned and held by the central labor unions. That is property for which shareholders are liable in some states, and hence we could not possibly escape the liabilities that would accrue with the transfer of stock in labor temples. I am in hearty accord with the recommendation of the committee. It is my suggestion that this convention approve the spirit and intent of this proposal and refer it to the Executive Council in order that we may make a thorough research, be advised on the subject and then make a rule

If I am in order, after making this talk, I move that the convention records itself in sympathy and approval of the principle and purpose expressed in the committee's report, but refers the whole matter to the Executive Council for thorough research, particularly as to the legal phases involved, with authority to the Executive Council to make a rule, binding only if it is practical and feasible from every point of view. (Seconded.)

Treasurer Tobin: Suppose that one of your local unions, through a strike, goes out of business, would your international be compelled to pay the debts of the local union?

Vice-President Woll: We do not, but we are not authorized to take over their property, either. If the word "property" is interpreted to mean records and not physical property, of course, I shall have nothing to say.

Treasurer Tobin: Your substitute would give the Executive Council power to amend this constitution. Under our laws it takes a two-thirds vote of this convention to amend the constitution. You have got to amend it in this convention—you cannot amend the constitution outside of the convention.

Vice-President Woll: This convention by two-thirds vote may delegate the power to amend the constitution in any particular regard to any body of men it sees fit or that it trusts, as long as it is done by two-thirds vote, with power to amend.

Vice-President Wilson said in part: The American Federation of Labor charters central labor unions and state federations. The federation in its constitution provides that the property of a local union directly chartered by the federation shall be the property of the federation in the event of the dissolution of a local union, or in the event of its suspension.

There is practically no difference between a state federation and a central labor union. These organizations are the creatures of the American Federation of Labor, and an institution that is going to assume responsibility must assume whatever responsibility comes with protecting its interests and its property. I maintain that the American Federation of Labor should, by all means, insist that it has full control of all its directly affiliated branches, such as state federations, central labor unions and local federal labor unions in the event of their suspension or their going out of business.

Delegate Kugler, Brewery Workers, stated

he felt there was no need of the substitute offered by Vice-President Woll, that the communication addressed to the committee outlined what should be done in the event local central bodies or state federations were dissolved or suspended. He stated further that the subject had been discussed in the Executive Council, and objected to referring back to that body with power to amend the constitution.

Vice-President Woll: It is not my desire to raise confusing questions. I desired to be helpful, and with that intent I ask leave to withdraw my motion.

No objections being offered, the amendment was withdrawn by Vice-President Woll.

Delegate Perkins, Cigar Makers: I see considerable merit in the proposition of the Committee on Laws, and possibly some danger. In order to obviate the apprehensions of the delegates here as to the legal possibilities and limitations, I am going to offer this amendment to the committee's report. That after the words "property shall revert to the American Federation of Labor" the words "to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor," be inserted.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Connors, Switchmen.

President Green: I merely wish to make the explanation that, in my judgment, there will be no objection on the part of the committee to incorporate such an amendment in its report. That is merely my opinion, however.

Delegate Furuseth: The use of the word "property" leaves you just exactly where you are now, even with the amendment, and you are up against a question here of the actual property such a body may be the owner of; in other words, the labor temple question sticks out there again just the same way. Unless you limit the word "property" to mean charter and records, I most seriously doubt the wisdom of this proposal.

The amendment offered by Delegate Perkins was carried, and the report of the committee as amended was adopted.

President Green: It is plain the report has been adopted by more than a two-thirds vote of the delegates in attendance.

To Amend Constitution to Require Affiliation of Locals with Central Bodies as a Condition for Representation in State Bodies
Resolution No. 64—Delegate Philip Rohr, Central Labor Union, Atlantic City, N. J.:

WHEREAS, We feel that Article 11, Section 10, under caption, Local Central Bodies, does not include department known as State Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That "shall not be eligible to membership in any State Federation of Labor, unless affiliated with their Local Chartered Central Labor Union," be added to said section.

The American Federation of Labor is endeavoring, year after year, through the international unions, to have all local unions chartered by international unions, affiliate with central and state bodies. Considerable progress has been made along this line.

We feel it would not be in the best interests of all concerned to change the present law, and therefore your committee non-concurs in the resolution.

Chairman Tobin: Your committee desires to state that the American Federation of Labor is endeavoring, year after year, through the international unions to have the local unions affiliate with the central and state bodies. Considerable progress has been made along this line. We feel, however, it would not be to the best interests of all concerned to change the present law, and for that reason your committee non-concurs in the resolution.

Delegate Rohr, in discussing the question, said in part: We have had considerable trouble in this state. It seems to me the opinion that was expressed about half an hour ago was a great deal different than it is now with regard to affiliation. We have had experience in our state federation for the last five years in bringing in a resolution of this kind. The first and second year it was adopted, but ignored. One of the largest organizations affiliated with the state federation said if this resolution went through, after going through two previous conventions, they would withdraw from the state federation. We feel that if the central bodies and state federations are to function properly they must get together. If some cases you have to whip people into line to join local unions, why not do the same thing here?

Chairman Tobin: The resolution in substance means this: That all the local unions that are now in the state federations that are not affiliated with the central bodies shall be thrown out of affiliation with the state federations. I suppose if this were

adopted it would work the other way, and where locals are in the central bodies and not in the state federations, they would be thrown out of the central bodies.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Henry F. Hilfers of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor:

Amend Article 14 of the Constitution by adding new section to read as follows:

State Federations and Central Bodies may admit to membership Women's Trades Union Label Leagues and Women's Auxiliaries of bona fide trades unions affiliated and represented to State and Central Bodies.

Such Women's Trade Union Label Leagues and Women's Auxiliaries to be entitled to one delegate with voice and vote.

On the above resolution, your Committee gave the matter considerable thought, and we believe that it would be unwise and too far-reaching to charter, or to permit recognition with voice and vote, to organizations that are not regularly chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and in the case of Ladies' Auxiliaries this is too far-reaching and may in time bring about considerable dissension. It would also mean that ladies who are not members of trade unions, but are relatives or friends of members of trade unions, could form auxiliaries and apply for admission in central and state bodies with the right of voice and vote, and if written into the constitution it would be compulsory on central bodies and state branches to admit said auxiliaries.

Your Committee believes that such a proceeding would be unwise and therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

Delegate Hilfers, New Jersey State Federation of Labor: The Executive Board of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor went on record to seat women's auxiliaries and the Women's Label League in the convention with a voice but no vote. That was adopted by the convention in its early stages, but later on a resolution was introduced providing that they be seated with voice and one vote. Action on the previous resolution was rescinded and this resolution was adopted. I realized when I introduced this resolution here that it had no chance of receiving the approval of the committee, but I simply performed a duty that was imposed upon me. I am in favor of women's auxiliaries, but they should not be eligible to membership in the American Federation of Labor, and could not be given the same privileges as bona fide labor organizations composed of wage workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Amend Constitution Governing Remuneration of A. F. of L. Organizers

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate John J. Hynes, of the International Association Sheet Metal Workers:

The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be ten dollars per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of eight dollars per day when away from their home city except when, in the judgment of the Executive Council, such salary and expense allowance is inadequate for the services rendered. In such cases the Executive Council are authorized to add to the salary and allowance herein cited such sum as in their judgment is advisable. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

The introducer of the resolution, when appearing before your Committee, requested that where the words "salary and" appear, they be stricken out. It would make the resolution then read as follows:

To Amend Constitution Governing Remuneration of A. F. of L. Organizers

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate John J. Hynes, of the International Association Sheet Metal Workers:

The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be ten dollars per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of eight dollars per day when away from their home city except when, in the judgment of the Executive Council, such expense allowance is inadequate for the services rendered. In such cases the Executive Council are authorized to add to the allowance herein cited such sum as in their judgment is advisable. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

Your Committee believes that wherever a legitimate expense has been shown to the Federation officials by an organizer, that is, where the money has been spent in the interests of the Federation, it has been the policy to pay such expense.

Therefore, we believe that there is no need of writing this into the law, because of the fact that it may have a tendency to encourage expenditures which would amount to more than that now stated in the constitution.

Your Committee therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Tobin: This completes the report of the committee which is signed:

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
DENNIS LANE,
WILLIAM QUINLAN,
A. J. KUGLER,
ROBERT FECHNER,
JAMES P. HOLLAND,
THOMAS McMAHON,
WILLIAM McHUGH,
FRANK DOYLE,
M. B. TAYLOR,
WILLIAM J. TRACY,
GEORGE JONES,
CHARLES ANDERSON,
Committee on Laws.

The report of the committee as a whole, as amended, was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce that at the request of the president of the American Federation of Labor, President Jewell of the Railway Employees' Department, and Vice-President Ryan of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and President of the International Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, have worked out an arrangement which will provide for an extended visit of that group of the visiting German trades unionists representing transportation and the transportation industry.

President Jewell has arranged with the representatives of some of the large transportation industries to extend to the visiting German delegates every facility to investigate the working conditions of the men employed in the shops and transportation lines of our country. They have agreed to cooperate with us in extending every facility possible so that the most thorough investigation may be made.

Following is the itinerary of the delegation representing the German railway employees: Hermann, Jochade, Secretary of the United Railroaders Union of Germany.

F. Scheffel, President of the United Railroaders.

Dr. O. Iserland, German Transport Workers.
Fritz Muntner, Municipal Railway Employees.

Accompanied by:
B. M. Jewell, President Railway Employees Department, A. F. of L.
Leave Philadelphia, 8.45 P. M., Train No. 17, B. & O., Sunday Oct. 11th.
Arrive Cumberland, 4.13 A. M. (Parked), B. & O., Monday, Oct. 12th.

Visit B. and O. Shops
Leave Cumberland, 1.35 P. M., Train No. 11, B. & O., Monday, Oct. 12th.
Arrive Cincinnati, 2.00 A. M. (Parked), B. & O., Tuesday, Oct. 13th.

Gibson Hotel

Visit Railway Clerks—Pattern Makers.

Molders—Headquarters

Leave Cincinnati, 6.00 P. M., Train No. 33, Big Four, Tuesday, Oct. 13.

Arrive Indianapolis, 8.30 P. M., Train No. 33, Big Four, Tuesday, Oct. 13.

Hotel Severns

Visit Teamsters' Headquarters

Leave Indianapolis, 2.45 P. M., Train No. 19, Big Four, Wednesday, Oct. 14th.

Arrive St. Louis, 8.50 P. M., Train No. 19, Big Four, Wednesday, Oct. 14th.

Statler Hotel

Visit Railroad Telegraphers' Headquarters and Bank two days.

Leave St. Louis, 11.55 P. M., Train No. 25, C. and A. Railroad, Friday, October 16th.

Arrive Kansas City, 7.35 A. M., Train No. 25, C. and A., Saturday, Oct. 17th.

Baltimore Hotel

Visit Carmen, Boilermakers, and Pullman Conductors Headquarters and Kansas City Union Terminal Station—Two days.

Leave Kansas City, 11.15 A. M., Train No. 23, C. B. & Q., Monday, Oct. 19th.

Arrive Council Bluffs, 6.20 A. M., Train No. 23, C. B. & Q., Tuesday, Oct. 21st.

Leave Council Bluffs, 7.42 A. M., Train No. 12, C. & N. W., Monday, Oct. 20th.

Arrive Cedar Rapids, 3.05 P. M., Train No. 12, C. & N. W., Monday, Oct. 20th.

Hotel Montrose

Visit Railway Conductors Headquarters

Leave Cedar Rapids, 10.05 A. M., Train No. 26, C. & N. W., Tuesday, Oct. 26th.

Arrive Chicago, 3.55 P. M., Train No. 26, C. & N. W., Tuesday, Oct. 21st.

Morrison Hotel

Visit Railway Employees Department, Blacksmiths, Commercial Telegraphers, Signalmen, Dispatchers, Headquarters. Railroad Labor Board, Chicago Union Station, Chicago Northwestern Shops and Chicago Street Railways—Six days.

Leave Chicago, 11.45 P. M., Train No. 16, Michigan Central, Monday, Oct. 26th.

Arrive Detroit, 7.15 A. M., Train No. 16, M. C., Tuesday, Oct. 27th.

Tuller Hotel

Visit Maintenance of Way and Electric Street Railway Employees' Headquarters, also Detroit Municipal Street Railways—Three days.

Leave Detroit, 11.00 P. M., Train No. 88, N. Y. C., Friday, October 30th.

Arrive Cleveland, 3.30 A. M., Train No. 88, N. Y. C., Saturday, Oct. 31st.

Cleveland Hotel

Visit Locomotive Engineers, Locomotive Firemen, Railroad Trainmen's Headquarters, banks and attend meeting Railroad Organization Chief Executives—Three days.

Leave Cleveland, 11.50 P. M., Train No. 16, N. Y. C., Monday, Nov. 2d.

Arrive Buffalo, 4.20 A. M., Train No. 16, N. Y. C., Tuesday, Nov. 3rd.

Statler Hotel

Visit Switchmen and Longshoremen Headquarters, Niagara Falls and Canadian Electric Water Power Development—Two days.

Leave Buffalo, 11.50 P. M., Train No. 48, N. Y. C., Thursday, Nov. 5th.

Arrive New York, 9.30 A. M., Train No. 48, N. Y. C., Friday, Nov. 6th.

Commodore Hotel

Visit Grand Central Electric Terminal Stations and Pennsylvania Station.

An announcement was read to the effect that all representatives of state federations and city central bodies would meet on Tuesday evening at the Strand Hotel at eight o'clock to discuss the subject of workers' education, the officers of the Workers' Education Bureau to be present to discuss problems of the organization and extension of educational work.

President Green announced a meeting of the representatives of national and international unions and others interested in the subject of the organization of the women workers at eight o'clock, Tuesday evening, in the Sun Parlor of the Strand Hotel.

Delegate D'Alessandro, Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers: I move that the rules be suspended, and that when we adjourn it be to reconvene at two o'clock Monday for the Gompers Memorial Service, and for nothing else. (Seconded).

Delegate Shanessy, Barbers: A point of order, Mr. Chairman. This convention took action to have a special order of business at 10 o'clock Monday morning.

President Green: A suspension of the rules would change that.

Delegate D'Alessandro: Monday is a legal holiday in most of the states, and I do not see why labor men should work on that day. For one, I will not work. I think we should have the Gompers Memorial in the afternoon, but we should adjourn for the forenoon out of respect for the man who discovered this country and we received the benefit of it.

The motion offered by Delegate D'Alessandro was lost, and at 12.30 o'clock p. m. an adjournment was taken to 9.30 o'clock a. m., Monday, October 12th.

Seventh Day--Monday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 12, 1925.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 o'clock a. m., President Green in the chair.

Absentees

Myrup, Franklin, Dohney, Quesse, David, Coulter (C. C.), Conway (H. J.), DeRaay (Edward), Rosemund (C. L.), Knott, Feeney (F.), McAndrews (J. J.), Snow, Baer, Simister, Lucchi, Sigman, Kreindler, Antonini, Perlmutter, Dubinsky, Marshall (H. S.), Bock, Hill (C. E.), Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Redding, Pattison, Crough, Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Farrington, Golden, Parker (M. H.), Mitchell (M. W.), Funder Burk, Manion, Alexander, O'Connell (J.), Jewell, Nigro, Allen (G. H.), Hall (E. G.), Ely, Nelligan, McAndrew (J. J.), Steadman, Kelley (J. R.), Nelson (O. F.), Patton, O'Dell, Long (C. D.), Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Walsh (T. F.), Hughes (F.), Bower, Reed (C. L.), Vaughn, Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Trimmer, McGeary, Tinney, Carrozzo, Shafir, Abrams, Ruben, Effrat, Geyer, Rogers (J. P.), Simons, Blackman, Camous, Miller (A. M.), Tracy (E. J.), Portway.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read telegrams and communications signed by the following persons and organizations, seeking the 1926 Convention of the Federation for their respective cities: L. T. Budge, President of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16812; Charles S. Janis, Business Representative of Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers' Union No. 1; R. J. Wilhoit, Business Representative of Sanitary Workers' Union No. 663, all of Detroit, Michigan; R. P. McCowan, President of the Civitan Club, and the Kiwanis Club, of Birmingham, Alabama; J. L. R. Marsh, Secretary of the A. F. of L. Convention Committee, of Sacramento, California.

Secretary Morrison read the following letters and telegram:

"Mr. William Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor.

"The Twelfth National Recreation Congress now in session at Asheville, North Carolina, under the auspices of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, sends cordial greetings to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"More recreation of a helpful kind has been secured in America during the past few years because of the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor. Boys and girls have more joy, and men and women enriched lives, because of your whole-hearted cooperation.

"You have worked with us to prove in

your own words, that leisure and recreation are 'something more than desirable luxuries, that they conserve the creative resources of our people.' May we in the future continue our joint efforts.

"JOSEPH LEE, President,
"Playground and Recreation
Association of America."

"Wm. Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor,
"Convention Hall, Atlantic City.

"Very sorry unable to attend your convention. Have requested George Berry, Past National Vice-Commander, to represent the American Legion. Heartiest greetings and best wishes for a most successful convention.

"J. R. McQUIGG,
"National Commander,
"The American Legion."

"My dear President Green:

"I am certain you will join with me in sorrow and grief at the sad news we have just received from home that our very excellent secretary, Fred Bramley, passed into the great unknown on Friday night.

"He had been unwell for some time, and I may say that only this year we sent him for a long sea voyage in order to secure a recovery, but alas it has not had the supremely desirable effect.

"I shall be pleased if you will see that the convention is duly notified of our loss.

"Mr. Ben Smith joins me in sending you our highest regards and kindly greetings,

"Your sincerely,

"A. A. PURCELL."

President Green: I am confident that all the delegates in this convention share with Fraternal Delegates Purcell and Smith the grief and sorrow they feel because of the death of their fellow officer and co-worker in the British Trades Union Congress, Secretary Fred Bramley. I am advised that he was in attendance at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions when he passed away. While he had been ill for quite a long time his death was rather sudden and unexpected.

I suggest to this convention that as a tribute to the worth of Secretary Fred Bramley, of the British Trades Union Congress, we stand in silence for a moment, and that the Resolutions Committee be directed to prepare and submit to this convention an appropriate resolution through which the convention may express its sympathy and its sorrow. If there are no objections that course will be pursued. Hearing none, it is so ordered. I now call upon the delegates to rise and stand in silence for a moment.

The request of the president was complied with, and the entire delegation stood in silence for a brief time.

President Green: The Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions will please take note of the suggestion made by the chair, and at some time during the deliberations of this convention report to it an appropriate resolution along the lines suggested.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Chairman Hirschberg presented the following report:

October 12, 1925.

We have examined the following credentials and recommend the delegates be seated:

Railway Mail Association—William M. Collins and Henry W. Strickland, 191 votes.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in and the delegates seated.

Delegate Walden, Tobacco Workers, requested and obtained the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate W. R. Walden, Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, As a war measure the Internal Revenue Tax on Tobacco and Cigarettes was greatly increased as were taxes on many other commodities of popular consumption; and

WHEREAS, The necessity for a war tax measure is gradually being rendered needless; and

WHEREAS, The continuance of the increased tax on tobaccos and cigarettes is a burden that does not seem justifiable when our peaceful situation is considered; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Internal Revenue Tax on Tobaccos and Cigarettes be reduced to the pre-war basis; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., does endorse this petition and authorizes its Executive Council, through its legislative committee, to present, and urge the passage of this appeal before the Ways and Means Committee of the next Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

President Green: The Executive Council has submitted a supplementary report dealing with several matters of interest to the convention and to many organizations represented here. This supplementary report will appear in today's proceedings and will be referred to the proper committees.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

To the officers and delegates to the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Fellow Delegates: In the report which we heretofore submitted to you we indicated that it might be necessary to report to you further during the sessions of this convention. We are now prepared to present to you additional data upon several subjects with which our report deals and to lay before you the reports which the American Federation of Labor delegates to the British Trade Union Congress, the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and the Pan-American Federation of Labor have presented to us.

The Executive Council therefore begs to submit the following supplemental report:

Teamsters—Street and Electric Railway Employees

It was impossible to carry out the instructions of the El Paso convention which directed the Executive Council to arrange for the arbitration of the jurisdiction dispute existing between the Teamsters and the Street and Electric Railway Employees. We therefore refer this dispute to the convention for its consideration.

Machinists—Street and Electric Railway Employees

It is very gratifying to report that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees and the International Association of Machinists have accepted the recommendation of your Executive Council for the creation of a conference and adjustment committee as set forth in our report.

Blacksmiths—Street and Electric Railway Employees

We are pleased to report that all questions in controversy between these two organizations have been adjusted and a formal agreement to that effect has been signed by the officers of both organizations.

Bricklayers and Masons—Plasterers

Since coming to Atlantic City, President Green has held repeated conferences with the officers of these two organizations. It is with great gratification that we submit to you the agreement which has been entered into between these two organizations thus ending the long-standing jurisdictional dispute, as follows:

MEMORANDA OF AGREEMENT

Atlantic City, N. J.,

October 2, 1925.

At a conference called by the President of the American Federation of Labor, in which Representatives of the Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada and Representatives of the International Union of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers of America participated, the following agreement was reached:

1. All hostilities existing between the two organizations shall cease immediately.
2. All work shall be resumed at once by the membership of both organizations upon all building operations where satisfactory arrangements are made with building contractors for the employment of members of their respective organizations.

3. The following questions shall be submitted to a tribunal created under the terms of this agreement, the decision of which shall be accepted and complied with by all parties to this agreement.

Was the O. P. & C. F. I. A. justified in

considering the 1911 agreement abrogated after being notified by the B. M. & P. I. U. that they had abrogated the two agreements governing artificial stone and the plastering of walls to receive tile, and would refer these two questions to the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards.

"After being notified by the B. M. & P. I. U. that the agreements governing artificial stone and the plastering of walls to receive tile were considered abrogated and no longer in effect by the B. M. & P. I. U., was the action of the O. P. & C. F. I. A. in establishing locals in the cities and towns in contention in the State of Florida justified or not?"

4. Both parties agree that the 1911 agreement is hereby re-established and it shall be strictly and impartially adhered to. The interchangeable cards shall be immediately resumed and workmen of both organizations shall be given full freedom to work together on any and all operations, as provided for by Section Two of this agreement.

5. A meeting between the Executive Boards of the two organizations, or their duly accredited representatives, with the President of the American Federation of Labor, shall be held at the earliest date possible for the purpose of creating a tribunal to which shall be referred, for final decision, the questions which, by the terms of this agreement, are to be submitted for adjudication.

(Signed) ED. J. MCGIVERN,
PETER G. COOK,
T. A. SCULLY,

Representing the O. P. & C. F. I. A.

WM. J. BOWEN,
GEO. T. THORNTON,
HARRY C. BATES,
JOHN J. GLEESON.

Representing the B. M. & P. I. U.

Approved: WM. GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

REPORTS OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Conforming to established procedure we herewith lay before you the following reports:

Report of Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress

To the Executive Council of the
American Federation of Labor.
Greetings:

Your delegates in accordance with their instructions having attended the Congress of the British Trades Unions, respectfully advise that this convention convened at 12 o'clock noon Monday, September 7th, at Scarborough, England. President Swales, after the usual formalities had been complied with, delivered a most impressive address. Without commenting in detail upon same it is sufficient to advise that his address not only contained an ultimatum that the Organized Workers of Great Britain would refuse to agree to any further wage decreases, but also challenged the employers to attempt it.

The all-important question confronting the workers of the British Isles is the great amount of unemployment that still exists. Despite every attempt that has been made to solve this serious question, there are at present over three and one-half millions of workers out of employment. The General Council in their report set out the various methods they had followed in their attempts to reduce the number of unemployed. They had attempted to have governmental authorities proceed with some large public undertakings in order to have more workers employed, but they had met with little substantial encouragement. The government instead of relieving the situation had made it worse when the fact was disclosed that they had issued orders to close two of the shipyards and to have this work performed by private contract in the future. This presented a serious situation due to the fact that at one point there were no other large industries in the vicinity; this would create a grave hardship upon the workers in that locality, many of whom were paying upon the homes they had purchased counting upon the permanency of the shipyard in that locality.

Considerable attention was devoted to this question as it is one of the principal industries in the British Isles, and any alteration in conditions in the industry would affect the status of a vast number of workers. Because of this and other reasons this report provoked a spirited discussion, led by Brother J. H. Thomas, whom many of you will remember, he taking up the cudgels on behalf of the workers in his usual characteristic manner.

After considerable debate the entire matter was referred to the General Council with full power to act and with instructions to utilize every possible means to have this drastic order rescinded.

The Council further advised that they had been successful in some instances in extending the adoption of the 44-hour week and in others the 48-hour week, also in spreading out the work over a longer period of time in some seasonable occupations.

They also reported upon the many efforts they had made to help secure orders for British made products and to establish and encourage more cordial trade relations with other organized and influential bodies all over the world in order to induce the placing of orders for manufactured products in England.

While all of these efforts did not prove successful, some did, with the result that it brought some measure of relief into the situation that would have proven considerably worse if it had not been for their efforts.

As an indication that industry as a whole is not yet responsive to the aggressive efforts being made to bring about a rising market can be gathered from a report recently made by the British Government that the revenues received by the government fell short of meeting its expenditures by over \$250,000,000 in the first quarter of the current year.

The question of unemployment insurance so intimately connected with unemployment received a large amount of attention.

While this question is of too vast importance to attempt to deal with it in detail in a report of this kind, it is not amiss to advise that our co-workers are in accord with the fundamental principle that unemployment is a direct charge upon industry, and its consequences should be met by industry. They are confronted nevertheless with the pride and independence of the individual worker who scorns charity, but does desire his opportunity to work. This, in addition to the greed of the short-sighted employers, makes it difficult to work out a method that will do justice to both sides. It is a most difficult problem, one that they are making every effort to solve. Any effort that is made to better the conditions of the workers without destroying their initiative and independence is worth while, and their efforts in this vital matter deserve our most careful consideration.

Owing to the multiplicity of unions in this country, many of these contending with each other for the workers in some given industry, the question of jurisdiction gives rise to many complaints. The General Council in accordance with previous instructions is attempting to amalgamate many of the organizations but is not meeting with much success. This is a very grave problem here, one that will have to be settled in a very decided manner if the organized movement of this country is to attain the success it is entitled to.

The advocates of the ONE BIG UNION, although in the minority, were exceedingly active and staged several sharp skirmishes, but of no avail. The net result of their efforts was the passage of one resolution that will prove of rather doubtful value.

The discussion on the Russian situation resulted in much debate. With it was interwoven the question of affiliation with the various internationals. After long discussion a few resolutions were adopted that called for closer affiliation of the workers of all countries to protect their interests. In the debates that occurred the question in the foreground was the organizing and confederating of the workers. Little attention was given to the Soviet form of government, the vast majority of the delegates appearing to be of the opinion that the citizens of each country had the right to favor any form of government that they believed was for their best interests.

One of the most interesting reports was one presented by the General Council on the question of organizing the farm workers. Their report developed the fact that in one campaign during the past summer conducted by the Council, acting under instructions of a previous convention, had succeeded in organizing over 10,000 of such workers. Their efforts were rather handicapped by the fact that three different organizations contested for jurisdiction over these workers. The opinion seemed to prevail that if these organizations could compose their differences much greater progress could be made. Their report was evidence that this class of workers could be organized, and there is no doubt that the organizing of this large group will have a marked effect upon the future policies of the British Trades Unions.

The matter of compensation payable to injured workers was one that was given considerable attention. They have many admirable provisions in their law, and it is encouraging to note that they are meeting with considerable success in pressing new amendments more favorable to the injured workers.

From the activity displayed when questions affecting the women workers were discussed there is no doubt that they were an aggressive element in the movement. Many measures are introduced and approved, having for their aim the betterment of these workers. They are confronted here, as elsewhere, with the age old fallacy that women working side by side with men workers in an industry are not, on account of their sex, entitled to receive the same rate of pay. In this struggle the women have the wholehearted support of the organized movement, and they are rapidly breaking down these artificial barriers. Miss Margaret Bonfield, as in the past, is taking a very active part in every movement affecting the status of the women workers.

Several resolutions were introduced condemning wars and the methods by which it was alleged that wars were brought about. In the debates on these resolutions it was made clear to the onlooker that there is a widespread desire on the part of labor in this country to have the workers of the world unite for the purpose of opposing any future wars, except they be for the sole purpose of repelling an invader. Its horrors and casualties are still fresh in their minds, and they are naturally sympathetic and friendly to any proposal that will tend to eliminate the possibility of any future wars.

One of the pleasing matters that was brought to our attention was the fact that there is owned, published and controlled by the British Trades Unions a daily newspaper called "The Daily Herald." It is now two years old and has a circulation of upwards of 400,000. It is the ambition of the General Council to see that every union worker enrolled is a subscriber, and while they are having an uphill fight in educating the majority of the workers to the fact that labor, if given support, can publish a newspaper as good as any subsidized corporation can. However, from all appearances they are winning out in this struggle. The organized movement of America could with profit follow in their footsteps.

Many attempts were made to inject political matters into the industrial situation, but all such attempts failed, as a sharp distinction is made here between both, and all political questions are promptly referred to the Labor Party Conference.

This proposed conference is the next important meeting in labor's affairs in this country, one that will be called upon to decide many questions, not the least of which is a proposal to increase the dues now being paid by Trades Unions for their affiliation with the Party to three times the present amount. The adoption of this amendment, which appears to be certain at this time, is expected to produce over \$1,500,000 each year to be used as election expenses.

One of the illuminating and significant

incidents of the convention was the reception accorded the former Labor Premier—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald—upon his appearing on the third day of the convention. He was greeted by the most enthusiastic and sustained applause tendered to anyone at the convention. It was interesting to your delegates because it was his first appearance in public, thus giving us the opportunity of gauging the sentiment of the delegates toward him as a leader, also affording us the chance of finding out what they thought of him personally. Significant because many newspapers and magazines in our country have rather belittled him, and by the tone of their articles conveyed the impression that he had lost favor with the workers. That this was not the case was amply demonstrated by the demonstration that was tendered to him upon his first appearance. There is no question but what he has a strong hold upon the affections of the organized workers, and can command their support when same is required.

The huge amount of work that was accomplished in a week's time is ample evidence that every delegate was on the job and working all the time in all the discussions that took place. At no time was there any pessimism displayed or expressed; rather a hopeful spirit prevailed. While it was true that there was a large amount of unemployment there was no discouragement shown; rather there was the feeling that better times were just ahead of them and that the best way was to keep on planning and fighting, and if need be some more fighting and then good times were bound to come; it was the do or die spirit that if continued in, will surely bring them success.

The action of our Government in establishing offices in Great Britain providing opportunities for visitors and emigrants of passing their examinations for admittance to our country before sailing, thus avoiding delay at Ellis Island, has created a very favorable impression. The procedure to be followed as announced in the cutting out of all the red tape will do much to make the path of the intending home seeker a smooth one.

The Department of Labor is to be congratulated upon this, their most recent innovation.

Your delegates were received in a most hospitable and kindly manner, no effort was overlooked to make our stay a most pleasant one. Every courtesy was extended to us to see and hear everything that might be of interest or of advantage to the cause that we represented.

Our sincere thanks are due to the Officers and Delegates of the British Trades Union Congress for a most pleasant and profitable reception.

Fraternally submitted,

A. ADAMSKI,
EDW. J. EVANS.

Report of American Federation of Labor
Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian
Labor Congress:

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Can-

ada for 1925 was held in Ottawa beginning August 31.

The deliberations while international were nevertheless distinctively Canadian. That is to say, they largely followed the economic activities of the A. F. of L. and the political methods of the British Trades Congress.

The opening ceremonies were honored by the presence and speeches of welcome by Dominion, provincial and municipal officers. Premier W. L. Mackenzie King (well known in these United States), delivered a forceful address upon the relationship of government to labor from his viewpoint, which was well received.

Soon, thereafter, as your delegate, I was introduced and then and afterwards got receptions, which clearly showed the high estimation in which the American Federation of Labor is held by our neighbor to the north.

The report of the Executive Council, 49 printed pages—book size—was very interesting, dealing with such subjects of a legislative nature as: limiting the hours of labor to eight a day and forty-eight a week; insurance for unemployed persons; immigration and emigration; old-age pensions; election act amendments (this comprehended proportional representation, election day to be a holiday, repeal of provision prohibiting trade unions from giving a candidate for election any financial assistance); betterment of the industrial disputes act; injunctions; fair wage act; abolition of their Senate as a non-elective body; government to strengthen its affiliation to the International Labor Organization at Geneva and to the League of Nations; political rights of Dominion and provincial office holders; registration of union labels; an independent tariff commission, labor to be represented; to discontinue payments of subsidies to the Royal Mail Packet Company and favoring Canadian government merchant marine steamers built in Canada and manned by Canadians; to repeal the sales tax; to encourage the development of cooperative societies, to all of which the Premier had promised further and better consideration by ministers of departments and by the government as a whole.

Education was dealt with in an encouraging way; compulsory education for children; raising the school age to 16; free school books; continuation classes; technical schools; vocational education and training for apprentices. With respect to adult education, it, to a greater degree than other forms of education, had to depend upon voluntary effort.

On public ownership our Canadian brothers are quite advanced. The people of Canada through their respective municipal, provincial and federal governments have evinced a faith supported by a strong conviction in the principle of collective ownership, as distinguished from private or corporate ownership of some of the most important public services. Upon this subject there are: Canadian National Railways; Canadian government merchant marine; the Dominion Government owns six canal systems, 42 fish hatcheries, 5 harbors in their 5 chief cities with cold storage plants and elevators in those harbors, electric energy

from water power is owned in three Provinces, telephones are government owned in four Provinces, several Provinces have their own railways, workmen's compensation in Ontario and several other Provinces is regarded as a great government accident insurance scheme. In addition to these activities, the Canadian government has given constant attention to the development and care of public highways over which motor traffic is increasing and becoming the chief means of transportation.

The Nova Scotia mining dispute received special mention, bringing out a statement that it was a lockout and not a strike for the subject was a proposed reduction in wages. The terms of the settlement were given with a proviso that unsettled questions between the two parties were to be referred to and adjusted by a commission of inquiry.

Old age pensions are to be dealt with by Provincial and Dominion representatives with a view to secure consent of the Provinces for a joint Provincial plan.

It will be noticed that in Canada they have also a twilight zone to overcome, between Dominion restrictions and the authority of the Provinces, the same as we have between our Federal government and states' rights.

In the Canadian Trades Congress they have unemployment in summer months to be adjusted as well as in winter time, and although no practical action has yet been taken by the government, union members are contending that the remedy is unemployment insurance. Here, again, they have the government twilight zone to overcome.

Injunctions are not issued so plentifully now in Canada in labor disputes, but they happen at times especially in Montreal, but their judges have held in cases where they are asked that injunctions shall not issue to prevent peaceful picketing.

A ruling of the Canadian Immigration Department overrules objection of its own and other officials to admitting into Canada trade union officials to assist their members involved in a trade dispute. Such decisions influenced by the officers of the Canadian Trades Congress prove the efficiency of the organization and its trade union officials.

The quota provision in the U. S. immigration law was severely criticized by several delegates. They favor, and it is a healthy thought, that restrictions at the boundary line should have been liberalized instead of extended, owing to the similarity of interests, but they also realize that the north and south boundary lines needed the same regulations and that it was because a number of other nationalities enter into Mexico and scamper north across the line that the restrictive provision called the quota rule was made to apply to the North American continent. Their remedy as well as their hope to that the U. S. immigration law will be changed, not to apply to native born Canadians and to native born Mexicans.

Interchange of delegates between the U. S. and Canada is more than fraternal, it is instructive and constructive. We may learn from them and they from us. For in-

stance, their rules provide that resolutions or constitutional amendments must be sent in nearly three weeks before Congress meets so that they may be properly arranged for committee or Congress consideration. This also adds to care in preparing them. It also speeds up the work of the Congress. After Congress meets, only some belated act could be cause for introducing it then, and it is subject to being ruled out on a single objection. The good sense of the trained men and women making up the Congress permits any reasonable belated resolution to be introduced and considered.

There were 77 regular resolutions and 7 constitutional amendments treated. The amendments mainly had to do with taking the appointment of committees from the President to the Congress. A cumbersome and impracticable method, the more so as the President's appointments are submitted to and need approval of Congress. Amendment defeated.

The resolutions varied much as ours do in A. F. of L. conventions. Many of them, therefore, were familiar to me. Some of them constructive, others in the unco-profounda class; for instance, one called for the government, both Dominion and Provincial, to declare by law for and to name wage rates in trade agreements. The dear brothers who bethought such an idea no doubt favored the supremacy of politics. It did not occur to them that difficult as they and we find the road to real progress through our voluntary and collective agreements, it would be next to economic suicide to hazard the essential of a change of law to permit of the increased rate to be available. Of course the Congress treated the subject as a veritable nightmare.

The resolutions dealt with such subjects as: a standard code of building laws; objection to spraying machines in painting—this as a health measure; inspection of boilers by boilermakers instead of by machinists; workmen's compensation commission in industrial accidents to be empowered to establish a system of compulsory insurance; one day off in seven; requesting the government to enact legislation whereby employers would be compelled to give workers two weeks' vacation with pay each year; nationalization of coal mines, and natural resources to be operated under national control; industrial organization of all workers—defeated; one big union—defeated favoring a five day work week to help relieve unemployment; abolition of private employment bureaus and recognition only of union or government agencies; to shut off all immigration while the unemployment situation exists.

These are samples of the work of the Congress. The resolutions committee had a tough job (they always have), but it arose to the occasion in man fashion and its report was not only accepted but highly appreciated excepting by a few.

Tom Moore is a wise, judicious, clear-minded and fair President and presiding officer, always trying to guide deliberations and conclusions into the proper channel. He is a great asset to our movement. As for his side-partner, P. M. Draper, Secretary-Treasurer, he is the altogether. He has been

so long with them he does not remember when he began. Apart from his official work he speaks as fluently in French as he does in English. His delivery is perfect in both languages and his vocabulary is enviable, hence he is loved as well as admired.

I addressed the Congress at the appointed time telling of our progress, our woes, of holding and sometimes increasing wages and of bettering our conditions as workers. In fact and in short, I told them of our own movement as I know it. I even gave a synopsis of favorable legislation enacted and of bad bills defeated and which story of itself would make an interesting book if it were all told. This phase was necessary as the British fraternal delegate, Mr. Walkden, in speaking would, and did emphasize that they had members in Parliament to enforce their program. This was loudly cheered while I sat wondering if the program was "enforced" and even if so, if it much helped the wage rate? I was willing to compare activities and conditions of our methods and theirs.

In conclusion, I regret C. H. Moyer could not go to Canada as fraternal delegate after being our choice at El Paso, but I tried to say the things he would have said. I hope his health and conditions of the industry over which he presides will long warrant continuation of the hard work which for many years has reflected his activities.

I appreciate the honor of representing the A. F. of L. in the Congress of Canada and at the request of the latter I transmit to you its appreciation of the close relationship between the two organizations.

Respectfully and fraternally,

JAMES DUNCAN,

Fraternal Delegate.

REPORT OF THE DELEGATES FROM THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR TO THE PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION

The Fourth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor was called to order by President Samuel Gompers at 4:30 p. m., Wednesday, December 3, 1924, at the Amphitheater of the National Preparatory School, Mexico City, Mexico.

President Gompers appointed Delegate Ricardo Trevino, Frank Morrison and Eduardo Moneda on the Committee of Credentials.

Peter Grassmann, representing the trade union movement of Germany, addressed the convention.

Brother Juan Rico was introduced by President Gompers as the official spokesman of the Mexican Federation of Labor. He welcomed the delegates in the name of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

In responding to the various addresses of welcome, President Gompers said, in part: "We are still in the infancy of the movement of the organized workers, or to organize workers of the Pan-American countries.

When in any one of these countries, if we can help them to plant the seed of organization and bring about a feeling and a consciousness among the working people of these countries that they must strive and strive, and if necessary sacrifice, to organize, we are doing a duty to ourselves as well as to them. It is not necessary for the Mexican Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor to pledge to each other assistance, unity and brotherhood; that pledge has been given long ago. That pledge is now more firmly established than at any other time in the history of our movement."

Luis N. Morones, Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor, then addressed the convention. Mr. Morones declared that the Mexican trade union movement considers itself joined with the present Mexican Government in purpose, as well as in responsibilities. "We are likewise disposed to render all possible assistance to the trade union movement of other countries that might need it," he said.

With reference to Communist activities in Mexico, he said, in part: "That the American Federation of Labor, the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Central and South American Trade Union movements affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor will continue their efforts to organize and coordinate the labor forces of the Western Hemisphere, while the eternal critics and demagogues, who would solve the problems of humanity with their theoretical, spell binding orations, continue to insult and to criticize us, instead of cooperating in some way to the realization of our program. . . . This plague of men is found in all countries, and as a rule they cover themselves with the mask of hypocrisy, and style themselves radicals to deceive working people; but with regards to our own trade union movement in Mexico we are determined to defend its integrity and personality with the utmost energy, and without paying attention to the ridiculous performances of the gentry I am referring to."

The Congress adjourned at 7:30 to meet December 4, at 10:30 a. m.

On Thursday, December 4, 1924, morning session, the Credential Committee made their report and the following delegates were seated:

"American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, James Duncan, Frank Morrison, Matthew Woll, John Frey and Martin F. Ryan.

"Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (Mexican Federation of Labor), Juan Rico, Eduardo Moneda, Luis N. Morones, Ricardo Trevino and Fernando Rodarte.

"Federacion Obrera Nicaraguense (Nicaraguan Federation of Labor), Rogelio de la Selva, Narciso Aguilar, Victor Mercado, Salomon de la Selva and Apolonio Palasio.

"Federacion Obrera de la Republica de Panama (Panama Federation of Labor), Modesto A. Castillo, Ramon Gonzalez O., Marco A. Posada, Enoch Adames V., and Ricaurte L. Bernasconi.

"Hermandad Comunal Nacionalista de Santo

Domingo (Dominican Federation of Labor), Dr. F. Ellis Cambiaso.

"Your Credentials Committee have also examined the credentials of Tomas S. Gonzalez and Alfredo Cifuentes, representing the "Unificación Obrera Cooperativista" of Guatemala and recommend that they be seated as fraternal delegates with voice."

Delegate Santiago Iglesias was seated as a delegate representing the Porto Rico Federation of Labor, with voice and vote.

Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, addressed the convention at length.

President Gompers appointed the following committees:

Committee on Rules: Matthew Woll, United States; Juan Rico, Mexico; Victor Mercado, Nicaragua; Modesto A. Castillo, Panama; Martin F. Ryan, United States.

Committee on Resolutions: James Duncan, United States; Luis N. Morones, Mexico; Enoch Adames V., Panama; Rogério de la Selva, Nicaragua; F. Ellis Cambiaso, Santo Domingo; John P. Frey, United States; Eduardo Moneda, Mexico; Santiago Iglesias, Porto Rico; Fernando Rodarte, Mexico.

Mr. A. B. Swales and Mr. C. T. Cramp, Fraternal Delegates to the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor from the British Trade Union Congress, addressed the convention.

In response to addresses by Brother Cramp and Brother Swales, of the British Trade Union Congress, President Gompers stated that the problem with which we are confronted in the Western Hemisphere is one which requires much of our time. There are several countries in Pan-America in which for two or more men to quit work, or to organize for the protection of their interests is a crime, as it was just a little more than a hundred years ago in England. The rights of labor as we know them in the United States and Canada and Mexico are denied. Either one will be entirely free or will be entirely a slave. We have determined, so far as humans may be in a position to determine, that the day of slavery and peonage has come to an end for all time.

The Congress recessed at 12:50 p. m. to reconvene at 3:30 p. m. at the National Museum.

The Committee on Rules submitted their report, which was adopted.

On Saturday afternoon, the Report of the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, covering the period from January 1, 1921, to November 30, 1924, was read to the convention.

On Monday morning, December 8, owing to the illness of President Gompers the Congress was called to order by Delegate Morrison.

The following resolution containing a dec-

laration of principles introduced by your delegation was adopted unanimously:

"WHEREAS, The Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized for the purpose of establishing liberty and justice for those who toil in industry, and to cement the bonds of fraternity which should unite the trade union movements of the Western Hemisphere, and as the experience of the organizations composing this Federation has taught their respective members that the application of certain principles and policies is essential both to their welfare and that of this Federation; be it

"RESOLVED, That in the establishing of those conditions for which we are united and in the application of our purposes and ideals, that we now declare and place upon our records those principles and policies which we consider fundamental.

"Political freedom and equality is the first step in giving liberty to those who toil, but this freedom and equality when achieved has not and cannot save the toiler from injustice and exploitation. Political institutions which enable free men to make the laws of the state which govern them, cannot serve all purposes or solve all human problems.

"So long as free men work for their daily bread, whether as employees in private industry or employees of the state, their status as workers will be determined by the strength, intelligence and activity of their economic organizations, more than by any other factor.

"The law may declare that men are free, but the existence of freedom will be found only among those who are determined to protect and to exercise this basic human right. The law may declare that industrial wrongs shall not exist, but the printed page is not sufficient. Those who toil must have within themselves the power to declare and decide that injustice shall cease. They have this power in the principles, policies and methods of the trade unions which compose the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

"We hold that the principle of self-government by free people and the principle of self-government in industry are one and identical, the first functioning through political institutions and the second through those industrial institutions which trade union movements have established. Through these two institutions each acting within their proper sphere, civil and industrial democracy is made to function continuously, so that in civil life and in industry there shall be no rule, regulation, law or authority except by the consent of the governed.

"Men are not and cannot be truly free, regardless of their full measure of political liberty, unless industry presents an equal opportunity for self-expression and self-government.

"In the same manner that men established free political institutions so that tyrants could no longer exploit them, the trade union movement established an institution of industrial freedom which enables the men and women of labor to overcome and destroy tyranny in industry and establish in its place liberty, justice, equality and fair dealing between all those who participate in the production of wealth.

"We urge upon the affiliated organizations and upon the labor movement everywhere the importance of encouraging education and of

self where there is ignorance. The more highly our civilization is developed, the greater education. It is a fundamental fact that democratic civilization cannot fully express itself insisting upon a full opportunity for education to every child and every adult worker. We are convinced that education cannot reach its fullest development until the representatives of our trade union movement participate in the development and administration of the inventive genius of our people, the more highly developed our industrial processes become, the necessity for greater knowledge and understanding on the part of the workers becomes more essential. Our movement cannot succeed in its great purpose without well organized militant strength.

"It can not hope for success unless this militant strength is guided by a sound knowledge of the facts and the principles which must govern men, if equality of rights and justice is to prevail. We therefore declare it to be our solemn obligation to do all that lies within our power to foster and develop education through every legitimate channel available and to participate in the administration of public education and foster within our respective movements, in cooperation with this Pan-American Federation of Labor, educational services, which will enable the toiler to more thoroughly understand his problems.

"We regard as essential the extension of democracy in industry. We declare our unalterable opposition to interference in the problems of industry by forces outside of the industrial field and therefore incompetent to deal with its problems. We urge upon the labor movement everywhere the extension of the practice of negotiation between the workers and employers, and the entering into of collective agreements regulating the terms of employment. We hold this to be fundamental in the development of democracy in industry. We hold that in no other way can such democracy be established and developed.

"We declare our sincere desire to assist the trade union movements of all the countries and to maintain thoroughgoing, practical, fraternal relations with them.

"We hold it as a fundamental principle that the organized wage earners of each country are better qualified to determine the methods and policies most advantageous to them in extending the beneficial influences of their organization. We hold that there exists no right upon our part to interfere with the policies of the labor movement of any country. We hold it equally true in principle and in practice that the labor movement of no other country has a right to interfere or attempt to interfere with the methods and the policies which we shall adopt for the strengthening and development of our trade union movement.

"Those from other countries who have endeavored to force their policies, programs, and principles upon us have worked greater injury than the most powerful combinations of anti-trade union employers in their efforts to rouse suspicion and division. Hiding behind the hypocritical mask of friendly interest they have striven to divide and discourage. To establish doctrinaire policies they have sought to destroy the trade union movement.

They have sought to destroy institutions which they lacked and the constructive ability to create.

"In defense of our rights, in defense of the trade union movement which we have established, we pledge ourselves severally and jointly to resist with all of the vigor and the resources at our command any and every attempt on the part of some other labor movement to interfere openly or covertly with our affiliated organizations, or attempt to dictate or determine the policies which shall govern us.

"We now declare that it is essential to the success of this Pan-American Federation of Labor that its policies and programs should be established only through mutual agreement.

"This Federation has a right to existence only because it will be of practical service to the workers. The aim of this Federation must be to define and establish those principles, programs, procedures and tactics upon which full and cordial agreement can be secured. Nothing could be more destructive of our purposes and our ideals than to permit the spirit of coercion and compulsion to enter into our deliberations and our conclusions. The great strength which this Federation can develop must exist wholly through the free consent of those who participate. There may be matters regarded as essential by some but not by all, and where such conditions arise, the final decision should be held in abeyance until understanding and experience have developed agreement among us. We are convinced that any attempt to force principles, policies or tactics upon minorities in an international federation of labor such as this must lead to the destruction of those fraternal bonds which now unite us. In like manner every attempt by minorities, through strategy or otherwise, to force their decisions upon majorities must be equally fatal.

"We do not base our hope upon theoretical doctrines or the doctrinaire.

"Our hope for today and the future is based upon the application of the principles and the methods of democracy, to the solution of all of the problems with which we are compelled to deal.

"These principles and policies can only be of practical value to the toilers when their trade union organizations have the strength to give them practical application. The success of this Federation will depend upon its ability to place these principles and policies into full effect. To accomplish this we must extend the influence of this Federation until it includes in its membership all those who toil. In the interests of human liberty and justice we call upon all wage earners of Pan-American countries to rally to the standards of trade unionism, to organize in unions of their trade and calling, to unite and solidify the forces of all wage earners, and under the banner of the Pan-American Federation of Labor advance the aspirations and enlarge the participation of Labor in all lands in the movement to establish industrial justice. With the object of extending the beneficial influence of this Federation, we pledge ourselves to do all within our power to set into action a vigorous campaign of organization, and to give encouragement and be mutually helpful

in carrying into effect this fixed determination."

In addition to the above declaration of principles, the Congress acted on the following subjects:

Opposition to secret treaties and calling on the governments of the United States and Panama to give all publicity to the tentative treaty that is now pending between these countries.

Pledging full support to the Government of Mexico and recommending that all labor organizations of the American Continent support the Mexican Government and to aid the Mexican Federation of Labor in refuting propaganda against said Government that is disseminated by enemies of the wage earners.

Establishing of a permanent organizing staff for Central and South American countries, contingent upon the progress made in organization work and securing the necessary funds.

Urging governments of all Pan-American countries to attach representatives of the organized workers to their Consular Service "to give expression to the human side of the industry of a nation."

Urging the governments of Pan-American countries to reorganize the Pan-American Union that it may truly represent all the citizenship of the several countries and that within such representation the representatives of organized labor shall be included.

The Congress pledged its support "to those governments of the American continent which may show a tendency to bring about improvement in the condition of the workers."

"That this Congress believes that the national trade unions which compose it shall not intervene in any religious or doctrinal discussions or struggles, except when, under the guise of religious or sociological or political propaganda, efforts are made to mislead the working masses from their legitimate trade union activity."

The Congress pledged the Pan-American Federation of Labor to aid "every genuine labor effort made to dethrone tyranny and to destroy dynastic or group privileges in the American governments."

The Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor was instructed to take such measures during the coming year as will bring the workers of the different seaports of this continent into greater unity.

The American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor were requested

to communicate with their affiliates with the object of establishing an interchange of membership cards between said affiliates.

The following report of the finances of the Pan-American Federation of Labor from January 1, 1921, and ending November 30, 1924, was accepted and ordered printed in the proceedings of the Congress:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, January 1, 1921	\$ 2,696.45
American Federation of Labor, per capita tax	19,996.00
Mexican Federation of Labor, per capita tax	4,375.00
Dominican Federation of Labor, per capita tax	250.00
Total Receipts	\$27,317.45

EXPENDITURES

Office rent	\$ 1,320.00
Printing proceedings	1,428.43
Printing	395.90
Stationery and office supplies	326.47
Telegrams and cablegrams	1,188.67
Postage stamps	224.44
Underwood Typewriter, repairs and rent	109.84
Stenographic and clerical help	277.50
Taxes to District of Columbia	34.22
Fowler Manufacturing Co., towel service	43.40
Loan to Delegate Carlos Estrata M., of El Salvador	25.00
Transportation and traveling expenses Secretary C. A. Vargas	2,501.17
Salary, Secretary C. A. Vargas	14,280.00
Salary, Secretary Chester M. Wright	4,900.00
Miscellaneous expenditures	49.30
Total expenditures	\$27,109.34

RECAPITULATION

Receipts	\$27,317.45
Expenditures	27,109.34

Balance on hand December 1, 1924...\$ 208.11

The following officers were elected for the ensuing term:

President, Samuel Gompers.

Vice-President, Luis N. Morones.

English Language Secretary, Chester M. Wright.

Spanish Language Secretary, Canuto A. Vargas.

Treasurer, Matthew Woll.

It was decided to hold the next convention in Washington, D. C.

In carrying on the work of the convention, your delegates were assigned as follows:

Samuel Gompers, President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

James Duncan, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Frank Morrison, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, and member of the Committee on Officers reports.

Matthew Woll, Chairman of the Committee on Rules, and member of the Committee on Officers Reports.

John Frey, member of the Committee on Resolutions.

Martin F. Ryan, member of the Committee on Rules and member of the Committee on Officers Reports.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES DUNCAN
FRANK MORRISON
MATTHEW WOLL
MARTIN F. RYAN
JOHN P. FREY.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN, President
JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President
FRANK DUFFY, Second Vice-President
T. A. RICKERT, Third Vice-President
JACOB FISCHER, Fourth Vice-President
MATTHEW WOLL, Fifth Vice-President
MARTIN F. RYAN, Sixth Vice-President
JAMES WILSON, Seventh Vice-President
JAMES P. NOONAN, Eighth Vice-Pres.
DANIEL J. TOBIN, Treasurer
FRANK MORRISON, Secretary,
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Some time ago the President of the American Federation of Labor received a most cordial invitation to attend and deliver an address at the annual convention of the American Legion, which convened in Omaha, Neb., last week. Because of the fact that the convention of the American Legion met on the same day as the convention of the American Federation of Labor, it was humanly impossible for the President of the American Federation of Labor in person to attend the Legion's convention.

I am sure that we all deeply appreciate the very cordial invitation that was extended to the President of the American Federation of Labor. Inasmuch as it was impossible for me to attend I requested President Berry, of the Printing Pressmen's Union, and a Past Vice-Commander of the American Legion, to attend the convention of the Legion and serve not only as the representative of the President of the American Federation of Labor, but to convey to the delegates attending that convention the fraternal greetings and best wishes of the American Federation of Labor.

President Berry performed this mission and is here this morning. It is mighty

pleasing for me to be advised by the newly elected Commander of the American Legion that the Legion has requested President Berry to serve as the American Legion's representative in conveying to this convention the greetings and well wishes of the American Legion. It is a great honor, indeed, it is a manifestation of the confidence and the esteem in which Major Berry is held by the officers and members of the American Legion. We are gratified to know that a member of our great movement, the President of the organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has been permitted to serve in this double capacity.

I am therefore glad to present to you Major George L. Berry, the representative of the American Legion and President of the Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.

Address of Major George L. Berry

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen of the convention: I have been commissioned, as has been stated by President Green, to transmit to this convention of the American Federation of Labor the felicitations of the Commander of the American Legion, the Executive Committee of the American Legion, and the well wishes of the ex-service men and women of the World War. As has been stated, it was my pleasure last week to transmit to the convention of the Legion the greetings and well wishes of the American Federation of Labor.

The only reason that the Commander of the Legion, General McQuigg, is not here is because he was only elected to that position on Friday afternoon and was compelled to go into session immediately with the national executive committee, made up of representatives from each state of the Union. You know, of course, that the Commander of the American Legion is elected annually and no man is permitted to serve more than one year.

General McQuigg, the new Commander, instructs me to say to this convention that it is his intention to pursue the same policy of friendship and cordiality that has been manifested in the conduct of the office by the Commanders of the past, and I direct your attention to the fact that the outgoing Commander, General Drain, the Commander preceding him, Colonel Owsley, and the Commander preceding him, Hanford MacNider, of Iowa, have all indicated their sympathy and their understanding of the American labor movement, and during the periods of their respective administrations proved to this great movement of labor that they were not only in harmony with our movement, but contributed much to the cause of the American Federation of Labor.

I feel that the new Commander will pursue the same course. I likewise feel that the American Legion, as a whole, intends

to pursue the same course in the future as they have in the past, in giving to the American Federation of Labor every assistance within the power of and coming within the purview of that great organization. You know it is the easiest sort of a thing for the American Legion to proclaim their affection and regard for the American Federation of Labor, and likewise it is the easiest sort of a thing for the Federation to indicate its interest in the Legion. But, my friends, things have happened which must disabuse the minds of those who are skeptical with regard to the attitude of these two great organizations toward each other.

The Legion, by unanimous vote of its convention, decided to associate itself with the American Federation of Labor in the proposition of eliminating illiteracy in America. The American Legion convention determined, with you, to eliminate if possible the causes of illiteracy—one, to stop the exploitation of children in factories and shops; the other, to establish a scientific immigration law to the end that we might, within an early period, eliminate the illiteracy of this country.

In order that you might know of the genuineness of the Legion's purpose I call your attention to the fact that they unanimously endorsed the position of the American Federation of Labor on child welfare and the constitutional amendment prohibiting child labor in America, and whatever influence they were able to bring to bear as a new, young organization they brought to bear in that campaign, and I am here to say to you that the American Legion has not changed its attitude with reference to child labor and with reference to the constitutional amendment that intends its elimination.

Second, the question of Americanism. The American Legion joined with the American Federation of Labor and you, in turn, in saying that it proposes to bring home to the American people the truth with reference to America. The Legion believes that there is nothing wrong with America. Whatever there may be wrong in our country is the result of the people, and not of the form of government nor of the possibilities of this great nation. The Legion has very emphatically said that it proposes to give to the people of America that great educational advice to which this Federation has been bending its efforts, to the end that everybody may know the truth with regard to America, its respective responsibilities as individual citizens, as well as the rights of individual citizens.

Of course the American Legion and the ex-service men and women of America will adapt themselves without reservation to the position of the American Federation of Labor that there is no room in America for Sovietism or Communism. As a trade unionist and as an ex-service man I read with profound interest the statement of the distinguished President of this great organization on this question when I arrived here yesterday. We all know that there is not that state of perfection in America that we would have, but we do know that we

have the instrumentality of free men, with a great economic power back of us to remedy, in the course of time, any defects of which we may complain, and the American Legion joins with you in the proposition that it will associate itself with every forward looking American to the end that there shall be no revolution in America this day, tomorrow, or any of the other days during the life of the American Legion and of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Legion directs me to say to you that they are appreciative of the fact that the American Federation of Labor joined with them in the great national endowment drive, just completed, a drive to raise five million dollars, the interest from which is to be used to give attention and care to the disabled veterans of the world war, one-half of which is to be used to give attention to the dependent boys and girls of the veterans of the world war. The Legion has elected to set up a structure from which the interest of these five million dollars shall go forth to give educational advantages to not only the dependent boys and girls of veterans of the world war, but to give attention to boys and girls dependent in America to the fullest extent of the income from that money throughout eternity.

I am glad to say to you that the Legion appreciates feelingly the great fight that the American Federation of Labor has made to give to the children of this country the opportunity of the sunlight, of the schools, the opportunity to develop a higher standard of citizenship, and the Legion, in order that its position might not be misunderstood, has raised this money and proposes to use the interest therefrom throughout the ages in helping the American Federation of Labor to develop real manhood, real citizenship, through the instrumentality of better educational opportunities in our country.

The Legion is grateful to the American Federation of Labor for its endorsement of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial School at Valdosta, Ga. It believes that in this memorial to the Past Commander of the Army and Navy, the Chief of the Veterans of the World War, and the President of the United States, the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor find a community of interest in this school which will adequately memorialize that great friend of labor and that great Commander of the expeditionary forces during the world war.

The Legion further directs me to say to you that it will associate itself, through its legislative committee at Washington, in the future as it has in the past in meeting those problems in which you are interested and in which every American is interested.

It is good to be able to say that the legislative committee of this great World War organization at Washington has never failed to give sympathetic attention and consideration to the wishes of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor. We hope that that same principle, that same sentiment will continue as it has in the past, manifesting its soundness and its practicability.

I am glad, as an ex-service man and as a representative of labor, to bring this message to you, this greeting from the millions of ex-service men and women of the world war, and to wish for you, as their commissioner upon this occasion, the greatest happiness and success as the great labor movement of America, represented in this most remarkable convention.

Mr. President, accept from the new Commander these assurances of cordiality, these assurances of sympathy and respect, and let me say to you that it would seem that Ohio is about to monopolize all of the Presidents and Commanders. We discovered a few days ago that the Commander of the Spanish-American War Veterans comes from Ohio; we discovered some time ago that the President of the American Federation of Labor comes from Ohio, and now the American Legion comes along and selects General McQuigg from Ohio. If these three Ohioans can't get along, then there is something wrong with Ohio.

Greetings to you from the American Legion and best wishes!

President Green: I am sure that we feel glad indeed to receive this message of felicitations and these expressions of good will from the representatives of the American Legion. We thank Major Berry for the service he has rendered in representing the American Federation of Labor at the American Legion convention, and we are more than gratified indeed to have listened to this splendid address this morning.

President Green announced that the hour for the special order of business, pursuant to the motion adopted at the Saturday morning session, had arrived, and called upon the Committee on Resolutions to come on the platform.

Report of Committee On Resolutions

Delegate Matthew Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Official Changes

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 14, 30 and 31, the committee reported as follows:

The opening section of the E. C.'s report expresses in simple trenchant phrases the dominating thought in the minds of the delegates to this forty-fifth convention. The hand that held the gavel in all but a single convention since 1886, and the watchful mind of the architect of our American Federation of Labor are not visibly with us. Though the El Paso convention was overshadowed by the realization of the change impending, we could not anticipate how deeply our labor movement would be shaken

when Samuel Gompers obeyed the compelling summons of Death. In all ranks of Labor, both in this country and abroad, the personality of Samuel Gompers typified the high crusading ardor of the labor movement and his name was synonymous with the principles of the American trade union movement. As the Executive Council so well declares: The death of such a leader was necessarily a test of the enduring qualities and structure of our organization.

That our movement has continued with unchanged purposes and with undiminished vigor is evidence of the soundness of the leadership of Samuel Gompers.

The manner of his passing was in every detail dramatic in its appropriateness. He was stricken down while at the capital of the neighboring republic where he had gone to share in an epochal constitutional event and where he was to preside over the sessions of the international organization through which the principles of trade unionism are extended throughout the American continents. His creative vision had enabled him to guide in the development of a trade union movement adapted to American conditions and needs, to help in the adoption of its fundamentals to meet the needs of a Latin-American nation and to extend the same principles to service as wide as the vision of humanitarianism that impels men to strive for developing the channels of fellowship between men of all of the nations.

His was a crusading spirit whose ardor and faith remained undimmed until the end. The American labor movement gave him love and reverence, that we can best express by keeping the faith even as he kept the faith.

We commend the Executive Council for so fully interpreting the feeling and the wishes of American trade unionists in taking charge of all funeral arrangements and the executing of plans with distinctiveness and fitting honor to the services and achievements of our Great Chief who was not only a great labor leader but a great American.

His was the spirit of the pioneer, the man with vision and courage to blaze the trails that others may follow safely and surely.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SAMUEL GOMPERS' MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 31 and 32, the committee reported as follows:

We unreservedly commend the action of the Executive Council in authorizing the Samuel Gompers' Memorial Committee and recommend that the committee proceed carefully and with deliberate consideration in order that the memorial may best fit the service of our departed leader and great love with which all workers hold him in reverent memory. We think it wise to make no specific recommendations in order that the committee may be guided by the results of its investigations.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NEW ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 32, the committee reported as follows:

We note with approval the summary which the Executive Council presents upon progress in industry toward better informed management. Sustained industrial progress and regular employment are incompatible with production control without plans based upon exact information and previous experience. Research in the industrial field represents continuous inquiry for new information and its application together with testing of existing methods and processes. However great technical improvements in production processes there is always some strategic point where the worker must control and make decisions.

Production is a group undertaking. It involves finding the best ways for the group to work together. This is the field of personnel relations research. It is of the utmost importance that the trade union should be adequately represented in this field in order that technicians and research workers may at all stages have their attention called to the functions of the trade union and that this necessary agency may be taken into consideration in the development of policies and not have to contest for a place after conclusions are formulated. Trade unions, which represent the cumulative experience of many workers and many

years have a most important contribution to make to this developing field.

Management is giving increasing attention to the need for benefiting through the cooperation of their employees—not a few of them are making the mistake of substituting welfare methods and agencies for functional agencies and a cooperation that represents the initiative of the workers themselves.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NEW LABOR PROBLEMS

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 33, the committee reported as follows:

Organizing work in the labor movement is confronted by new problems created by changing managerial policies. While an increasing number of industrial managements are appreciative of the necessity and wisdom of having the cooperation of their employees in production, not all realize that effective cooperation must be based upon frank recognition of the interdependence of interests of all groups in the undertaking and the right of each group to participate through an organization of its own creation and directed in accord with its own judgment as directed by past experience. In other words, such organizations must have the authority that grows out of genuineness of purpose and voluntary action.

Our organizers must be able to set forth the constructive possibilities to trade unions and to show where substitutes fall short. We commend the work reported by our Executive Council looking toward making the necessary data available.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TRADE UNION STATISTICS

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 33, the committee reported as follows:

As a basis for planning organization work, exact trade union statistics are indispensable as measuring rods in estimating the job and to test the results of specific methods. We hope that the American Federation of Labor will continue to improve trade union statistical information and to make the data available in periodic reports.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMPANY UNIONS

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 33 and 34, the committee reported as follows:

Company unions express the unwillingness of employers to trust in free expression of the will and opinions of employees for the best interests of all concerned.

Company unions give an apparent form of representation without the substance and virility necessary to make that representation expressive of group will. They express the fundamental distrust in democracy and ignore the volitional basis of cooperation. However, employers are spreading the fiction that company unions are necessary to provide channels for cooperation between management and employees in production problems.

We commend the wisdom of our executive officers in getting under way plans to gather the necessary information for refutation of this contention and to disclose how best to meet this issue in our organizing work.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

EMPLOYEES' INSURANCE

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 34, the committee reported as follows:

Another method by which some managements have warded off organization of employees into bona fide unions is company insurance. By this manifestation of interest in the welfare of workers, these managements hope to buy the loyalty of their employees. Such "loyalty" can not have the intrinsic quality of loyalty to an understanding that represents an expression of self-initiative and joint creation.

This discrimination has led our trade unions to consider plans to develop our union benefits upon an actuarial basis so that our trade unionists may participate in the economies of cooperation and the saving of charges for expensive overhead, collections and high salaries paid by old line companies.

We note with approval the progress of national and international unions in organizing a Union Labor Life Insurance Company to serve trade unions and their members.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

EMPLOYEE OWNERSHIP

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 34, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption our Executive Council calls attention to a developing problem due to the effectiveness of our trade union policies—the problem of workers' investments.

Employee ownership of stock in the industrial undertaking which affords them employment has been heralded as industrial democracy as has increasing diffusion of stock ownership. Some companies have arranged special terms to encourage employees to buy company stock and thereby to create an additional tie between the worker and the company.

In purpose this method is of the same genus as company unions—an attempt to forestall virile trade union movement.

We concur in the recommendation of the Executive Council that this consideration be given to finding the extent of employee ownership and the control accompanying such membership. This information is necessary for the protection of wage-earners against misleading propaganda and indicates the way to constructive planning.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR BANKS

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 35, the committee reported as follows:

We note with satisfaction that the American Federation of Labor is now engaged in gathering information on labor banks. Data in this important development should be in a central office freely available to labor banks and for the guidance of groups contemplating organization of new banks.

However, we feel it our duty to call attention to the grave responsibility assumed by those who entered into these undertakings. There is more at stake than the launching of a business enterprise. Security of the funds of trade unions which are the sinews of organization, maintenance and advancement is involved. Banking success

requires more than good-will and a desire to serve. It is dependent upon technical advice and informed creative wisdom.

We submit this emphatic caution because we appreciate the potentiality of labor banking and wish to promote its wise development.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

UNION-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 35 and 36, the committee reported as follows:

Most fittingly the Executive Council completes its discussion of new economic problems with a presentation of the constructive services of the union. After collective bargaining has been established, it is then possible to develop the procedure and technique for dealing with problems of mutual concern. The principle of collective bargaining is put to continuous service when confidence is established and there are agencies for doing equity to all groups. Efforts to improve production methods and eliminate waste must be accompanied by reasonable assurance of regularity of employment.

We recommend endorsement of the satisfaction expressed in the principle of the Baltimore and Ohio development and recommend the pamphlet Union-Management Cooperation by B. M. Jewell and O. S. Beyer, Jr. to the study and consideration of all trade unionists.

We also approve the recommendations that our national headquarters keep in touch with technical experts and engineers in order that the experience of management-cooperation with trade unions may be put at the service of all concerned with production problems.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WAGES

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 36, the committee reported as follows:

We recommend endorsement of the statement of the Executive Council on wages. We hold that the best interests of wage earners as well as the whole social group are served, increasing production in quality as well as quantity and by high wage stand-

ards which assure sustained purchasing power to the workers and, therefore, higher national standards for the environment in which they live and the means to enjoy cultured opportunities. We declare that wage reductions produce industrial and social unrest and that low wages are not conducive to low production costs.

We urge upon wage-earners everywhere that we oppose all wage reductions and that we urge upon management the elimination of wastes in production in order that selling prices may be lower and wages higher. To this end we recommend cooperation in study of waste in production which the assay of the Federated American Engineering Societies covering important industries has shown to be 50% attributable to management and only 25% attributable to labor with 25% attributable to other sources principally managements in industries producing commodities for any single industry under consideration.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Frey, Molders: I move as an amendment to the committee's report that the following be added "Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wage, the purchasing power of their wages, is advanced in proportion to man's increasing powers of production. (Seconded)

Chairman Duncan raised the point that the motion offered by Delegate Frey was not an amendment, but an addition to the report. Delegate Frey then offered it as an addition to the report, and in discussing the question said in part: My purpose in submitting this is because of my belief that the time has come when the position of the trade union movement on the question of wages should be more clearly defined, its philosophy stated and the principle upon which it rests more fully understood.

The first statement of wages that was ever made came from an economist who was positive in his conclusions. When Adam Smith laid down his law of supply and demand he furnished the employers of his generation with what seemed to them a conclusive argument, and when labor demanded higher wages the employers showed them the irresistible law of supply and demand which made it impossible for industry to pay more than it was paying.

Later on John Stuart Mill gave the workers and the employers the "iron law of wages," and again the employers presented wage committees with irresistible proof that it was

impossible to increase wages because it would destroy industry. But labor, driven by the spur of necessity, whipped by the lash of industrial justice, continually endeavored to secure a little more of the value which they were creating in the form of wages. The labor movement of Great Britain proved the economists were not to be relied upon when it came to formulating the economies upon which wages should be based.

In this country and in this movement we have used terms which were not wholly satisfactory. I have recalled when we spoke of a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, but we never could discover what the fair wage was or what the fair day's work might be, because we differed with our employers. Only within recent years many of our representatives adopted a still more unsound statement of the basis on which wages should be computed—a living wage. I don't know what a living wage is. I am quite sure that the wages the workers in a turpentine camp might consider a living wage would be starvation wages in New York City. It is unfair that we should base our wages on our own conception of our cost of living rather than upon the value of what we are creating.

Another conception was accepted by certain people in this country, and that is that the worker is entitled to a full return for the value of his services to society. That does not mean anything definite. It merely means that what may be worth so much today would be the basis of our wages, but it might not be worth anything a month from today, or it might be worth more because of some change in our industrial processes. So the time has come when our movement in this country should have a more definite understanding of what the underlying principles will be upon which we will endeavor to secure wages.

A short time ago the Secretary of Commerce issued a statement showing that from 1919 to 1923 the production in our American industries increased nine per cent. The census bureau informs us that during the same period the number of those employed in industry decreased three per cent; so that during this brief period of four years our capacity to produce has increased almost eleven per cent. And why? Because of the greater use of white coal, because of the more scientific arrangement of power units, because of inventions of machinery and because of improved methods of marketing. If we continue to increase our capacity to produce as we have since the beginning of the war, unless

we are able to consume a much larger proportion of what we produce than we are doing at present, all of these improved methods of production are working to our injury.

In this addition which I have offered to the report of the Committee on Resolutions, I have incorporated this thought: That the power which nature furnishes must be reflected in the wages we receive in addition to the actual manual and material work which we give to industry, and it is for that reason—because I believe the time has come when we must restate our philosophy of wages and the principle upon which it rests that I have submitted this addition.

Secretary Woll, in explaining the position of the committee, said in part: I would ask the introducer of the addition to the committee's report if he will not amend his own suggestion by adding another essential element in the matter of wages, and then continue with his suggestion. The Executive Council's report deals solely with the question of the reduction of wages; it is not intended to lay down a theory or school of wages. It deals solely with the attempts made toward the reduction of wages.

The amendment offered seeks to adopt a theory or school of wages known as the productive school of wages. I shall have not a word to argue against the need of such a declaration, but unless it is modified in the committee's report it will stand as the sole principle of economics binding this Federation in the matter of wages, and I for one am unwilling that we should adopt a declaration which will adhere strictly and solely to the productive wage theory; because while I believe we should profit as increased power of production increases, I do not believe that is the sole theory or that we ought to confine ourselves to that school in the matter of wages. Indeed, I am led to believe that the less we have to do with theory in these matters the better off we are, because we find ourselves confronted with all sorts of conditions, circumstances and environments, and we find oftentimes that theory will lead us nowhere, while our crude judgment expressed in trade union activities has gained more for us.

Delegate Frey: I do not accept the suggestion of the secretary of the committee; I desire to make no modification or addition to the statement I have presented.

Delegate Lynch, International Typographical Union: As it impresses me, the productive power in this super-age in which we live,

this abundance which we are enjoying, is due to a very great extent to labor saving machinery and the effect of labor saving machinery will not be regulated entirely by the wage. This definition should include not only increases in wages but also be accompanied by further reductions in the hours that the wage earners work. If we are to continue with the eight hour day and also continue with the perfection of machinery, then the increase in wages will not relieve that condition and it will be of little value to the wage earners who are thrown out of employment by the continued increase in labor saving machinery. My suggestion would be that it include not only the suggestion for constantly increasing wages but also the suggestion for a constant and continuing reduction in the number of hours that make up the work day.

Delegate Frey stated that he was in complete accord with the statement of Delegate Lynch and added that in this present era of super-production we should have more leisure than ever before, but he was not prepared to state the hours of labor must be reduced, but, regardless of the increased leisure which labor should enjoy, there must nevertheless be the principle upon which wages should be based, and that was the only subject he was dealing with. He stated further that he was not in agreement with the position assumed by the committee, and he desired to have the addition he had offered to the report acted upon without amendment or change.

Delegate Lynch: I move to insert after the word "advance" the words "and an continual reduction in the number of hours making up the working day." (Seconded by Delegate McCullough)

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee, stated that he agreed with the suggestion made by Delegate Lynch, and that he had practiced it in his own trade union. Continuing his argument he said in part: It is true that the wage question has come down to us from the past as a way to compensate men for labor performed; but in the developing age in which we are living and which we aspire to there will be a cooperating system which will give the producer a greater proportion of compensation for that which he produces than can be expressed in the word "wages." I am heartily in accord with the statement made by President Lynch, and I hope that Secretary Woll will insist upon his amendment to the addition offered

by Delegate Frey to the committee's report, because in that way we will be continuing the spirit of evolution which belongs to the trade union movement, and without which we would be declaring ourselves in favor of something which in the future we cannot entirely carry out.

Secretary Woll: I move that this whole subject be referred back again to the committee having reported on this matter, and that it bring back a further report in view of the discussions having taken place. (Seconded and carried).

Contempt of Court

Several bills were introduced to prohibit injunctions in labor disputes, but they all died in committee. The Supreme Court decision providing for jury trials in contempt cases growing out of labor disputes was said to have had an influence on the failure to act. The bills presented, however, were not satisfactory to labor.

On the above section of the report of the Executive Council the committee reported as follows:

We are gratified with the failure of the unsatisfactory legislative proposals. We urge continuation of efforts to assure jury trials for all contempt cases except those occurring in the presence of the court.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Furuseth, who opposed the report of the committee.

Delegate Frey: I feel that the committee's report is a most dangerous one in that it has failed to clearly announce the principles involved, and that we are putting ourselves in the position of destroying the necessary powers of equity in the adoption of the report. I believe the matter should be given further consideration by the committee. I therefore move that the report be referred back to the committee for further consideration. (Seconded by Delegate Olander).

Delegate Lynch, Typographical Union, and Chairman Duncan opposed the motion to refer back to the committee. The motion to refer was lost.

Secretary Woll spoke at length in support of the report of the committee.

Delegate Frey, Molders, opposed the report of the committee in the form presented.

Delegate Olander, Seamen, endorsed the position taken by Delegate Frey, and discussed the subject of contempt and injunction in labor disputes at some length.

Delegate Walker, Illinois State Federa-

tion of Labor, spoke in favor of adopting the report of the committee as the wisest course to pursue.

The question was further discussed by Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee; Delegate McCullough, International Typographical Union; Delegate Furuseth, Seamen; Secretary Woll and Delegate Lynch.

President Green said in part: The committee is dealing with a section of the report of the Executive Council which deals with contempt cases arising out of labor disputes. There is nothing in the Executive Council's report that refers to contempt case growing out of any other disputes which may arise in society. The committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to secure a trial by

jury where any member of organized labor is charged with contempt proceedings committed outside the presence of the court.

The question for the convention to decide is whether or not it favors the report of the committee and continued efforts on the part of the Council to secure trials by jury instead of trials by the judge in contempt cases where it is alleged the contempt is committed outside the presence of the court. Do we prefer a trial by jury in these cases to a trial by a judge who issued the injunction? If we favor a trial by jury we will support the committee's report. That is all there is to it, and that is the interpretation the Chair places upon the committee's report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

At 12.30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2.30 p. m. of the same day.

Seventh Day--Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 o'clock p. m., President Green in the chair.

THE SAMUEL GOMPERS MEMORIAL

President Green: This afternoon was set apart for the purpose of allowing the delegates in attendance at this convention to participate in a Gompers memorial service. The hour is now at hand for the beginning of the service. We have endeavored to arrange a program appropriate and fitting for this occasion.

Miss Marian C. Jeffries will sing that beautiful song, "Abide With Me." Mrs. J. C. Kline will be her accompanist.

Following the solo, President Green said:

In line with a custom followed and, I think, inaugurated by Mr. Gompers, I now call upon the delegates and visitors to rise and remain standing for a moment in silence as a tribute to the honor and the memory of our departed chieftain.

(The audience arose and stood silently until the drop of the gavel).

PRESIDENT GREEN

It shall be my purpose to call upon some of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention to speak on this solemn occasion. In addition I wish that every delegate and every officer in attendance at this convention might avail themselves of the opportunity to say the words that are

in their hearts and minds. This, of course, will require that our addresses shall be as brief as possible, so that all who wish to speak may have the opportunity to participate in this service.

I think it appropriate to state to the convention that the past year has taken a very heavy toll in the ranks of organized labor. A number of leaders have been called to their final reward. During that time the following, whose names are known to most of us, have passed away: Samuel Gompers, former President of the American Federation of Labor; William D. Huber, ex-President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and ex-Vice President of the American Federation of Labor; Warren S. Stone, former President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; J. M. Dutton, former assistant financier of the Molders; G. W. Pring, former vice president of the Boiler Makers; Thomas J. Holland, representative and organizer for the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers; John J. Hannon, former President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

On this occasion I feel sure that our hearts are solemn and our minds are serious. There is constantly springing up within us feelings that we cannot express in words. Every delegate in this convention, at least nearly every one, feels deeply

touched as he reflects over the pleasant associations which he enjoyed with our fallen leader, the late Samuel Gompers. It is not my purpose as presiding officer to engage in an oration or a eulogy this afternoon.

I attended a service held in his honor and as a tribute to his memory under the auspices of the Boston Central Labor Union shortly after his death. At that time I delivered an address in which I endeavored, as best I could, in my own feeble words, to pay my tribute of respect to his memory.

We think of him now as the one who led us for so many years, and it seems but yesterday that we were in attendance at a convention of the American Federation of Labor over which he presided. And because we can scarcely reconcile ourselves to the fact that he is no more, we bow our heads in sorrow and we participate in the solemnities of this occasion.

I think it appropriate that I should read to you one paragraph of his last message, delivered to the delegates who attended the El Paso convention, it is so striking and so significant. It is as follows:

"Events of recent months made me keenly aware that the time is not far distant when I must lay down my trust for others to carry forward. When one comes to close grips with the eternal things, there comes a new sense of relative values and the less worthy things lose significance. As I review the events of my sixty years of contact with the labor movement and as I survey the problems of today and study the opportunities of the future, I want to say to you, men and women of the American labor movement, do not reject the cornerstone upon which labor's structure has been builded—but base your all upon voluntary principles and illumine your every problem by consecrated devotion to that highest of all purposes—human well being in the fullest, widest, deepest sense."

Samuel Gompers was to the American Federation of Labor what Washington and Lincoln were to the Republic. As Washington was the Father of His Country, so truly was Samuel Gompers the Father of the American Federation of Labor. As Lincoln was the saviour of the Union, so on many occasions Samuel Gompers served as the saviour of our great labor movement during many crises through which it passed. He was the defender of the faith,

a crusader of crusaders, a man with courage which could never be measured, one in whose vocabulary was never found the word defeat, and even now his soul goes marching on.

And it occurs to me that while we pay tribute here this afternoon with bowed heads and solemn hearts we can, in a wider and deeper sense, pay great tribute to his worth, to his name and to his honor by remaining ever true to the principles that he proclaimed and upon which this great monument rests.

The chair will now call upon Secretary Morrison, who served with President Gompers as an officer of the American Federation of Labor, to speak to you at this moment.

FRANK MORRISON

Secretary, American Federation of Labor

I arise today to pay tribute to a great leader, whose courage has never been surpassed and whose success has never been equalled.

He first attracted my attention in particular because he set his face against the efforts that were being made to bring about a general strike of all the trades in sympathy with the A. R. U. strike in 1894.

I met him for the first time in Chicago, in November, 1896, and again at the Cincinnati convention, in December, 1896, over which he presided. From the first of January, 1897, to December 13, 1924, we were the two salaried officers of the American Federation of Labor.

The headquarters of the American Federation of Labor were removed from Indianapolis to Washington, D. C., in 1897. The chart in my report, published in the Executive Council's report, shows that in 1897 the membership of the Federation was slightly over 265,000. Mr. Gompers witnessed with great satisfaction the steady climb in membership to over 4,000,000, and the ever-increasing power and influence of the labor movement in the Congress of the United States and in the State Legislatures, and from that day up to the date of his death, December 13, 1924, we worked in perfect accord for nearly 28 years in carrying on the work of the Federation.

I, therefore, feel that I have had the opportunity to judge of his strength of character, to judge of the elements possessed by this remarkable personality, who passed to

the Great Beyond in the early morning of December 13, 1924, at San Antonio, Texas.

When a man has grown in power and influence in the public eye, everyone desires to know what were the particular gifts he possessed that enabled him to hold the admiration and confidence of the great masses of the workers; to gain such a grip on the hearts and minds of the workers of North America, yea, the workers of the world.

During the period that I intimately knew him, every attack made upon the trade union movement was met by a victorious opposition.

Mr. Gompers had a kindly disposition, a great and gentle dignity, he was a hail fellow well met. He disliked being alone and desired above everything else companionship. His greatest happiness appeared to be when he was actively engaged in the work of strengthening the lines of defense of the trade union movement.

To cite the work accomplished by him would be to write the history of the American labor movement. His influence, his power and personality, were woven into nearly every national and international organization.

Several times during the period in which we worked together he was offered political appointments. The first was when he received the offer of a position on the Industrial Commission in 1898. P. J. McGuire, one of the Vice Presidents of the American Federation of Labor at that time, favored President Gompers accepting the appointment. It was believed that the commission would be a permanent bureau and that with his ability he would be helpful to the trade union movement. At that discussion, it was agreed that under no conditions would he accept a political position, because he could be of greater service to the workers as an officer of the American Federation of Labor. I am satisfied that neither before nor after that time, until the day of his death, was there any position that would have tempted him to leave the presidency of the A. F. of L.

He led the fight for an eight-hour day. He led the fight against the attack of the Anti-Boycott Association, the famous Buck's Stove and Range Company case, which traveled three times to the Supreme Court of the United States, and while he was sentenced on two occasions to impris-

onment for one year, the case was finally dismissed.

He was Chairman of the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee and led the campaign that elected to Congress sufficient labor men, and those who were friendly, to secure the passage of a law establishing a Department of Labor, and the appointment of W. B. Wilson, a union miner, its first Secretary.

He led the campaign to secure the passage of the Clayton Act—Labor's Bill of Rights—which has been modified through judicial decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the early days, he assisted in securing the enactment of laws eliminating the sweat shops of New York. He carried the gospel of trade unionism before civic bodies.

As each year went by, he grew in mental power and influence. He loomed large during the war. As a member of the Advisory Council of National Defense, he safeguarded the interests of the workers.

He appointed three Commissions of Labor Men to visit France, Italy and England. He attended the Versailles meeting and succeeded in having written into the Labor Charter the words: "Labor is not a commodity or article of commerce," which section was afterwards amended by the representatives of all the governments to read: "Labor is not merely a commodity or article of commerce."

Perhaps no man ever received greater praise for work performed than he did during the war, and when the war was over, the great money interests seemed to unite all of the sinister forces opposed to organized labor and launched a campaign of vilification and misrepresentation against the Federation that continued on to the day of his death in San Antonio.

With the death of this matchless labor leader, we witnessed the marvelous spectacle of the press changing its position over night, and instead of misrepresentation and vilification, they gave to him unstinted praise for the achievements that had been accomplished by the American Federation of Labor under his leadership.

During the last few years of his life, he gave unstinted of his waning strength to the cause he loved so well. Notwithstanding the fact that he was unable to read during the last three years of his life, he kept pace with the times by having the news of the labor movement read to him every day.

His marvelous memory, his remarkable knowledge of the world movement was such that except one knew of his infirmity there was nothing indicating that he was working under the handicap of eyes that could not see.

I traveled with him from El Paso to attend the inauguration of Calles in Mexico, and to attend the Pan-American Federation of Labor convention. Delegates here will recall that there was a contest on between Detroit and El Paso for the convention. The holding of the convention at El Paso was favored and planned by President Gompers, for the purpose of holding the two conventions—the Mexican Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, the former at Juarez, and the latter at El Paso, so that they could hold their joint meeting, one in Mexico and the other in the United States. That in itself was an interesting and wonderful gathering, the merging of the representatives of the workers of two countries.

We then traveled to Mexico to attend the wonderful inaugural ceremonies of President Calles in the great stadium in Mexico City. At both the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the Pan-American convention his addresses were full of wisdom and advice for the future.

His fatal illness started on Sunday, December 7, 1924, and on Monday we realized how ill he must be when the bell and a message was given to me, requesting me to convene the Pan-American convention. We adjourned the Pan-American convention on Tuesday, December 9, 1924, and it was decided by Delegates Duncan, Woll, Ryan, Frey, and with advice of physicians that it would be best to start immediately for a lower altitude.

The history of his death at San Antonio, and the marvelous demonstrations that occurred at every stop of the train from San Antonio, to St. Louis, to Kansas City, to Cincinnati, to Washington, and to New York, are fresh in the minds of the delegates.

He died as he had often said to me he wanted to die—in harness. During the period of his illness I never heard from him one word of complaint. His only thought seemed to be that he should be spared to continue the work that he loved so well.

To my mind, his life's service and his passing were ideal. I believe that the

greatest happiness that can come to a man or a woman is that happiness and satisfaction that is secured through service to humanity, freely given, and without hope of reward.

When he died the spirit was strong within him. That spirit has passed, but the memory of this great man, the service he has rendered, will loom up larger and larger as the years pass. When historians secure a clearer insight into his great work, his untiring efforts and his long service for humanity, Samuel Gompers will be classed with those immortals who loved freedom and dared to battle for that priceless boon—Liberty.

President Green: Many of the delegates who attended the El Paso convention still remember the very eloquent address delivered by President Fitzpatrick, of the American Artistes' Federation, when he seconded the nomination of President Gompers. I have asked President Fitzpatrick to participate in this memorial service and he very readily consented to do so. It now affords me a great deal of pleasure to present to you President Fitzpatrick, of the American Artistes' Federation.

JAMES W. FITZPATRICK

President, American Artistes' Federation

It is impossible for men who have lived upon a mountain to properly realize the grandeur of that mountain and appreciate what it really means to the surrounding country and to them until circumstances have driven them forth upon the plain. It is only when they look back that its outlines grow clearer, that its true proportions are sensed and its real value realized. It is only then that we can see each stalwart peak rising to the skies as if to pierce the very heavens themselves with its indomitable purpose. It is only when the chill winds that sweep across the plain freeze them to the marrow, when the scorching sun beats down upon their heads, and the unimpeded storm strikes terror to their hearts that they can at least comprehend what the mountain they have left has really meant to them.

And so it is with us and Samuel Gompers. He was the mountain upon which and near which we lived for almost half a century. We are still too close to the mountain to properly realize what it meant to us and the surrounding country. It seems but a moment ago that he left us. The sound of his

final gavel in El Paso is still echoing in our ears; our hands are still warm with the clasp of his hand; we can still hear his last comradely words to us—"Good luck!" It is only the passage of time and the march of the great labor movement across the plains of the future that will enable us to properly understand what Samuel Gompers did, and that for which he stood, but it is possible to make some small estimate now.

A man must not be judged, nor the life of a man, solely by what he did in that life. One must consider not only the heights to which he climbed but the depths from which he sprang; one must figure the distance he traveled in his allotted time, and I say to you that one of the most stupendous achievements in the career of any man is the life of Samuel Gompers. When we consider that this poor boy began life in the slums of Petticoat Lane in London, not only poor as we understand the meaning of the word, but poverty stricken as only those who have been bitten by poverty know what the phrase means—alone, friendless, without influence, without money, without even the gift of personal attractiveness to lighten the handicap with which he began his race of life—and to think that in the space that he lived he became at its end, not only the associate and the counsellor and the friend of presidents and prime ministers, but better than his position in their minds was the fact that he was, in the eyes of the despairing masses of the world, the one figure to whom they could raise their toil-stained, blackened hands and say, "To you, our friend, we make our last appeal."

He possessed the great gift to walk with kings and princes and not to lose the common touch. No wonder he hated slavery in all its aspects, for he was for the greater part of his life a slave. As a little boy he slaved to carry obligations and family responsibilities which were sufficiently heavy to bow the shoulders of a full-grown man. He slaved to earn the bread and keep the vital spark of life in him, he slaved to secure the mastery of the English language which was his when he died. He slaved in the cause of organized labor. He jeopardized his bodily safety and his personal popularity. He was the living example of what Longfellow meant when he wrote these lines:

"The heights by great men reached and kept

Were not attained by sudden flight,
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night."

In forming our estimate of what Samuel Gompers was I would like to call your attention to two episodes of his closing days. One was the last day of the convention in El Paso, when he knew, I am sure, that it was his last appearance at the forefront of the army of the organized labor movement of this country. Physically broken, with his strength visibly weakened, he stood there on the platform, and for the greater part of his address his words came with faltering vigor; but there were two moments in that swan song of his when the old note rose clear and mighty to the skies, and they were when he said: "It is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all." And the other was when he said, "If the gauntlet is thrown down, let us pick it up and fight, and fight, and fight to the bitter end until the human element in society shall be recognized in its proper relation to the life of our people and of our time."

It was as if, when his human vision was dying, that his spiritual eye had grown bright with the dawn of the eternal morning that was breaking for him in the distance. It was as if above the roar of the ocean on the shores of eternity he sent back to us the message which should be our philosophy and our inspiration for all time to come: "It is better to resist and fail than not to resist at all."

The second episode to which I refer took place on the trip to Mexico City. For those who were many years younger than he, it was indeed a tiring and strength-sapping trip. The long hours across the desert, with the sand beating through the windows, the irregularity of the meals, the discomfort of the rest and all that, had an irritating and depressing effect upon the delegates at large. What it must have been to that old man, with the shadow of the grave already darkening across his face, no one will ever know.

I watched him through the window at one of the stations where we stopped and he was sleeping, and as I looked at him I thought he was dead before my eyes. And the next time I saw him was at the close of the day, when weariness must

have been most heavy upon him, and he made his tottering way through the length of that long train to inquire for the health and the comfort of Charlie Moyer, who was bed-ridden in the last car of that train. It was one of the most striking examples of the unselfishness which characterized his life that he could possibly have given, and it is the memory of those two things that I personally want to keep close and warm to my heart in the future.

Now it is natural for us to wish to raise a monument to him who was a monument to us. And what is that monument to be? Is it to be the customary gesture made by those who are actuated by motives of human respect—a grand and lofty dome of glistening marble and of somber bronze, shining in the rising and setting of the sun? Or is it to be something which Samuel Gompers himself would wish? For those who would erect to his memory the conventional memorial I have this to say: they don't know the man whose memory they are seeking to honor.

The kind of a monument that I would raise to the memory of Samuel Gompers—and when I say I, I think I am expressing the thought of every man within the sound of my voice—would be something quite altogether different. I mean the carrying on of the labor movement which he created and carried on himself for so many years, perfected to the degree which he himself always held in mind. I would have that monument characterized by the two things which I have mentioned in connection with him in El Paso and on the way to Mexico City—courage and unselfishness. I would see the monument which was his life, filled with a greater spirit of courage and unselfishness. I would see it actuated always by the courage which not only is willing to face the enemy without, but, what is far more important, the courage to kill the enemy that is within.

I would have it characterized by an unselfishness which not only includes, with all those who are organized and already in the movement, consideration of those who are yet unorganized. I would have it characterized by a bitter, unending fight against injustice without, and especially within. I would have it marked as its indelible sign, its unerring warfare against the spirit of cynical materialism which has exemplified itself within this movement and which, be-

fore God, I believe to be its greatest menace.

Nobody knew better than Samuel Gompers what the reward was of any man who took upon himself leadership in the movement for human betterment. He knew, as every intelligent man in such a movement realizes from the very beginning, that his reward is more apt to be the gibbet than it is to be the crown, because he has before him the immortal proof that the greatest movement the world has ever seen for the spiritual and temporal betterment of mankind had its crisis in the Garden of Gethsemane and its culmination on the cross of Golgotha.

And so if I were to erect a monument to Samuel Gompers I would have it characterized by the spirit of eternal progress in the cause of justice, and from his mouldering bones I would light a fire that would warm the failing hearts of those who came after him, fire them with his indomitable courage, his unquenchable unselfishness, and with the dead finger of Samuel Gompers I would write upon the souls of every man and woman in the labor movement in words of unquenchable fire this message from him: "We know it is for us to rend the flowery lies from worlds fouled with hypocrisy, and, if needs be, to perish, stoned and blinded in the desert that men unborn may see—to perish, stoned and blinded in the desert, that men unborn may see."

President Green: Samuel Gompers held continuous membership in the Cigar Makers' International Union up until the time of his death. As his name was associated with the American Federation of Labor, in like manner his name was associated with this organization, the Cigar Makers' International Union, during all of his lifetime. You will recall, as you read the records of the succeeding conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the honored President of the Cigar Makers' Union nominated Mr. Gompers for the high office of President. He performed this service, did it well, and always named the man who was to be elected President of the American Federation of Labor.

It is therefore quite fitting that I should call upon Mr. George W. Perkins, of the Cigar Makers' International, to speak to you on this occasion.

GEORGE W. PERKINS
President, Cigar Makers' International
Union

Mr. President, fellow delegates and friends: On this occasion in which we are privileged to participate and give voice to our sentiments, may I say that I do not consider it an occasion for mourning. I know that if Samuel Gompers was with us in the flesh, as I feel that he is in spirit, he would say to us, he would say to me, "Rejoice, not in my passing—mourn as you please for that—but rejoice in the things that the great American trade union movement has accomplished, that movement to which I gave my life and service, serving faithfully, honestly, courageously and effectively with you and others in the building of it—that movement which has brought into the lives and the homes of the toiling masses that degree of comfort and advantage which no other movement could do or has done."

I think it fitting and proper that I may speak of Samuel Gompers as I personally knew him. It was my fortune and privilege to have been socially, officially and intimately associated with him, commencing forty-seven years ago. My mind now goes back to incidents which occurred in the early struggles that make you and I bear tribute and grateful memory to the things that he helped, with his wonderfully effective service, to bring into our lives.

I knew Sam Gompers when the cold winds of autumn blew upon and through his threadbare and well-nigh ragged clothing, but with that spirit and that character which has been so eloquently expressed to you here this afternoon, the bleak winds and the cold blasts of winter could not and did not chill or dampen that ardent spirit which has brought into our minds and hearts inspiration and hope—aspirations that we cannot forget, we will not forget.

It is these things that I cannot mourn, it is these things for which you and I rejoice. He was, as has been stated, the architect and builder of our great movement. And in his work in that connection I am sure that, were he here, he would be angry at me if I did not say that he could not have succeeded, he would not have succeeded, had it not been for the loyal, the helpful and constructive aid of the other men and associates with whom he worked unceasingly, faithfully and effect-

ively all of these years. I am sure that if he were here now he would say, "You cannot pay greater tribute to my memory, to my life's work, than by here and now resolving that we shall continue in the pathway which I helped to blaze in the effort to build up and strengthen the American constructive trade union movement."

He realized, he knew and he proclaimed that if labor and civilization were to continue and prosper, it would be through the constructive trade union movement. He understood the philosophy of the trade union movement, he understood and proclaimed years and years ago this thought: it is the purchasing power of the masses which keeps the wheels of industry turning, and the only way through which and by which the great producing masses can obtain a real wage is through the instrumentality, the force and operation of our trade union movement. He often said, years and years ago, that unless the masses received in wages sufficient to consume that which we produce, industry would fail and civilization would fail.

I knew him, you knew him as one who had unlimited, undaunted courage and integrity. The highest tribute, I think, that we or society can pay to him, and the thing in which we all rejoice was that with his splendid opportunities, unsurpassed by but few, his wonderful talent, his mighty brain, his capacity and judgment, could and would, if exerted in any other movement or any other direction, have made him a rich man.

So that I rejoice, I am glad that Sam Gompers died a poor man. That in itself is a monument, an indisputable testimony to his wonderful integrity. We owe him on this occasion a tribute of good will. He has passed on; his spirit is with us. May it animate, may it lend additional inspiration to guide us and help us in the great work which his name was so inseparably linked. May it help us to carry out almost his last expression before he passed away—"I have kept the faith." Let us here and now resolve that we, too, shall keep the faith. I am sure that we will.

President Green: The chair will take the liberty of calling upon another who knew Mr. Gompers intimately and well, one who sought his advice and his counsel, one who has been associated with an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for many, many years. Mrs. Conboy has served as secretary of the United

Textile Workers' organization. She was a devoted friend to our fallen chieftain. Perhaps she knew him in some respects better than most of us could have known him. I am going to call upon Mrs. Sara Conboy, secretary of the United Textile Workers of America, to speak to you just now.

MRS. SARA A. CONBOY

Secretary, United Textile Workers of America

On this very solemn occasion I think perhaps it is very difficult for us to express what is really in our hearts and in our minds. It seems only such a little while ago that we were all at El Paso, and I think we all remember what to me was the outstanding feature of that wonderful convention, the meeting of the delegates of the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor on the International Bridge between Mexico and the United States.

We realized then, we knew that perhaps it was the last convention that President Gompers would ever attend, and I think that we felt it more keenly, perhaps, when for the first time since I have been attending conventions President Gompers did not deliver his own address, but, strange to say, called upon the man who has taken his place to read what I considered his swan song at that time.

Those who knew him best loved him most. They loved him for the good qualities he possessed, they loved him particularly for his kindness to little children. He loved children. I have seen him stop on the street to pat a little child on the head, and I remember when he came to Fall River to attend a memorial service for our late President, John Golden, as the cars were drawn up at the sidewalk a little newsboy came along, and President Gompers opened the door of his car and said, "Come here, Bobby. What's your name?" And the boy answered, "Johnnie Rogers." Mr. Gompers handed him a dime and said, "Here, Johnnie, go buy yourself some candy." And then he turned around and smilingly said: "I am not a Rockefeller, but I have a few dimes."

There are so many outstanding things, so many of the big things that made his life so rich, so full, and so big—and his life was rich, rich with the work he had done, rich in the fullness of his friends who cared for him, immeasurably rich in

the traditions he has left behind him. And we who are to carry on, we who are to follow on must take up the work that he laid down. We must work and cooperate with the man who has taken his place as we worked and cooperated with him. No greater thing could we do than to carry with us always a little saying he had—"Carry on, carry on." We, too, must carry on. There is nothing else to do, and while he is gone from us, never to return, I feel sure there never will be a convention of the American Federation of Labor that we will not feel with us his spirit and his hand, **guiding us in our work.**

Mr. Walter N. Reddick, President, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, was introduced by President Green.

Delegate Reddick sang "Absent." He was accompanied on the piano by Mrs. J. C. Kline.

President Green: And now, for a short time may we engage in short addresses. The Chair will suggest five-minute addresses by a number of delegates who I know wish to say the word that they feel and that I know lies upon their hearts and minds. I hardly know how to call upon the different speakers, but the Chair will be glad to recognize any speaker who wishes to say something just now.

L. E. SWARTZ

Delegate, National Association of Letter Carriers

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: With you I have listened to the wonderful and well deserved tributes paid to the memory of our departed friend. And if I might be permitted, I would humbly approach and tender from my own garden of memories a modest bouquet of flowers to lay upon the bier of our departed leader. It fell to my lot to be assigned to the same Pullman as President Gompers on that memorable trip from El Paso to Mexico City. Up to that date I had been a great admirer of President Gompers, but my admiration was not unmingled with awe. In those three days I came to love him dearly, and I would feel reproached for all time to come if I did not at this time rise to pay my tribute to his kindly action, to his friendly conduct, to his thoughtfulness for the welfare of all the party, and particularly, of course, to those so closely associated with him on that three days' trip.

I have nothing in particular to say in

detail, except emphatically to state that no man could have been more kindly or thoughtful. I might give many little incidences of his kindness. It was a pleasure to confer with him, not only upon trade union topics but upon anything of interest. His mind was alert to everything happening in the world. And so I have come simply to say that as we today stand at the apex of two eternities, as we look back to the ages and think of all the martyrs of the cause of freedom, think of all those who in the past have striven and toiled and suffered that we in our generation might enjoy the blessings of freedom and liberty, among all those honored people of the past no name stands more highly honored than that of Samuel Gompers. And while today we are the beneficiaries of all that has been done for us in the ages past, culminating with his victorious and glorious life, there yet rests upon us the solemn thought that ahead of us stretches an eternity which no man can measure, and for all time to come not only will the peoples of the world be affected by what he did, but they will also be affected by what we, with our opportunities and our responsibilities, will do for those who follow us. So as the last speaker suggested the words "carry on," are the magic words that I would leave as my parting thought. Brother Gompers is gone, but it is to me a treasured memory that after a decade of knowing him at a distance I had the opportunity of knowing him intimately for those three days.

"So live, that when thy summons comes to join

The innumerable caravan, that moves
To that mysterious realm, where each shall take

His chamber in the silent halls of death,
Thou go not, like the quarry-slave at night,

Scourged to his dungeon; but, sustained
and soothed

By an unfaltering trust approach thy grave,

Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch

About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

CHAUNCEY A. WEAVER

Delegate, American Federation of Musicians

I wish to offer a word of tribute in behalf of the American Federation of Musicians.

When Edwin Markham penned his matchless tribute to the martyred Lincoln he closed his eulogy with the words:

"He held a lone purpose, like a tree,

Held on through blame and faltered not
at praise,

And when he fell in whirlwind, he went
down

As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,

Goes down with a great shout upon the hills

And leaves a lonesome place against the sky."

Surely no member of organized labor and no student of economic problems will ever apologize for placing the name of Samuel Gompers in the same category with that of Abraham Lincoln. He, too, was an emancipator. The love of freedom was the dominating passion of his soul and the sound of breaking chains falling from the limbs of industrial slavery was to him a part of earth's most rapturous music.

And thus it is that wherever shuttles move to and fro, wherever miners delve within the subterranean chambers of the earth, wherever forge fires gleam, wherever human forms bend beneath their load of toil, the name of Samuel Gompers will be recorded as one who led them a long journey toward the Utopia of their dreams, and in that last long repose in Sleepy Hollow I sometimes think the whispering winds from the surrounding hills must chant the lines from King Richard III:

"Sleep thou a quiet sleep,

Dream of success and happy victory."

President Green: The Chair will take the liberty of calling upon the representative of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to speak to us in this moment. Secretary Draper has served as an officer of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress for more than twenty-five years. In that time he knew Mr. Gompers well, loved him and associated with him. I am sure he will gladly participate in this memorial service by saying something on this occasion.

P. M. DRAPER

Secretary, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

As President Green has intimated to you, it was my great pleasure to have been ac-

acquainted with the late Samuel Gompers for the last thirty years. During the last twenty-five years it has been my pleasure to attend many conventions of the American Federation of Labor as a fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. At the Scranton convention in 1901 and at many conventions of the Federation since I represented the central labor body of the city of Ottawa. While attending these conventions I had the opportunity of meeting and talking with the President Gompers, who demonstrated a very active and intense interest in the labor movement of the Dominion of Canada, which is a part of the trade union movement of this country.

It always struck me whenever I met Samuel Gompers that he was a man who endeavored to do everything within his power for humanity. I also had the pleasure in 1919 of being named by the Premier of the Dominion of Canada, at that time Sir Robert Borden, to serve as his adviser on labor matters during the writing of the Treaty of Versailles. It was in the City of London and subsequently in the city of Paris that I had the pleasure of meeting, almost daily, Samuel Gompers and those associated with him, among them the present President of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, Frank Duffy of the Carpenters, John R. Alpine, James Duncan and others. I attended all the conferences in the city of Paris as well as in the city of London.

Being somewhat younger and much less experienced than President Gompers and some of his associates, it was quite natural that I should look for guidance from him and from the men who constituted the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and who were at the head of international trade unions.

I have been doing so for the last quarter of a century, but although I kept in close touch with the movement, although I had the pleasure of being present with him in a delegation that waited on one of your past Presidents, President Roosevelt, I may say I was not struck with the outstanding ability displayed by Samuel Gompers until I saw him in action in the cities of London and Paris after the war. It was then I was able to see for myself the great, outstand-

ing, world-wide ability and knowledge he possessed, not only of the labor movement and its ramifications, but of everything that seemed to be connected with the welfare of humanity.

I want, this afternoon, on behalf of the trade union movement of the Dominion of Canada to express once again our sincere sympathy at the loss that the movement, not only on this North American continent but that the movement of the whole world has sustained in the death of Samuel Gompers. In the words of speakers who have preceded me, we shall endeavor to carry on the good work that Samuel Gompers did so well in his life time.

JAMES DUNCAN

First Vice-President, American Federation of Labor

To say what I would like to say about my old buddy could not be said in the space of five minutes. I was once under a time limit like that which well nigh broke my heart, when I was limited to twelve minutes over his coffin in the Elks' Club in New York.

I take my hat off to Bill Perkins for having known Sam Gompers for forty-seven years, because I thought I was pretty nearly in that class, but I have only known him about forty-four years. I met Sam Gompers in September, 1881, in Clarendon Hall, on Third Avenue, New York, which at that time was the mecca for the meeting of labor unions in the big city, and we were either personally or officially associated forever thereafter.

I was present at the convention in Columbus, Ohio, in 1886, when we first elected Brother Gompers president of the American Federation of Labor. I have been attending those conventions ever since, and I sometimes wonder if I am right in thinking that I am about the only delegate left that attended that convention and participated in making the rules and regulations which, in large part, govern this body at the present time.

I was with him one evening on the east side of New York in one of the great fights which took place there between the Cigar Makers and the Knights of Labor, and when Sam came down stairs and butted into me on the sidewalk—I say, fellows, you wouldn't have known him. He had two black eyes

and his nose was broken. They had kicked him and thrown him down the stairs, but he took his medicine and never squealed and was at the cigar makers' meeting the following night, leading in the fight against the Knights of Labor who at that time were trying to put the cigar makers out of business.

I was with him in fights thereafter. It was a glorious thing to have stood by him when twelve injunctions were served upon him in one night. He was talking from a wagon in a mining region, and he accepted service from the deputies who served them, and asked them to stay and hear what he had to say, while he continued his talk as though he had not been interrupted.

To say that Sam was the father of the labor movement of our country is rather an extravagant statement. My own people were organized in several localities when Wellington was chasing Napoleon back to Paris, and the International Typographical Union had had a continuous international organization for thirty or forty years before Sam helped Adolph Strasser and Bill Perkins to organize the cigar makers. It is not an essential thing to have been the first, the essential thing is to have helped in the work thereafter, and that is what Sam did.

I am sure my five minutes are already taken up. It was very interesting to hear the representative of the Musicians pay a tribute to Sam, because he came pretty nearly being a musician. He asked me one time when I had melancholy moods what I did to get over them. I told him I picked up Byron's "Childe Harold" and read it about twice, and if that did not drive the blues out of me nothing would.

I said "What do you do, Sam?" He said "I have the blues now," and got out his fiddle and began to scatch on it. I was a very good listener, and not knowing anything about music anyway, I applauded his efforts and he lost the blues. In the days of his young manhood the Muses came before him and smoothed his rough pillow and called him their own; but our movement, its arms outstretched to receive him, boldly and nobly declared him its own.

JAMES O'CONNELL

President, Metal Trades Department,
A. F. of L.

Probably Delegate Perkins and Delegate

Duncan knew President Gompers longer than I did. That is to be expected, because they are older than I am. I knew him for more than forty years. I first met him in 1885 and talked with him regarding the organization of the machinists of this country. I was then following that trade.

In 1886 I attended the great convention of the Knights of Labor at Richmond, Virginia, at which convention there were in attendance one hundred members of the machinists' trade. In that convention the great fight came up on the question of the cigar makers' label and the label then issued by the Knights of Labor in the tobacco trade. I wired Mr. Gompers the situation and asked him to advise me and he did. After some twenty-one days' convention in Richmond, I walked the one hundred delegates of the machinists out of the convention and set in vogue what since has become the International Association of Machinists.

Since that time he and I were closely associated, I think more so than any other men in the movement. He lived next door to me in Washington for a quarter of a century. I knew him in all his phases of life, particularly in his home life. I knew him outside the movement in a fraternal and brotherly way and a homely way. We were really close pals. He told me his most intimate troubles, and I sometimes imposed mine upon him.

Samuel Gompers was a man of many sides; he was not only a great leader, a great humanitarian, a great lover of mankind, but he was a lover of everything. He had all the sides of life that made it possible for a man to enjoy all that life made possible for him. He loved flowers, he loved music, he loved little children, he loved the sun, he loved the moon, he loved the stars, he loved the rain, he loved anything; no matter what it was, he could find a reason for it in his own mind, and above all he loved and believed in mankind. He could not see a real fault or reason for a fault in his fellow man. He could find excuses for everything that men did that did not meet with his approval. He could easily and reasonably excuse their differences with him, he could excuse them for their faults. I have heard him make excuses for the men who tried to destroy this movement of ours and find a psychology for their peculiar

condition in life, point out and argue in their behalf the reason they were in that peculiar state of mind and why they had such and such a peculiar psychology.

I saw in him a man of great understanding. I was with him night and day in the early days of our movement, when there were but three or four of us on the Executive Council. I traveled over the country with him, spoke with him, ate, slept with him, and therefore knew him. Yes, I listened to him playing the fiddle. On one occasion I recall that both his family and mine were away from home, and on Sunday morning I went to the telephone and called him and said, "Sam, will you come over and have breakfast with me? I am just going to cook breakfast."

He said, "No, Jim, I won't take a chance, you come over here." So I went over to his house and he proceeded to get breakfast. Incidentally he mentioned that in his early days he had learned to play the violin. I said, "Sam, now that we are alone I want you to prove to me that you can play it."

After we had the very good breakfast he prepared, and some other things, he pulled out a drawer, took out an old violin with one string one it, and said, "There she is, Jim;" then went to another drawer and pulled out a long horse pistol, laid it on the table and said, "Jim, you are going to listen to me play the fiddle," and I did. And if ever he made application to the Musicians' Union for membership I sure would have protested.

So I say there were these little human incidents in his life that stood out and made him a great big man. I saw him one day in Washington looking in the window of an electrical supply house where there were electric appliances of all kinds, big and little, thousands of them. I came up and stood behind him for fifteen or twenty minutes watching him. I finally said, "Sam, what are you doing? Are you buying Christmas presents?"

"No, Jim, I am wondering how much human expenditure has gone to the making of these things. I am wondering whether there were little children and women and helpless people employed making these things and under what conditions they were employed."

I said, "Come, Sam! Let us go to the

office. You are getting in a nervous condition."

We walked toward the office, but had not gone far when we met two little school children. He stopped them and asked them about their lessons. I said I would have to go on to the office. He said, "I am going to the candy shop with these children." Human to the core! Yes, he was a great man; he did a great work, and we do ourselves proud and our movement proud in setting aside this day out here on the ocean to pay our deepest respect and express our fondest love of this great man.

JAMES M. LYNCH

President, International Typographical Union

The International Typographical Union was present in Terre Haute, Indiana, when the matter of the formation of a family of trades unions was first considered. It was present at every subsequent meeting, it was present in Pittsburgh when the American Federation of Labor was formed, and it has been present at every session of the American Federation of Labor since 1886.

I first met President Gompers thirty-five years ago when, as president of the trades assembly in my home city, I asked him to come there to aid me in restoring harmony in a musicians' union. A speaker has said that we shall never see him again. I can still see him as he walked up the railway platform to meet me on that day thirty-five years ago. I can still see him presiding at conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Particularly can I see him when he rendered aid to me in the successful struggle that the International Typographical Union made for the eight-hour day in the commercial trade.

Therefore, I say, in making this brief tribute for the International Typographical Union, the seventy-five thousand members of the union who would want me to speak for them today, that Samuel Gompers is not dead. The earthly tenement has passed on, but the torch still blazes to light the feet of the toilers on their upward way.

President Green: The Chair is going to take the privilege and the opportunity to call upon each of the fraternal delegates sitting on the stage to say a word. This tribute to a great man would be incomplete if these delegates who have travelled so far

to be with us did not add a word to the tribute that has been offered this afternoon. I will first call upon Fraternal Delegate Smith, who spoke to us at a previous session.

BEN SMITH

Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress

I suppose it is with the keen sense of the loss of a colleague that I feel that I can throb with you at the loss of your colleague. I had only two opportunities of seeing Mr. Gompers, both were in England, and I well remember when our President handed him a piece of silver plate, his saying, "This is a piece of plate that will unite the two countries forever."

Samuel Gompers we had in his childhood; you had him in his manhood, and the world has him in his philosophy. He is not your man, he is the world's man, and I feel that if Samuel Gompers were here now or if we could interrogate him as to his desire, he would say in the words of Tennyson:

"Oh, let there be no sadness of farewell
When I have crossed the bar."

He has done a great work. The best that we or you can do is to follow him in his consistency, his code. I think the words of Tom Paine would fit him admirably. When Tom Paine was asked, "What is your country?" He said, "The world." "And your religion?" "Mankind." I believe that would admirably fit Samuel Gompers. I believe also in the words of Robert Ingersoll he would have said, "The time to be happy is now; the place to be happy is here; the way to be happy is to make others happy."

He has impressed you with his wonderful characteristics, but far better, he has impressed your enemies greatly. He has impressed them with the value and the worth of human society. He has done great things, and I close by saying with Campbell, "To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die."

A. A. PURCELL

Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress

I am certain that if this ceremony were being held in Great Britain the whole British movement would feel proud of the loyalty that has been given to it by what I regard as a great workman. My view is that Samuel Gompers is a great workman, that he proved his great workmanship, his

great ability and worth by his last act, as it were, his friendship and his work in behalf of Mexico. But he did a great work from an international point of view in Paris, when what stands today as the international labor office is practically his handiwork. But I think he was far bigger than that.

There are very few men in this world who have had to face the tremendous odds that Gompers had to face. No man in the working class movement, no matter where it may be, had to face in a country like America huge, swarming masses from every place in Europe seeking a home in the golden west, many of them when they got here frequently to be used only as depressers of wages. On the other side, other classes swarming in, so to speak, as if to make the whole thing a mountain of difficulty all the time. In the midst of this stood Gompers, free and unfettered, determined to maintain trade unionism in this America of his, his adopted home.

An so because of that, supporting and endorsing all that has been said with regard to the human touch — and a man of his caliber must have had a human touch of that kind; a man of his grit and determination must have combined all the desires and aspirations of the working classes as we see them today — and because of that I am glad to be associated with this ceremony today, and because of that I say: "Gompers is dead! Long live Gompers!"

President Green: We will now hear from Fraternal Delegate Vargas of Mexico. He had the privilege and opportunity of knowing President Gompers and of receiving from him valuable advice. He can speak therefore out of an experience of a relationship with our great fallen chieftain.

CANUTO A. VARGAS

Fraternal Delegate, Mexican Federation of Labor

As I have been sitting here listening to the words of tribute paid to the Grand Old Man of Labor it has occurred to me how useless it is to attempt to crowd into one afternoon all of the things that Gompers did and those things for which he stood. You who speak for labor in the United States, you who had him fifty years leading your battles, will have for the rest of your lifetime something to which to turn back for inspiration when you need it.

We in Mexico have known Gompers. He has been intimately connected with Mexican

affairs, and we will have something for the rest of our lifetime to which to turn back for inspiration when we need it.

So it is very fitting and proper that today the representatives of American labor should gather here and pay tribute and homage to the memory of a great leader, a wise counsellor and, above everything else, a true friend.

Mexico claims the right to participate in these proceedings, and so allow me, in the name of both the Mexican government and of the Mexican trade union movement, to join with you in paying tribute to his memory. We sorrowed with you when death came, when the news of his passing was flashed throughout the world. We sorrow still. On the opening day of this convention I could hardly realize that he was not physically present, and through the afternoon it has sunk deeply into my mind that he is no longer here.

However, the depth of our sorrow is only surpassed by the depth of our gratitude for the things that he did for us. Back in 1910, when the Mexican Revolution broke out with all the might of an oppressed people, we went out into the wide avenues of the world hoping to strike a sympathetic chord in the hearts of other peoples. No response was more genuine, more sympathetic, and more harmonious than that struck in the heart of Samuel Gompers. It is for that that we love him and will hold his memory dear.

As I turn back the pages of time I recall two incidents. One of them may explain to a lot of people what the Mexican Revolution stands for. It was in 1923 in my home town, the city of Juarez. The majority of you have been there. After the Portland convention Mr. Gompers and some of his colleagues came down and stopped at El Paso. He had invited the Mexican Federation of Labor to send three or four representatives to get together and discuss the problems of Mexico. The conference lasted for three days. In the evening of the third day there was a mass meeting on the Mexican side, in the city of Juarez. During the course of an address that Mr. Gompers made there he reviewed the Mexican situation as he understood it and reviewed what he and the American Federation of Labor had done, and he ended with these words:

"My friends, you all know that I am an evolutionist; I am not a revolutionist, but

I can tell you that if I had been living in Mexico I would have been among the first to go to the front in the Revolution." That perhaps explains, more than anything else, what the Mexican Revolution stood for.

Then again in 1924, during the inauguration ceremonies of President Calles, there was the moment when President Gompers clasped hands with our good friend Morones, right on the platform where the President was inaugurated. I could see that that moment was one of the happiest moments Mr. Gompers ever had experienced. He had fought for Mexico as we fought for her ourselves, and I love to think of that moment, because it symbolized to me—the clasped hands of those two labor leaders—the welding of these two nations in everlasting friendship.

References have been made to the building of a monument. May I say to you that in building the monument that has been suggested, of keeping the faith and keeping up the work for which he laid the foundation, along with all the other stones that go to make up this monument, don't forget that to the south of the United States, in what we call the Latin-American Republics, we have about eighty millions of people, the majority of whom are wage earners, and that the majority of them regarded Samuel Gompers—this is just the text of the words they used—they regarded him as the great American Socialist, not in the accepted sense of the word Socialist, but just a man whose heart went out in sympathy for the oppressed peoples of the world.

So, my friends, it is a legacy that he has left to you and to us in Mexico, and the best monument that can be raised to his memory would be to keep on with the work for which he laid down his life.

President Green: Now we will have a word from Brother Donald Dear, Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

MR. DONALD DEAR

Fraternal Delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

I feel it an honor to be called upon this afternoon to add a few words in respect to our great leader, Samuel Gompers. I have not been in the movement very many years; in fact, I believe that the international union to which I belong is the baby international of the American Federation of Labor, but I have had the honor and pleas-

ure of shaking Samuel Gompers by the hand and I have learned to love him. At the present time I am busy reading his "Seventy Years of Life and Labor."

Samuel Gompers was loved and respected in Canada to the same degree as he was loved and respected in the United States. I might tell you that Samuel Gompers was the first man outside of a Member of Parliament to stand on the floor of our Federal government and address the members of the government of Canada—an honor that had never been paid to any one before and that has only been paid once since. After addressing the representatives of the government that day he would not leave my home town of Ottawa without, using his own language, "saying a few words to the boys." And so he attended our Trades Council meeting that night and said a few words to the boys.

I might say that in Canada we are proud to follow the philosophy of Samuel Gompers and follow along in the work that he so ably started. We are glad to carry on and follow the policies that he has laid down in his life's expression, "Carry on."

President Green: The Chair is in receipt of a message from the Secretary of Labor, Mr. James J. Davis, to be read at this memorial service. I will ask Secretary Morrison to read this communication.

Secretary Morrison read the following message:

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Office of the Secretary

Washington, October 10, 1925.

Mr. William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Atlantic City, N. J.
My dear Mr. Green:

On the occasion of the memorial service in honor of Samuel Gompers I feel moved to contribute a few words out of my great respect and affection for the man. Samuel Gompers was more than 20 years older than I, but I was born early enough to watch the second and more important half of his life. In the last few years of it, he as head of the American Federation of Labor and I as head of the Department of Labor, were closely associated in the same work of fostering and developing the interests and the welfare of the American worker. And both as co-worker and as a watcher of Samuel Gompers' work, I can testify that he was one of the great and useful men of his time.

I knew Samuel Gompers from early boyhood. John Jarrett, a relative and neighbor, was chairman of the organization of the American Federation of Labor, and through him the name of Samuel Gompers became familiar to me when I was quite young. I first met him when I was an active officer of the Amalgamated Association during a strike in 1896 in the tin mills at Elwood, Indiana. Mr. Gompers had come there to create public sentiment for the workers, and to bring them encouragement from the Federation of Labor, which is so largely the creation of his untiring zeal. I remember being struck at once by his high aims, his force of mind and the fire of his efforts in the cause of labor. But I could see that above even that to labor he put love of country first because of what it can do and does for its workers. Later, I often met him again, last of all as Secretary of Labor. His memory of our first meeting was always keen, and he often referred to it. So it was that from early days and then onward I saw him put into practical effect his two mastering devotions—to America first, and then to American toilers. That love of his adopted country was the passion of his life. He spoke it in his last and dying words.

What Samuel Gompers achieved is plain to all. During the war, when he did so much to maintain harmony between worker and employer, he contributed one of the deciding factors that led to victory. He was labor's statesman then, as he was labor's statesman at all times before. In peace he was as watchful as he was in war against his country's enemies. He ever fought those who would wreck and destroy.

Samuel Gompers was an American, whose work and influence for the good of his fellow Americans is yet to be measured. But if you want the real monument to the man, look about you. The worker is better off in America today than he has ever been before in the history of the world, and he is so largely because of the genius, the zeal, the devotion of this man whose memory I am glad to help you honor today.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

President Green: The message of Secretary of Labor Davis will become a part of this day's proceedings.

I feel that there are many, many others who feel very keenly on this occasion who

would be glad to speak and who wish to speak, and I am truly sorry that time and opportunity will not permit all to speak who wish to speak or can speak. The hour is late and it will be necessary to bring our memorial service to a close, and for that reason it will be impossible to hear from all those to whom we would like to extend the opportunity of participating more actively in this memorial service.

I think, however, this program would be quite incomplete unless we heard from another veteran who served with President Gompers for many, many years, and because of this fact the chair is going to take advantage of this occasion to ask President Mahon, of the Street Railway Employees, to say just a word as the last speaker before we conclude our ceremony.

WILLIAM D. MAHON

President, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: I am pleased to have the opportunity to say just a word on this occasion. In my young days, as a boy, it was my fate to be thrown among such characters as Jim Duncan, Sam Gompers, P. J. McGuire, and James O'Connell. It was my pleasure to know Samuel Gompers for a great many years. Going back some thirty-five years, I have been in close touch with President Gompers, and, as Delegate O'Connell has said, I knew him as well as any man in this convention. I travelled with him, ate with him, drank with him and went through life with him.

Before he went on his last trip to the convention at El Paso and to Mexico City I was in correspondence with him, and I urged him not to go either to the El Paso convention or to Mexico City. In reply he urged that I should at least go along to Mexico City, and finally, owing to his urgent requests, I went along to Mexico City. You all know what happened as a result of that trip, and I felt in the end that I was glad that I was there.

Samuel Gompers has left to us a legacy that no other man could leave to the labor movement, not only of America but of the world. He was one of the keenest, brightest men that this age has produced. America has produced some wonderful men, some wonderful statesmen, but America has produced no greater man than Samuel Gompers. He

left to us, as I have heard it referred to here, a philosophy, a policy, a direction for this great trade union movement, and if we will follow the lines laid down as a policy for our movement we will make no mistake. He left a broad, open roadway for the direction of the American labor movement, which, if followed, is bound to lead us to true democracy, and that is the legacy that he has left to the human family and to the workers of the world, whether they be in America or in any other part of the world.

A man can only live one life, and eventually he has to pass away. Samuel Gompers lived his life and left to the world what but few men have left; he left the pathway which he blazed for the workers to follow. If they will follow that pathway and be directed by the great philosophy that that great mind laid down it is bound to lead, I repeat, to the true democracy of labor. And that is the monument that he erected. You cannot erect in stone or in any other material the monument that this man erected for himself.

He was in a class all by himself. Brother O'Connell referred to him as the great democrat. It did not matter, you might disagree with him upon economics and fight out your battle, and the moment it was fought out the friendship of the man was there, the arguments were forgotten, and that great heart of his overlooked and forgot all those little things, all of which demonstrated the greatness of the man.

We are here this afternoon to pay tribute to one of the greatest men that America—I won't say America ever produced, because out friend, Brother Purcell, said that he came from England when a boy. Lots of our forefathers came from England, too, but we meet here today to pay tribute to a man who has left a legacy to the world that very, very few men of the world can or will ever leave.

All I care to say this afternoon, Mr. Chairman, is that I join with all of you in paying tribute to that great man. Children yet unborn owe him something. The world in the future owes him something, and of course it never can be paid—the debt that is owed Samuel Gompers.

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce that we have had on the platform with us this afternoon during this memorial service two of the sturdy sons of President

Gompers and the good wife of one of these sons. So that you may know them and that they were here and listened to the words that have been spoken, I wish to present Mr. Samuel Gompers, Junior, and his wife, and Mr. Alexander Gompers. I am advised that Mr. Henry Gompers, a third son, is ill in the hospital; otherwise he, too, would have been here this afternoon.

You will recall, fellow delegates, those of you who were privileged to attend the El Paso convention, the incident when a marble bust of President Gompers was presented to him and to the convention by surprise. It was a very impressive incident. I shall never forget it. It made the deepest impression upon my heart and mind. I feel sure that was the experience of all who attended that session of the convention.

Now the same sculptor, Mr. Moses Dykaar, has made another bust of Samuel Gompers, and the three organizations engaged in the needle trades industry are presenting that marble bust to the American Federation of Labor—the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, and the International Fur Workers' Union. These organizations employed this great sculptor to duplicate the image of Samuel Gompers in marble. He worked a long time upon the bust, and it is a very fine work of art. The bust is here on the platform; it will be presented to you, and Brother M. Zaritsky, representing these organizations, will make the presentation address, after which the unveiling of the bust will immediately take place.

M. ZARITSKY

Representing Three Organizations of the Needle Trades

Mr. President and fellow trade unionists: As I sat here this afternoon listening to the associates, friends and admirers of our late departed chief, I realized that mere spoken words are inadequate to express our feelings and our love for that great man, Samuel Gompers.

My recollection of Samuel Gompers does not date further back than fifteen years ago, but it took me less time than that to learn to love and admire Samuel Gompers. When I was a boy about ten years of age, a school boy back in Russia, I knew nothing

of the great American labor movement or, for that matter, any other movement, but then I did know of Samuel Gompers. He was considered even by the Russian lads as the personification of the great ideal of the working classes.

I speak now in behalf of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, the International Fur Workers' Union, and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, of which I have the honor of being President. We of these needle trades unions have more reason than any other element in the American Federation of Labor to love and admire and revere the memory of Samuel Gompers.

These unions were organized thirty or forty years ago by the immigrants who came to the shores of this country in the hope of finding a haven and a home, in the hope of finding long sought liberty, freedom, and justice. They were driven to these shores by political and religious persecution in the countries from which they came; they were driven by economic oppression, and they held out hopes that when they came to this country of the free they would find all their hopes and aspirations realized, but when they arrived here they found great obstacles in their way. There was the barrier of language, there was the barrier of tradition, there was the barrier of prejudice, national, race and religious, and they had to struggle and fight against all these obstacles. And in their struggle for recognition they found an advocate, that great man with a great heart, and all-embracing heart, a man whose great love for human kind understood every language, every human passion, every human emotion. The plea and the appeal of the immigrant worker was not strange to him who came here as an immigrant boy, and in Samuel Gompers they found their father, their leader, their friend, their advocate and their champion.

And now, as we look back over those thirty or forty years, we of the present generation find that we have good cause to appreciate and recognize the greatness of that man who was international in his mind and whose heart had room to embrace everything and everybody. We of the present generation need not be told much about the deeds and accomplishments of Samuel Gompers. The older members of this movement lived through with him every day and

every year of his life. The younger element in this movement knew him personally, learned from him personally.

We in the three unions that I speak for now believe that we owe it to those who will come after us, to the future generations, to make them realize and understand, as much as we possibly can, some of the things we knew about Samuel Gompers, and we decided to have a bust made and placed in some national museum of national prominence, so that the thousands and millions of American people might look at the features and the image of the man we love, and perhaps in this way get some understanding of the things that he stood for and the man that he was.

Mr. President, in the name of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, the International Fur Workers' Union, and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union I present to you, his worthy successor, and through you to the great American Federation of Labor, this marble bust of Samuel Gompers. We ask you to please accept it as our expression of our love and admiration of the man who was the beacon light of this great movement, the man who was the inspiring force of this American labor movement, Gompers, the champion of the rights of men, Gompers, the philosopher, Gompers, the humanitarian, Gompers, the leader, Gompers, the brother of every working man and every working woman, Gompers, the great teacher and exponent of the philosophy of our great American trade union movement.

And with this presentation, Mr. President, we ask you to accept our pledge that we in our unions shall never reject the cornerstone, the foundation of this great movement, but that we will rather add more brick and cement, to strengthen and fortify this movement which is dear to all of us. We shall work harder than ever to continue the great work of that great leader for the final emancipation of the toiling masses of America.

(During the address of Delegate Zaritsky the beautiful marble bust of Mr. Gompers, to which he referred, was unveiled by Mr. Dykaar, the sculptor).

President Green: Brother Zaritsky, in behalf of the delegates attending this convention, I wish to express our most sincere

and profound thanks for this gift you have tendered us here this afternoon. I appreciate more than words can express the sentiments which prompted you to make the gift of this marble bust. We accept it and shall cherish it as a priceless heritage. It shall be our purpose to place this marble bust, this beautiful and life-like reproduction of our great chieftain, our departed leader, in some museum where it can be preserved for posterity through all time. I am sure you all agree with me when I say it is a striking likeness of our former President, and it is quite fitting and appropriate that this presentation should be made at the close of this most impressive memorial service. I can only say that from the bottom of my heart I thank you for this gift.

Now, fellow delegates, I think it would be quite appropriate for the President of the American Federation of Labor to present to you the sculptor, Mr. Moses Dykaar, who made this beautiful reproduction of Samuel Gompers in marble.

(Mr. Dykaar stepped forward, acknowledged the applause of the delegates and shook hands with President Green).

President Green: The Chair will call upon Delegate Matthew Woll, secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, to present at the close of this memorial service a resolution that we ask you to adopt and authorize us to have spread upon the minutes of today's session.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, read the following resolution:

GOMPERS MEMORIAL RESOLUTION

By the Committee on Resolutions

No eulogy or panegyric can adequately express the sum total of accomplishment of a life devoted unselfishly to the service of humanity. Whose sympathy embraced all men, whose courage dared every danger, whose energy and zeal knew no barrier. To put into words an appreciation of that life, that service, that sympathy and zeal, is a futile undertaking. Here and there along the path of mankind stand out figures, towering high above lesser men, as giant trees rear their tops above the forest, or great mountain peaks thrust huge boulders high over the hills around them. Men of greatness of soul and simplicity of nature who living have the right to command, and, when they have passed on, leave in their

work an enduring monument that becomes part of the heritage of all men, because it is the record of achievement of deeds done for the good of men.

A boy, born to poverty, toil, sordid and unpromising, came to a strange land under distressing conditions. His days of childhood suddenly ended, that he might become an assistant breadwinner for a sorely pressed family. Fate moves the human pawns over the chessboard of life in a game beyond the comprehension of man. That boy was destined to become a leader of men, a benefactor of millions. Out of the travail of penury and all its attendant ills was born a soul so great that its measure was never reached. Inflamed by the thought of chattel slavery in a land dedicated to human freedom, Samuel Gompers revolted against oppression in the form of wage slavery.

With him to think was to act, and each action brought to him added knowledge of the difficulties and dangers along the way on which he had set his feet. No crusader ever set out with resolve more holy, no knight ever returned from quest with shield more battered and armor dented, nor with white plume waving more proudly than did this boy grown to manhood and fairly launched on the career that swept him on and up, until his name will stand for all time among the truly great names whose luster shines along the road of human history, bright beacons to which the oppressed and despairing of all nations may look for guidance, inspiration and faith renewed when courage seems spent and all hope gone. It was his destiny to lead, by wise and prudent counsel, by bold and courageous conduct, the hosts of those who toil to higher and better things. To make life for millions fuller and freer. To give a new and holier meaning to the word liberty, and to set the workers of America higher and nearer the goal of perfect life. Not of America alone, but of all the world, for everywhere the influence of his life, his example, his precepts, have been felt, and his philosophy has exerted a modifying and beneficent effect on the concepts of all mankind.

That his last ounce of energy was expended in the work he gave his life to was but characteristic of the man. He knew no defeat. A temporary setback was to him but a call to greater endeavor. So when he knew, and those around him knew, his end

was at hand, he pressed on toward that which he felt to be his duty, and like the gallant, valiant, rugged fighter, yielded only when life's exhausted fountain ceased to flow.

It is most fitting we should here pay this tribute to his memory. By the side of the restless, heaving ocean, which so impressively typifies the turbulence and the instability of life, we inscribe to him words that express so far as words may our sorrow for his passing, and our gratitude that he was spared so long to do so much. It has been said by another great American that man is but an atom; he lives, and acts, and passes on. But his principles are eternal. So may it be with Samuel Gompers. His record is made up. A glorious record, of unselfish, unremitting struggle that others should be benefited by whatever he might accomplish.

As time goes on, a brighter radiance will shine from the halo that now surrounds the name of Samuel Gompers. He will be better understood, his virtues will become more luminous, and men will turn to his shrine as one of the holy places, set apart from ordinary fanes, as an unfailing source of inspiration to battle steadfastly onward to the goal that ever upheld our great leader in his long fight for human liberty and human happiness as found in the homes of men and women whose toil was lighter because "he lived and toiled and suffered that the tribes of men might prosper." As he kept the faith, let us keep the faith.

Delegate Duncan, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded by Delegate Woll and adopted by unanimous rising vote.

President Green: The Chair announces that this beautiful, appropriate and impressive memorial service is brought to a close. I want to thank all of the speakers for their addresses and their wonderful tributes of respect to the memory of our former President. I want to thank also the singers who contributed so much to the beauty and solemnity of the service. I appreciate very much the attendance of the delegates and visitors, and I am sure that out of it all we will take new courage and new inspiration in going forward and in carrying on our work.

At 6.00 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9.30 o'clock a. m. Tuesday, October 13.

Eighth Day--Tuesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J., Oct. 13, 1925.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 o'clock a. m., President Green in the chair.

Absentees

Myrup, Franklin, Dohney, Tracy (W.), Boyer, Bradish, Conway (H. J.), Spector, De Raay, Rosemund, O'Connor (J. S.), Knott, Feeney, Snow, Baer, Sigman, Kreindler, Perlmutter, Bock, Hill (C. E.), Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Crough, Lewis (J. L.), Farrington, Hall (L.), Nesbit, Golden, Parker (M. H.), Coefield, Sullivan (J. J.), Fallon, Mitchell (M. W.), Funder Burk, Cashen, Stecker, Manion, Alexander, O'Connell (J.), Jewell, Nigro, Atkins (J. M.), Allen (G. H.), Hall (E. G.), Ely, Nelligan, McAndrew (J. J.), Steadman, Wieck, Kelley (J. R.), Patton, O'Dell, Long (C. D.), Hardin, Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Walsh (T. F.), Hughes (F.), Bower, Reed (C. L.), Vaughn, Woodmansee, Trimmer, Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Peterson (S.), McGeary, Tinney, Carrozzo, Shafr, Abrams, Ruben, Effrat, Geyer, Rogers (J. P.), Simons, Blackman, Camous, Miller (A. M.), Tracy (E. J.), Portway.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams and communications from the following persons and organizations in the cities indicated, urging that the 1926 convention be held in these cities:

Detroit, Michigan: Gordon Thompson, Recording Secretary of Local Union No. 1030, Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers; George H. Allen, Vice-President of the Michigan State Federation of Labor.

Sacramento, California: S. J. Richard, Secretary-Manager, Sacramento Chamber of Commerce; E. H. Dowell, Secretary of the San Diego Federated Trades and Labor Council; J. W. Buzzell, Secretary of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

Birmingham, Alabama: O. Gordon Erickson, Manager the Municipal Auditorium; W. W. Jones, Secretary Local Union No. 87, United Garment Workers of America.

St. Petersburg, Florida: R. S. Pearce, Acting Mayor; W. H. Cooper, President St. Petersburg Central Labor Union, St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce.

Delegate Hilfers, New Jersey State Federation of Labor, obtained unanimous consent of the convention to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Henry F. Hilfers, New Jersey State Federation of Labor:

During his lifetime, the late United States Senator William Hughes, was ever to the forefront in every issue which meant betterment of the conditions of labor.

Throughout a long public service which in-

cluded membership in the House and Senate of the United States the late Senator Hughes rendered invaluable service in the cause of Labor.

His friends and the citizens of Paterson, N. J., the city of his residence during his lifetime, have organized what is known as the William Hughes Memorial Fund Association, having for its purpose the raising of a fund of \$20,000.00 which is to be used to erect a statue to be placed in front of the Court House of the City of Paterson in memory of his splendid service to the Nation; therefore, be it

Resolved, that the American Federation of Labor does hereby endorse the William Hughes Memorial Fund project and authorize the solicitation of contributions from among the locals composing its international organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Delegate Hirschberg, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies has given due consideration to the matters referred to it, as well as the arguments presented by those interested, and offer the following report:

Favoring Cooperation With the National Fire Protection Association in the Interest of Fire Prevention

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and James M. Simester, of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

WHEREAS, The fire loss in the United States in 1924 was \$548,810,639, the highest in the history of the nation; and

WHEREAS, Nearly 15,000 persons burned to death and over 16,000 were injured by fire; and

WHEREAS, It is impossible to estimate the economic loss which comes as a result of fire, which includes all interruptions to business, loss of contracts, unemployment, and hardship on the workers and their families. By a careful survey of statistics it is found that 87 per cent of all our fire loss is preventable and is a result of our careless habits and the prevailing ignorance in regard to ordinary hazards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend that the American Federation of Labor through its affiliated bodies cooperate with the National Fire Protection Association and the various state and civic authorities who are endeavoring to educate the public to the necessity of fire prevention which will tend to reduce the enormous fire waste in the United States and Canada.

The Committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 44.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Simester, Fire Fighters, spoke briefly in support of the resolution, pointing out the necessity of more laws looking to the prevention of fires and directing attention to the dangers to which the fire fighters are exposed through lack of the necessary inspection laws.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Recreation

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 78 and 79, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee believes that playgrounds are essential, so that the children may have ample space in all communities, to spend their leisure time in a way that will help them build up their bodies, so that we may become a strong and healthy Nation.

The Recreation and Playground Association of America was established for the purpose of aiding the different municipalities to create proper recreation facilities for the children and adults, and as this association is doing much good in promoting such work in this country, we recommend that the 45th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. go on record in endorsing the work that the Recreation and Playground Association is doing, and instruct the Executive Council to cooperate with said Association, and have circular letters mailed to all affiliated central and federated bodies, advising them to cooperate with the Recreation and Playground Movement to establish proper recreational facilities in their communities.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Textile Workers Request Assistance of Affiliated Unions in Their Struggle With American Thread Company

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy, of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, Twenty-five hundred members of the United Textile Workers of America have been on strike since March 9, 1925, against a reduction in wages of 10 per cent, given by the American Thread Company, of Willimantic, Connecticut; and

WHEREAS, This corporation, which is a subsidiary of a foreign corporation, has refused arbitration, which was agreed to by the workers, when the request came from the United States Department of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Thread Company admits the making of large profits during the year 1924, when employees worked less than

seven months during that fiscal year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this 45th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to use their best efforts with their affiliated unions for the purpose of securing their aid and assistance in the defeat of the American Thread Company in their unjustified reduction of wages and their attempt to destroy the Textile Unions in their mills; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all State Branches and Central Labor Bodies be furnished with a copy of this resolution.

The Committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 34, and wishes to emphasize the necessity of notifying all Central and Labor Bodies, and through them the Local Bodies, that the products of the American Thread Company are produced with scab labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers, made a lengthy statement in explanation of the purpose of the resolution and said, in part:

In acquainting the delegates with the facts insofar as they pertain to the American Thread Company, I first wish to call your attention to the fact that the name is fictitious. We have no fight with the origin of the corporation or the fact that it is in reality the English Sewing Cotton Thread Company of Manchester, England, but we have a quarrel with a corporation that, after seventeen years of close contact in agreement with our International Union, has declared a cut of 10 per cent in wages, in the face of enormous profits as recorded in the Congressional Record in the quarrel that took place over the tariff in 1922, profits aggregating 246 per cent of the original investment, as well as the issue of bonds, from 1915, when it became the American Thread Company, up until now. This cut was declared January 12, 1925, because, as they said, all other cotton cloth mills were giving this cut in wages.

The workers and the workers' representatives throughout this country, the Dominion of Canada and wherever else the American Federation of Labor has influence should understand that when their fiscal year ended March 31, 1925, their profits were ten per cent stock dividends on their entire capitalization, and the amount placed in their reserve fund was \$1,380,000. This from the earnings of the year 1924, when the workers in Willimantic worked but six months and a few days.

We do not wish to burden the convention by going into the profiteering enjoyed by this corporation during the war, when their profits went as high as 73 per cent on their entire invested capital. We do not want to go into the details of what happened in 1921, when in taking inventories they wrote off, because of the changed conditions, \$13,000,000 in their assets and still paid a dividend on their entire capital of 20 plus per cent.

The facts that we wish to bring before the convention are these: that the International Union of Textile Workers tried with all its might, from January 12 to March 9 of this year, to avoid a rupture. We tried as best we could to impress the authorities of this foreign corporation with the thought that, in view of their earnings, in view of the profits made, in view of the fact that the workers worked but six months and a few days in the fiscal year, it was unjust and unmoral to put into effect this cut in wages. We spoke to Mr. Robert Kerr, of their Board of Directors, we spoke to him as the representatives of organized labor, as we had done for many years, and coldly he said: "We are going to carry out this edict or ultimatum because it has been given to us by the Manufacturers' Association." We said: "All right, Mr. Kerr."

Yesterday, during the exercises in honor of our late lamented chief, you heard those words that he repeated so often and repeated again at the El Paso convention: "It is better to fight and lose than not to fight at all." And with that thought in mind, realizing that our International Union in 1922 had 82,000 members on strike for over nine months and that we came out victorious, realizing that after that terrific struggle, with the depression that has taken place in our industry, the fight would be a terrible strain on our International Union, realizing that during the past four years we have scarcely had a breathing spell from the attacks made by the combined efforts of the Textile Manufacturers' Association, we went on with the fight.

But that is not all. It is bad enough to fight when you are justified in the fight against the employers in your own industry, but lo and behold, when the American Thread Company was staggering from the resistance we were offering, they proceeded to Hart-

ford, Connecticut, and there, in consultation with the Metal Trades Association of that city, with the lawyer representing the Metal Trades Association, a little more courage was given to the weakened backbone of the American Thread Company or the board of directors of this foreign corporation.

My friends, in Willimantic, Connecticut, our people were hurled out into the streets. The State constabulary were called out by Governor Trumbull. We made every attempt to have these hirelings withdrawn, we appealed to the hearts of the people to see to it that they were withdrawn, but all to no avail in so far as Governor Trumbull was concerned. Our people were housed in tents close by the city of Willimantic.

President Green came into the midst of that fight, and by his encouraging words helped us to carry on the fight. We textile workers felt honored, we felt encouraged, and we proceeded to carry on, and we intend to carry on even though the coldness of a bitter New England winter is upon us. It is our intention and our determination to go on and on in this struggle, regardless of what the sufferings of our people may be, regardless of the consequences, until we impress the employers of the textile industry with the fact that the textile workers now are willing to make any sacrifice to have it written into the record of the trade union movement that we hesitate not when justice is on our side.

The great Connecticut Federation of Labor came to our assistance—not alone Connecticut, but all of New England. Our textile workers in every hamlet and town came to our assistance, even with their low earnings. Our textile workers in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, in New York, and in the sunny south—all are giving of their life to help us in this struggle, and what do we want you to do? You have given to us times without number, you have helped us in many, many fights, you have for years heard this plea upon the floor of many conventions and have asked yourselves, "what are the textile workers doing?" My friends, I ask you to only enter once into the portals of a cotton or woolen or silk mill in New England, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, or in any of the States in the south, and there realize the conditions that confront the representatives of the textile

workers. There see the faces of the workers, in most cases heavy hung, and watch them as they leave their places of employment, as they drag their weary limbs after them to their homes, to their hovels in many instances, and then see what mood they are in to receive the message that labor carries to them.

Yes, our task is a heavy one, and we desire, Mr. President, that there shall go forth from this convention—and I know it will be carried by the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and by the delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada—to every hamlet and town, the message that the American Thread Company has evicted one hundred and fifty families, thrown them out on the streets, families numbering as high as twelve in number. It is a difficult task to impress upon the minds of the members of organized labor in many localities the fight that these wonderful people are putting up in the city of Willimantic, Connecticut. All they need is a loaf or a half a loaf; all they need is sufficient nourishment to keep body and soul together; all they need is sufficient coal to keep warm in the homes that we have supplied them to the best of our ability. Our tents are vacated today, and we ask you to say to your wives, your daughters and your sweethearts in the many corners of this land that the products of this American Thread Company are produced under the conditions I have described to you, and that those products should not be used in our homes. What a fine thing if we could say that to companies that use it in great quantities.

We are doing our best in this struggle. You know and the world knows that the treasury of the United Textile Workers is not bursting over. We are meeting these issues as they come along, and in every corner the employers are keeping us busy, but let me say that my colleagues and myself, while help lasts, will have the courage to meet the future without fear, asking no favors from the corporations, but merely demanding that justice to which we are entitled, and with that courage and that determination, with the real, bona fide relations that exist between the rank and file and the representatives of organized labor, we intend to carry on in the face of

all obstacles until the American Thread Company understands that the United Textile Workers of America is an International Union that has the spirit to fight when fight is necessary. With your help victory will be ours.

I might add that we received communications from Secretary Davis, of the Department of Labor, requesting us to arbitrate the matter. We complied with that request and made the facts known to President Coolidge. The corporation has turned down the appeal of the Department of Labor to arbitrate the question.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 34 was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hirschberg: This completes the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, which is signed:

JACOB FISCHER, Chairman,
WALTER V. PRICE,
L. E. SWARTZ,
F. J. CULLUM,
LOUIS PINKOFSKY,
JOSEPH M. MARSHALL,
GEORGE T. McCAFFREY,
JOHN T. WOOD,
W. J. YARROW,
FRED W. SUITOR,
CHARLES A. SIGMUND,
ED. R. DERRICKSON,
MARY E. MEEHAN,
C. A. WEBER,
ADOLPH HIRSCHBERG,

Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole, on motion of Delegate Hirschberg, and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

PRESENTATION OF GIFTS TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: The chair desires to interrupt the proceedings for just a moment in order to perform a very pleasing service. It has always been the custom of the delegates attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor to present to the fraternal delegates who are with us some concrete expression of their good will. This rule has been followed without interruption, and the delegates to this convention have, in a most genuine and hearty way, conformed to this very pleasing rule. Through a voluntary contribution taken among the delegates we have purchased for our fra-

ternal delegates some beautiful presents, and it is a very great privilege for me, a most pleasing opportunity to present these gifts this morning.

I have for Brother A. A. Purcell, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, a very pretty watch and chain, and in presenting this to him I want to assure him that there accompanies this gift the feelings of good will and friendship on the part of the delegates attending this convention. This watch will be a gentle reminder in the days to come of his visit and his association with the delegates here. We want him to understand that there goes with it those sentiments that spring up in the human breast, sentiments which cannot be measured by any rule that has been set up. The sentiments far surpass the intrinsic value of the gift. And so, Brother Purcell, we ask you to accept this with all the kindly, friendly sentiments that we may present to you with it.

Fraternal Delegate Purcell: Mr. President and fellow delegates: I thank you most heartily and sincerely for your kindness in this matter, and I can only say that, as throughout my past thirty-one years of experience and constant association with my own trade unions and the general trade union movement of Great Britain, and since my association with the trade union movements in various parts of the world, I shall regard this as indeed one of the highest, if not the highest treasure of all. I shall regard it and look upon it as a far greater tribute to our great movement's work and capacity, and indeed to the great work and worth of the labor movement of America.

Whatever may be our feelings with regard to the rapidity with which we shall proceed toward our goal and ultimate aim, whatever may be the differences we may have, if there are any, they will be purely surface differences, so far as I can see, but in any case we shall certainly stand for all time for the ultimate success of the great labor movement of the world, which carries with it the emancipation of the workers in every part of the world.

President Green: Apparently the committee which rendered such splendid service in obtaining these gifts understood perfectly well that our good friend, Fraternal Delegate Ben Smith, was properly watched

and that he did not need to be watched additionally, and so the committee decided to purchase for him a beautiful diamond stick pin. I present this pin to him in the name of the delegates attending this convention, and with it all the friendly sentiments which I have just expressed to Brother Purcell.

Fraternal Delegate Smith: Mr. President and friends: Thank you.

President Green: The committee certainly was very discriminating. They seemed to know about the needs of each one. They seemed to think that Brother Donald Dear, Fraternal Delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, needed watching. I presume they arrived at that conclusion because he brought his very good wife with him. And so in addition to being watched by his wife they decided that he should be watched with a watch, and I have great pleasure in presenting to Fraternal Delegate Dear this watch. I repeat again that I cannot add to the very friendly and lofty sentiments which I expressed previously by saying anything further to Brother Dear. With all that these words imply I ask you, Brother Dear, to accept this watch as the gift of the delegates here in this convention.

Fraternal Delegate Dear: Mr. President and fellow delegates: From the bottom of my heart I thank you for this splendid gift. I am sure that it will be a happy memory to me of the friendly relations we have had since I have been in Atlantic City.

President Green: The committee did not overlook the good companion and wife of Brother Dear, and I ask you, Mrs. Dear, to accept from the delegates attending this convention this beautiful diamond LaValliere, and with it their good wishes.

(Mrs. Dear accepted the gift and bowed in acknowledgment).

President Green: You all know Fraternal Delegate Roberto Haberman. He needs watching. He needs watching in the full sense of the word. And so, Brother Haberman, I present to you a beautiful wrist watch, and with it all the sentiments and friendly feelings that I indicated in presenting the other gifts.

Fraternal Delegate Haberman: I wish to thank you, Brother Green, for this nice present, and I want to assure you that

this watch is not going to corrupt me; I shall continue to live in the land of tomorrow. They use watches in Mexico as beautiful ornaments. I once asked a Mexican to tell me the time of day. It was in Yucatan and it was midday, and he looked at his watch, ready, as they all are in Mexico to serve, he looked at it, dreaming and dozing in that terrific heat, put it back in his pocket and said: "Quien sabe?"—who knows.

President Green: The committee seems to know there is a distinct difference between Brother Haberman and Brother Vargas, and because they were informed as to this distinct difference they discriminated in the selection of the presents which I am now giving to them. The committee purchased for Brother Vargas a beautiful diamond pin. We know that this gift is quite appropriate for Brother Vargas, and I present it to him with all the good wishes and friendly feelings of the delegates here assembled.

Fraternal Delegate Vargas: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: It seems to me that if we keep on this business of exchanging fraternal delegates there will be a time when it is going to be mighty expensive. As far as Mexico is concerned, for a few years past we have been exchanging delegates to the American Federation of Labor. But aside from receiving and entertaining and giving presents, there is a compensation, and that is the good will and the current of understanding that is established between our different peoples through this exchange of delegates. I know that no other thing has helped more in the case of Mexico than this exchange of delegates. We had about three hundred of you down there last year, and I know that you know more about Mexico now than you did before.

I thank you very much.

President Green: Now at the close of the performance of this very pleasant duty I know I may say, as a parting word to our fraternal delegates, that we wish for them a most pleasant and happy visit in America and a safe return to their homes and loved ones again.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY

Delegate Harding, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee amended Resolution No. 52 to read:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORKDAY

To Defeat Proposed Legislation to Abolish Eight Hour Day on Public Works

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Lee Hall, of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The public press of yesterday carried a news item from Dallas, Texas, entitled War Against Day Labor, in which the Associated General Contractors of America has prepared a bill for introduction in Congress providing for all public works above \$5,000,000 to be done by contract instead of by day labor as practiced by the United States Government, and State and County and Municipal Governments; and

WHEREAS, The laboring men and women of America who desire to work to maintain themselves and families, are confronted daily with a problem of securing employment, and whereas, with the increase of modern machinery (of which we have no desire to eliminate) is being installed in all industries which is displacing many workers; and

WHEREAS, With the ever-increasing population of our country being approximately eighteen million increase in the last fifteen years, and a misplacement of the workers by improved machinery, the workers realize the necessity of a shorter workday; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledges its best efforts to defeat any effort to enact legislation which has for its purpose the elimination of per diem work by Federal, State or Municipal public works; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it will do all in its power to secure legislation requiring all Federal, State or Municipal public work contracts to stipulate by their terms that all labor under such contract shall be upon the basis of an eight-hour day and the payment of the prevailing union wage for the employees engaged in such public work.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Cooperate With Affiliated Government Employees' Unions for Extension of Saturday Half-Holiday in Government Employ

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lippold, Perry J. Bradish and Charles R. Gale, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally and Charles Wie-

gand, National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The Saturday Half-Holiday observance, which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employes and employers; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in private industrial pursuits and in state and municipal governments; and

WHEREAS, In some instances encouraging progress has recently been made in applying this beneficial policy in Federal activities, with resultant benefits to the public and the employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of the United States Government establishing and maintaining advanced employment standards, instruct the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employes for the purpose of having the Saturday Half-Holiday observance in government establishments extended to benefit every possible worker.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Recommendation of the Committee

In addition to its report upon the resolutions submitted to it, your committee desires to incorporate in its report some observations and convictions in connection with the subject of a shorter workday.

The goal set by the early trade union movement of our country was an eight-hour day. Through the organized strength of our movement operating directly in the industrial field, the ten, the nine and finally the eight-hour day was established. Today we must look upon eight hours as the maximum which should be permitted.

Since our movement first set the eight-hour day as the goal to be won revolutionary changes have taken place in the processes through which commerce and industry are carried on. The freight train of fifteen hand-braked cars has been replaced by trains of over a hundred, each car containing a hundred fold greater carrying capacity. The ships which cross the seas carry more in one voyage than a fleet of freight carriers could transport half a century ago. In industry the development of giant power which in turn is applied to the marvelous automatic and semi-auto-

matic machinery of today has created conditions surrounding production in industry undreamed of a few short decades ago. Industrial processes have placed a much greater strain upon the workers' vitality. Many of these processes tend to seriously injure and sometimes destroy the workers' health if labor is continued for an eight-hour period. Already, as in the case of caisson workers, four hours and sometimes less is all that heart and lungs can stand. In many of our industrial processes, the conditions under which labor must be performed make it mandatory for humane considerations alone that the hours of labor should be reduced below eight, and the week's work to not more than five days. But there are practical conditions as well as those of a humane character which call for a shortening of the hours of labor. The marvelous development of machinery, the equipment of modern industrial plants, the more intelligent study of the problems of production have enabled industry operating but part time to produce more than the world as at present organized is capable of consuming.

These modern methods of production, which there is every reason to believe will be developed upon a yet greater scale, in addition to providing more of the materials required by society should also provide greater opportunity for leisure and the enjoyment of the worth-while things of life. Unless it accomplishes these conditions, then modern industry has failed to give civilization a full justification for its existence.

Your committee therefore recommends that it shall be the policy of the American Federation of Labor to assist in establishing reasonable and advisable reductions in the hours of labor so that eight hours per day shall be the maximum and lesser hours the general rule.

Respectfully submitted,

M. J. KEOUGH, Chairman.
JOHN C. HARDING, Secretary.
E. J. McGIVERN,
E. J. GAINOR,
THOS. P. HYLAND,
H. J. CONWAY,
SAMUEL PERLMUTTER,
PETER BEISEL,
CHARLES F. SCOTT,
LEE HALL,
JAMES L. GERNON,
M. H. PARKER,
PERRY J. BRADISH,
MOLLY E. WEITLER,
FRANK B. POWERS.

Committee on Shorter Work Day.

The report of the committee, as a whole, was adopted, and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Employment Benefits and Old Age Pensions

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 62, the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council reports that "A considerable amount of information upon these important subjects has been secured and will be compiled and published at the earliest possible date."

Your committee commends the activity of the Executive Council in this matter and asks that the convention approve this action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Condemning the Secession Movement of Express Workers Under the Organization Known as "American Federation of Express Workers"

Resolution No. 70.—By Delegates E. H. Fitzgerald, E. V. Badley, G. H. Nicholson, H. W. Harper, E. E. Wooten, C. A. Weber, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, Certain former officers of this organization, i. e., Jas. J. Forrester and others, have fostered and attempted to organize a rump outlaw association among the express workers, former members of this and other organizations, and which has been named by them, "The American Federation of Express Workers"; and

WHEREAS, The expressed purpose of this outlaw movement is to segregate the express workers in an organization not recognized by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The said outlaw organization has led certain of the express workers to believe that for the reason of the name adopted, the movement has the sanction and support of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor recognizes only organizations participating legitimately in the trade labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does by the adoption of this resolution, condemn the so-called organization of express workers known as "The American Federation of Express Workers," and calls upon all affiliated organizations to lend their aid and support in stamping out this movement, and

the American Federation of Labor does further condemn the outlaw organization for the reason of the misleading name adopted by the secessionists for the obvious purpose of misleading the express workers into joining an outlaw organization whose sole purpose is the disruption of the recognized labor movement.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution and that this convention again go on record as condemning in the most emphatic manner all attempts at the establishing or fostering of dual or seceding unions in any industry, the organization of which now holds affiliation to the American Federation of Labor through a charter issued by that Federation, and that we now again, as in the past, pledge our unwavering support to any organization whose existence is threatened or whose peaceful and successful operation is disturbed by the activities of secessionists who seek to overthrow or disrupt a division of the trade union movement, which is orderly proceeding under the laws and by a charter from the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

TEAMSTERS—RAILWAY CLERKS

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 39 and 40, the committee reported as follows:

In the Executive Council's Report on pages 39 and 40, under the caption "Teamsters—Railway Clerks," will be found the statement of this controversy together with the action of the El Paso Convention, and the further action of the Executive Council, in conformity to the instruction of the convention.

At the El Paso Convention, the Executive Council reported that it had awarded jurisdiction of all drivers who are not mechanics and helpers (the term helper meaning men who load and unload wagons and trucks) at that time holding membership in the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, to be transferred to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

This decision was approved by the unanimous vote of the El Paso Convention.

Your Executive Council further reports that up until this time the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees have entirely failed and neglected to carry out or put into effect the decision of the American Federation of Labor at its convention in El Paso, in November, 1924, and has failed and neglected to relinquish jurisdiction over the drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen and garage employees who are not mechanics, as provided for in that decision.

Your committee has heard the parties at interest and is unable to report as a result of that hearing that there is any indication of an intention on the part of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, to carry into effect the decision of the El Paso Convention covering this jurisdictional dispute.

We therefore recommend approval of the recommendation of the Executive Council that "the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor until it shall have complied with the Executive Council's decision."

Your committee recommends to this convention that the charter of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, be suspended if within ninety days the officers and Grand Executive Board of that organization shall not have taken the necessary steps to put into effect the decision of the Executive Council, approved by the convention at El Paso, in November, 1924.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fitzgerald, Brotherhood Railway Clerks, opposed the recommendation of the committee, and said in part: At the time this was before the El Paso convention the delegate representing our Brotherhood at that time, and who has since proved a traitor, was in conference with a representative of the Teamsters' International, and agreed that we would take no action on this matter or speak on the convention floor, because it was going to be settled in the convention. There were several delegates in the convention perfectly capable and intelligent enough to discuss this matter if they had been given an opportunity.

Since the express employees have been admitted into our brotherhood in the latter

part of 1919 we have paid into the American Federation of Labor \$91,000. We have attempted to do everything the American Federation of Labor, state federations and central bodies have requested us to do. The delegates in this convention must realize that it is a hard matter to educate a class of employees, a large majority of whom knew nothing about the labor movement a short time ago.

Since 1920 there has been a reduction of 273,000 employees in the transportation industry on the railroads, to say nothing about the great reduction in the force of the American Railway Express Company. There are 23,000 members in good standing today in our organization employed by the American Railway Express Company that are affected. The controversy between the teamsters' organization and our organization has developed out of the jurisdiction over teamsters and chauffeurs in large terminal cities only, just a few of the large terminal cities, but there is no controversy about the great mass of employees scattered through the United States.

The speaker at this point explained the seniority system adopted by the organization with reference to express company employees, and stated that they would be adversely affected by the report of the committee if adopted. He also described the conditions under which the men worked, some of them being employed as teamsters or chauffeurs one day and as freight handlers or clerks the next day; that in many places a man would drive a small truck for two or three hours a day and work in the office or on the platform the remainder of the day. He also explained that the men carried insurance policies, the policy issued depending upon the length of time a man has been in the organization, and stated that the policies were backed by a million dollar fund. Continuing, Delegate Fitzgerald said:

At the last conference with the distinguished president of the Teamsters' Union in Cincinnati he said he would be willing to settle this controversy on a 51 per cent basis, the same as they settled with the Longshoremen, but in our conference with President Green the other day President Tobin said he did not mean that to apply to large terminal cities but only to the smaller places. In order to be sure that we were right in our contentions the Execu-

tive Board of our organization came to Atlantic City and remained here two weeks. We went to the time-keepers' office in New York and checked up the men involved in this dispute. I found that of twelve men who were supposed to be handling transfer, not one devoted more than three hours to work on the wagon.

If there is some way by which the Teamsters' organization and our Brotherhood can agree so that these members will not suffer and lose their insurance and in some cases their positions, our organization would like to go along with them. Brother Tobin said in the conference the other day that he wanted this decision put into effect and then he would talk about adjustment with us. That cannot be done. The few years I have been attending the conventions of the American Federation of Labor I have heard all kinds of jurisdiction questions discussed here, where not so many men involved as are involved in this case, but I never heard of the big international organizations losing their charters because they did not reach an agreement by arbitration or otherwise.

I don't know what will happen to our organization if the charter is revoked. We have done everything we could to organize these men, who are sometimes called "white collar men." You know there are big brotherhoods who are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor because of some small jurisdiction questions. Don't turn these express employees on the street, because if you do you will never get them back in any volume into the American Federation of Labor again.

There is some solution of this problem without having the daily press go out to-night over this country giving some help to the enemy, telling this man who at one time led this great Brotherhood of ours what has been done, and giving him an opportunity to say, "Yes, the American Federation of Labor has done what I told you they would do." We are not worrying about what Forrester is doing, we are not worrying that he can get six hundred of our members at any time to go into the rump organization he is heading; but unless there is some way of adjusting this without taking away from the clerks their charter, you will be sorry, for it will be difficult to get one hundred or two hundred thousand of them together again.

Delegate Nicholson, Railway Clerks, said in part: The Wells Fargo Express Company was organized sixty-five years ago last fall and up until the early months of 1918 there were employees of that company all over the United States that had never known the benefits of an organization; they had never been in any kind of union, and they had been working unearthly long hours and under unjustifiably hard conditions. They worked day and night and Sunday, there were no vacations and no decent rest periods, because there was no organization.

When I began service with the American Express Company twenty years ago there was no organization of express company employees. When we made application for employment the first question asked was whether we were ever a member of a trade union; the second was whether we would declare we would never join a trade union, and the third was that if we joined a trade union the application would be considered a disassociation with the company. In addition to that we have to give a history of ten years of our life before entering the service and we had to give bond of from five to ten thousand dollars, according to our salaries.

We decided to go into the A. F. of L., and so voted. After the meeting I went on my run to Dallas. When I got back to Kansas City I was surprised to hear the members had held another meeting and decided not to go into the Federation. I got in touch with Charles B. Nelson, at that time an organizer of the A. F. of L., took him to our hall and after a fight of an hour I was allowed to bring him into the meeting. After another hour of debate, we again voted to go into the A. F. of L., have remained in since, and hope to be allowed to remain, and at the same time be allowed to retain the class of employees in dispute. Continuing the discussion he said:

The organization was started in five cities. Kansas City was the hub because trains run in there from every point in the United States. We have at the present time in service in Kansas City six hundred messengers and their helpers, and in twenty-four hours they radiate over two-thirds of the United States. In Kansas City we formed what we thought was the nucleus of an organization. We did not know anything about unions. We had heard about the American Federation of Labor and were

favorable to it. The question was whether we should form an international union or what was called a company union. The express company had no objection to our forming a union that was not attached to any international union.

We finally decided it was the best way to go into the Railway Clerks. The Clerks sent out organizers. We got the assistance of Jim Forrester from Washington, D. C., and after considerable controversy with Secretary Morrison we were told, "It is all right! go ahead!" We had no money and a very small membership, but through the assistance of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks a committee of sixteen of our men from all over the United States went to Washington, D. C., to negotiate a contract with the American Railway Express Company. The Clerks advanced us \$36,000 to get that contract. If it had not been for that money I would not be here to talk to this delegation, the express workers would still be unorganized.

After we had been in the Clerks for several years this jurisdiction question was brought up and we were told to disassociate ourselves from them. I want to call your attention to the fact that the Executive Council says that we should disassociate the express driver and chauffeur. We have always denied that we have drivers or chauffeurs. That is only part of their work. In going over this situation I have compiled a list of eighty of the biggest cities in the United States, from New York, the biggest, to Oklahoma City, the smallest, and I find that the Brotherhood of Teamsters has not attempted up to this date, after seven years of organization, to organize the express employees except in seven cities of the United States, and we have members in fourteen hundred cities.

Should we disassociate the members in 1393 cities in order to allow Mr. Tobin to get the express employees in the seven largest cities in the United States? I don't think the convention will justify such action. We don't take a driver from a transfer company or any other company, we don't want them. I am sent here by the express employees to tell you that we want to remain a member of the American Federation of Labor. We want to be under its protection, we want to help in its deliberations, we want to help it to grow,

but we cannot accept the terms laid down by the Executive Council; and if we are disorganized we will do it ourselves and get together on the outside and do the best we can until the Executive Council or the convention sees the thing in its proper light and will help us organize the express workers of the United States.

Treasurer Tobin, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, in discussing the report of the committee, said in part: The International Brotherhood of Teamsters was chartered by the American Federation of Labor in 1899; the Brotherhood of Railway, Steamship and Express Clerks was chartered in 1908, nine years after the charter was granted to the Brotherhood of Teamsters, which was then called the Team Drivers' Union, with its first local union at Kansas City, Missouri. The constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that no charter can be issued by the Federation to any applicant, or some such language, granting jurisdiction over a class of work over which jurisdiction has been given to an organization already chartered by the Federation. Under no possible law or condition obtaining within the Federation could jurisdiction over drivers be given to the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, because they received their charter nine years after we had received jurisdiction over the same class of workers.

As evolution continued to obtain in the industry of hauling freight and merchandise, as the horse-drawn vehicle was being removed and the motor truck came into operation, we came in here, as we had a right to do under the law, and as some organizations feel they should not do and have not done, and added to our charter title the words, "Chauffeurs and Helpers," by unanimous vote of the convention of the Federation.

How this Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Express Employees and Steamship Clerks got their charter and what their understanding was I have never been able to find out. There were a great many charters issued in the old days without properly defining the jurisdiction; but if there was any understanding in the issuance of their charter in 1909 granting them the right to admit teamsters and chauffeurs it was a direct violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

The words "express employees" as obtains in their title gives them the right to admit to membership every employee in the employment of the two or three large railway express com-

panies of the country. According to a statement prepared by Mr. Nicholson, who has just spoken, there are 67,000 employees working for the American Railway Company. Of course I dispute that because I know it is not a statement of fact. In that employment there are bookkeepers in large numbers. There are in the New York building headquarters steamfitters, plumbers, carpenters and every other kind of workmen. They also have a restaurant in connection with their terminal. They have even a small printing plant, but this title they assume to work under gives them a right to take in all this great number of workers.

In 1905 in the city of Chicago, and four years before they received their charter, one of the worst strikes in the history of that city took place as a result of a dispute between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the express company employees in that city. There were twenty-two of the strikers members of our union, that lost their lives. In 1910 or 1911, in the city of New York, there were eight thousand drivers, chauffeurs and helpers on strike for a period of nearly four months until Mayor Gaynor compelled the express officials to enter into conference with us and give us a partial agreement. For years we have been striking, fighting, helping, endeavoring to organize, and sometimes succeeding in organizing the express drivers and chauffeurs in the employment of these companies.

Treasurer Tobin described the situation that prevailed during the war and following the war as it affected the members of both the organizations in question. He stated that several organizations of railway workers sprang up during the war and grew rapidly, but they showed very little consideration of the rights of other trades and acted very often without consulting with the American Federation of Labor. He referred particularly to the Maintenance of Way Employees as an organization that admitted to membership bricklayers, carpenters, steamfitters, plumbers, printers and almost every other kind of mechanic working for the railroads, but later complied with the rulings of the American Federation of Labor and are still affiliated with it. He also discussed negotiations that had taken place between the organizations of the Railway Clerks and Teamsters with regard to the members in dispute. Following this he said:

We want the men who drive trucks and haul freight or any other kind of material, whether it be trunks, baggage, live poultry, perishable foods, hauled by men who are exclusively drivers and chauffeurs.

I was over in Philadelphia the other night at a mass meeting of express drivers, chauffeurs and helpers holding membership in our organization, and found that every member of the express division in Philadelphia that held membership in the Clerks' union has gone into the seceding union, and not one member of our organization has left the Teamsters.

Treasurer Tobin discussed at length the various measures taken by the American Federation of Labor to adjust the differences between the two organizations, stating that in May, 1924, Vice-President Valentine was appointed to hold a conference with the contending parties but failed to effect a settlement; that later Vice-President Wilson was appointed to call the rival interests together and hold a conference, and did so, but failed to effect a settlement.

In concluding his discussion, Treasurer Tobin said: We don't want clerks. There are five clerks to one driver working for the express company. We don't want anyone that does not belong to us, but you might as well take our charter away if you are going to give to every organization a part of the membership that works under the jurisdiction of our international. Fortunately, or unfortunately, we come in touch with every trade. We haul lumber to the carpenter, metal pipe to the plumber, paper to the printer, freight to the retail clerks, dry goods, shoes, we haul leather to shoe factories, and we haul to the railroads hundreds of thousands of tons of freight shipped by the express company. We ask jurisdiction over those drivers and chauffeurs. We cannot have them here and not have them there; we are entitled to them everywhere or we are not entitled to them at all. I ask you as international officers representing your unions and trying to guard your own jurisdictions to sustain the action of the Executive Council.

The question was further discussed briefly by Delegate Fitzgerald, who replied to a number of statements made by Treasurer Tobin.

Further discussion was postponed until the afternoon session.

At 12.30 o'clock an adjournment was taken to 2.30 p. m. of the same day.

Eighth Day--Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 o'clock p. m., President Green in the chair.

Absentees

Franklin, Dohney, Tracy (W.), Boyer, Bradish, Conway (H. J.), Zaritzky, Spector, DeRaay, Rosemund, Knott, Feeney, Snow, Sigman, Kreindler, Perlmutter, Bock, Hill (C. E.), Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Crough, Lewis (J. L.), Hall (L.), Nesbit, Golden, Parker (M. H.), Fallon, Funder, Burk, Stecker, Manion, Alexander, Jewell, Nigro, Atkins (J. M.), Allen (G. H.), Hall (E. G.), Ely, Nelligan, Steadman, Wieck, Kelley (J. R.), Patton, O'Dell, Long (C. D.), Hardin, Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Walsh (T. F.), Hughes (F.), Bower, Reed (C. L.), Vaughn, Woodmansee, Trimmer, Peterson (S.), McGeary, Tinney, Carozzo, Shafir, Abrams, Ruben, Effrat, Geyer, Rogers (J. P.), Simons, Blackman, Camous, Miller (A. M.), Tracy (E. J.), Portway.

Discussion was resumed on the subject matter before the convention at the noon adjournment, the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report upon the jurisdictional dispute between the Railway Clerks and Freight Handlers and the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs.

Delegate Harper, Railway Clerks, in defending the position of that organization, said in part:

This convention is in session for the purpose of advancing the cause of trade unionism and to devise ways and means and policies for improving wages and working conditions for those employees whom we are here to represent. In this dispute under discussion, as I see it, it is the duty of this convention to decide which organization will bring to these men the greater measure of the things for which they organized; it is the duty of this convention to provide the most adequate means of permitting these employees to advance their wages and working conditions.

I grant you we are placed in an embarrassing position here today. We are placed in the position of questioning the judgment of the Executive Council. We do that with no thought of setting ourselves up as being superior in judgment. We are here today representing those employees, speaking the sentiments that they would speak if they were here.

In some of the statements made this morning it was admitted by the other side,

I believe, that an overwhelming majority of the express employees throughout the country are in our organization, and if I am not mistaken the admission was also made that the larger portion of the chauffeurs and drivers were also in our organization.

You were told here this morning that these men came into this organization through misrepresentation; you were told that these men came in on the promise that we would furnish them some kind of insurance amounting to eight hundred dollars a year. In order to clarify the situation, let us look into the contract under which they work, let us look into the wages they are getting. It is true that neither wages nor working conditions represent what they should, but I stand here today to tell you that there has been greater advancement among the express employees than has occurred in any other branch of the railway service since 1919. These employees came into this organization because we went to bat for them when they had no one else to go to bat for them. They are staying in this organization because they are satisfied with the things we have done for them. We went out in 1920 and got this 16-cent increase, and when the depression hit us in 1921 and 1922 they got a less reduction in pay, and only one, whereas the railway clerks got two. These men did not come in because they were intimidated, or through fake insurance schemes, they came in because they recognized in it a fighting, militant organization, fully capable of taking care of their demands, because it embraces a membership throughout the United States. They came in because the man down in Marfa, Texas, has the same protection as the member here in Philadelphia or New York. These men came into our organization because our contract calls for an interlocking seniority.

I want to say something about seniority, just for the benefit of those who may not know how important it is to the man on the railroad or in transportation service. In the building crafts a man's job is a job, and ninety per cent are daylight shifts from eight to five. We have a different situation on the railroads, a multiplicity of jobs and

a multiplicity of shifts, and it permits a man to go from one position to another, to advance himself through seniority, and it is the dearest thing a railroad man has.

These men want this organization, they want the organization that will take them all in, they want the organization that will utilize its united strength throughout the United States, and not just in Philadelphia, New York and Chicago. They want them all in this organization, and they have instructed us to so notify this convention.

We believe if this Federation understands what this means to our employees you will not say, "Accept our dictum or get out." The question is easily susceptible of solution. What were we told in the Strand Hotel the other day? "Comply with the dictum of this Federation, and then if there is anything to give way we may give it away." Take the definition here as included in the instructions that come to us from the American Federation of Labor. They say that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks shall disassociate the drivers and chauffeurs from their organization. What does it mean? It means that drivers and chauffeurs, regardless of their duty, will be disassociated.

In that connection let me call this to your attention: a man is a driver for two weeks or three weeks; a fluctuation sets in and that man comes on the platform and is a bill clerk or a freight handler. Suppose a man does change from one classification to the other—who among us can say that this man is a driver or freight handler? And yet the dictum as written, as we understand it, would say to us that any man bearing the title of chauffeur or driver, without regard to his duties, will be immediately disassociated from the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

These men don't want that. They want to come into the organization of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks that went to bat for them in 1919 and has continued to go to bat for them. In 1919 we had these men stumbling about, they did not know where to go, they sent in for charters to the American Federation of Labor, and if the reports coming to me are correct the American Federation of Labor did not know how to dispose of these men, and as I understand it the final decision was that they could come into our organization because we were more closely akin to them than any other, with

the definite understanding that the jurisdiction matter would be settled later.

It is a question of doing for these men the things that will mean the most for them. If we take conditions as they obtain now down in Texas, there won't be a member of the Teamsters' Union there. If there is an express driver in Texas, my home State, who belongs to the Teamsters, I don't know where he is, and in my conversation with these men I can only be of one opinion, and that is that they would never be teamsters because they are too far removed from the seat of activity in the Teamsters' Union, whereas we have our district boards of adjustment.

The issue today is, will you or will you not give to these men the things that they believe, in their opinion, to be best for them.

Delegate Badley, Railway Clerks, also spoke in support of the position of his organization in the matter in controversy. He explained the machinery which the men have for the adjustment of their grievances and how it operates, adding that such grievances were handled under the provisions of the Transportation Act and were therefore disposed of in a manner somewhat different to that prevailing in other organizations.

Continuing, he said, in part: "Wherever there is a craft within the express company we don't go after these men. We never have. We simply stay in our own department, the express employees in the operating department, and this operating department is under the seniority rule.

"It has been pointed out, and I have seen it in my own experience, that a man who is listed as a driver soon becomes a way biller. I claim in all sincerity that the order made today by the Executive Council is too stringent, it cannot be practically carried out, because if you would tell us today to divide these men we could not do it. The company might say a man is a driver, and by the time we got to that station he would be a way bill clerk, and if you disassociate him from us today, next month he would have to be transferred into our local union. How many initiation fees would he pay, how long would he stay if he was going to be bounced from wall to wall?

"We do not want to injure the A. F. of L., we want to build it up, we want to add

men, and we will do it and have done it. Who organized these men? How many organizers have the Teamsters had out trying to get these men in? Only in large cities where they have business agents. We go out into every small town. My line was organized from Cheyenne, Wyoming, to San Francisco and from Ashland, Oregon, down to San Francisco. We have the machinery to handle these men, and we built up that machinery at a cost of thousands of dollars.

"The world is changing and the American Federation of Labor will have to apply the new things that are coming up. Designations made years ago covering certain classes do not apply today. That is what we claim. We don't have exclusive chauffeurs and teamsters, they are combination men. In all their work now they do the work of the other departments over which we have control, therefore I say this order could not be applied even if we were willing to apply it.

"We offered somewhat of a compromise: the others offered none. Are there not other organizations here which for years have been having jurisdictional disputes and their charter is not suspended yet? We ask for justice, and I know we will get it from this Federation of men who are square minded and honest, and we are going to leave it up to you, because I say to you the loss will not only be ours—if you suspend us the Teamsters won't get the men and the loss will be felt all around."

Vice-President Wilson, in explaining the position of the committee, said:

This is a question in the discussion of which it would appear that express employees were not doing the work that the American Federation of Labor says rightly comes under the jurisdiction of the Teamsters' organization. This question has been pending in the American Federation of Labor for some time. It is not a question of seniority, it is not a question of express employees, it is a clear case of whether the Teamsters' organization shall have jurisdiction over teamsters and chauffeurs employed by the express companies of this country, or whether there shall be a division in the organization of teamsters and chauffeurs and part of them shall be members of the Clerks' organization.

In the argument that has been presented

here today by the Clerks they say they do not recognize these men as teamsters and chauffeurs, that they recognize them as express employees, and they use the argument that they go from the express or from the driving to a clerkship or some other kind of a position. The Executive Council in its report does not give to the Brotherhood of Teamsters jurisdiction of these men when they pass from the occupation of a driver to a clerical position or any other position in the express company's employ. The decision of the Executive Council is that men who drive teams or who operate motor driven trucks properly come under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, and the report of this committee does not say to the Clerks, as has been stated on this floor, "get out of the American Federation of Labor." That is not true.

The records will prove that for more than a year every effort that was humanly possible was made to get the Clerks to agree to the decision of the Executive Council and the convention of the American Federation of Labor. This report of this committee asks again that the Clerks abide by the action of the convention of the American Federation of Labor and extends the time of compliance for a period of ninety days. So we don't ask the Clerks to get out, we appeal to them to stay in, we appeal to them to comply, just as other organizations have been appealed to, just as other organizations have complied. We don't seek now or at any time to drive from the American Federation of Labor the affiliated organizations, but we seek to bring in more organizations, but when investigation has been made of a question in which organizations are involved, and when the record clearly proves that an organization has transgressed upon the rights of another organization, and when the declaration has been made, assuredly there must be some means within the Federation to seek compliance with the decisions of the Federation.

It has been developed in the testimony that I have heard in this case on several occasions for more than a year that there are men driving teams and operating motor driven vehicles in the employ of the express companies that have been engaged at that one particular line of work for years; they

have never been transferred or promoted from the wagon or truck, but they remained as drivers and chauffeurs through the entire period of their employ by the express company.

I sat in the office of the Railway Clerks in Cincinnati with the executive board of the Clerks' organization, with the president of the Teamsters' organization and one of their representatives, and I heard the president of the Teamsters' Union say, when the question of these men as was brought out here this morning working part time in office and part time on trucks, that the Teamsters did not want the men who devoted less than half of their time to team driving. The Clerks did not then accept that proposition of arriving at a solution of this question. Nowhere in the action of the Executive Council, nowhere in the action of a convention of the American Federation of Labor, nowhere in the report of this committee can be found anything to show that the committee has given to the Brotherhood of Teamsters jurisdiction over a man who works at anything else but team driving and chauffeuring and the helper in the garage employ, that is now specified in the charter rights of that organization.

We say and would say, if it was before us, if the Teamsters' organization had clerks in their union who did not properly come under their jurisdiction, they should disassociate themselves from these members.

We do not seek to weaken the strength of the American Federation of Labor, we do not seek to weaken the strength of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, we seek to give support to them, and in return we ask them to comply with the established rules of procedure of the American Federation of Labor.

In the more than twenty-five years of my experience as a delegate to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, in listening to all the jurisdiction disputes that have transpired during all those years, I have never seen a case where an organization was so justified as the Teamsters are in their contention for these men.

The committee asks you to accept its report, which is but an endorsement of the action of the Executive Council, and we ask you to adopt it in the interests of proper procedure, in the interests of our

entire movement. The committee wants, as I am sure the Council and all the delegates to this Federation want to convey to the Clerks' organization that we do not seek to injure, but to be of benefit to them, and we ask them to comply with the rules and procedure of this great Federation of Labor in the interests of us all.

Delegate Simester, Fire Fighters: A point of information, Mr. Chairman. I would like to find out if at this time or in the future this controversy will interfere with the drivers or the chauffeurs in the fire departments throughout the United States.

President Green: That subject is not under discussion at this time.

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, reiterated the position of the committee as stated by Chairman Wilson, and said, in part:

I would like to bring to your attention a certain phase of this case that has been entirely overlooked. That is the question of procedure under the rules and laws of the American Federation of Labor. The jurisdictional rights have been carefully outlined, the lines of demarcation between the two organizations at interest in this controversy have been very clearly stated, but with that full understanding of the merits of the case there comes to this convention in a direct form a question that is far more serious and important than the rights of either of the organizations affected, and that is the right of the American Federation of Labor as such to insist upon the observance of the rules, regulations and laws that are made and the procedure that is established by the convention.

Every step that has been taken in this controversy up until this time has been taken in conformity with the laws and the practices of the American Federation of Labor. If the organization which is now before this convention under the possible restraint of having its charter arrested stands before this convention in that position, it is because of its failure to observe the laws that have been made by this convention and the procedure established by this convention.

This matter has been pending for years, and many, many efforts have been made to bring about an amicable adjustment of the difficulty, one that would be satisfac-

tory to both sides, and I have this to say for the Clerks: they have at least been consistent throughout the entire period of the controversy in holding persistently to a position which is contrary to the laws and the practices of the American Federation of Labor. They have declined and still do decline to submit themselves to our laws and our rules.

It impressed me as a little singular that, in the face of the information which was in possession of the representatives of the Railway Clerks, that unless they did comply with the decision of the El Paso convention they would be presented to the Atlantic City convention and that the Executive Council would be constrained to recommend that their charter be suspended until such time as they did comply; they made no appeal to the convention, not a resolution nor a suggestion entered into the record of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, showing that the Clerks intended to appeal or to ask further consideration or to bring their case before the convention in any other shape or form than that in which it would appear from the report of the Executive Council.

The committee could have made no other report than it has made, and the committee feels that it was justified in making that report because it involves the integrity of the American Federation of Labor. If the Federation cannot induce an affiliated body to obey the formal decisions made by its Executive Council and approved by a convention, then it has but one recourse and that is to withdraw its affiliation from the body that proceeds in its contumacy.

I am sure no delegate on this floor would want to weaken the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in any way; we want to strengthen the organization, and we believe that we will be strengthening them if we induce them to move in good order and in a disciplinary manner to the accomplishment of the purposes that they have in view in establishing and maintaining their organization.

This Federation owes it to itself, even when most charitably inclined, to insist that every affiliated organization here submits to its rules and the laws that are made for the government of all, and that is the point that is involved in this controversy:

does the American Federation of Labor mean what it says when it tells an affiliated organization that it must comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor?

In reply to an inquiry by Delegate Fitzgerald, Railway Clerks, as to the proper method in which to obtain a roll call vote, President Green stated that such a vote might be had in accordance with the rules if the request was supported by a sufficient number of delegates.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men: I desire to call attention to the law upon a subject of this kind that makes it necessary, in order to suspend a charter of an affiliated Union, to have a roll call vote, with a two-thirds vote in favor of suspension.

President Green: The Chair will reply to Delegate Mahon by calling his attention to the fact that the laws of the Federation provide that the charter of an affiliated Union can only be revoked by a two-thirds vote of the delegates in attendance at a convention, and then only upon a roll call. The Chair finds, from an examination of precedent in cases of this kind, that a conditional suspension of a charter has not been construed to mean the revocation of a charter, and that the report of a committee which requires compliance with the rulings of a convention may be adopted by a majority vote.

On a yea and nay vote being taken, President Green stated it was the opinion of the Chair that the report of the committee had been adopted.

Delegate Fitzgerald, Railway Clerks, requested a roll call vote. The request was supported by seventy-eight delegates, more than the necessary number, and the roll was called, with the following result:

Teamsters—Railway Clerks

Yes—Mullaney, Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Shanessy, Fischer, Baker, Wenzel, Pearl, Horn, Franklin, Scott (C. F.), Dohney, McGuire, Reddick, Belair, Meehan, Lovely, Baine, Beasley, Anderson (F. W.), Weitler, Kugler, Obergfell, Sullivan (J.), Bowen (W. J.), Jones (G.), Thornton, Lyons, Price, Shaughnessy, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Cullum, Hyland, Hutcheson, Duffy (F.), Walker (G. T.), Howat, Lindeman, Bennett, Taylor (M. D.), Tierney, Perkins, Ornburn, Campbell (W. A.), Sexton, Flaherty, Bradish, Lippold, Gale, Coulter, Conway, Doyle (J.), Noonan, McNulty, Joyce, Paulsen, O'Connor (J. S.), Knott, Evans (E. J.), Feeney, McAndrews,

Snow, Huddell, Evans (D.), Murphy (M.), Cooley, Woll, Schmal, Steward, Fitzgerald (J.), McNally, Wiegand, Baer, Simester, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Kaufman, Sorkin, Rickert, Larger, Doyle (F.), Adamski, Houck, Sigman, Kreindler, Pinkofsky, Antonini, Perlmutter, Dubinsky, Maloney, Griffin, Clarke (W. P.), Gallagher, Squibb, Duncan, Greene (M. F.), Donigan, Scully, D'Alessandro, Moreschi, Marshall (J.), Etchison, Fosco, Marshall (H. S.), Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, McDevitt, Kovel-eski, Tighe, McSorley, Duty, Case, Bryan, Gainer, Finnan, Duffy (C. D.), Swartz, Mugavin, Chlopek, Ryan (J. P.), Fechner, Fry, Haggerty, Larkin, Marshall (G.), Wills, Rode, Hynes, Frayne, Redding, Pat-tison, Moyer, Crough, McMullen, Lewis, Murray, Green (W.), Farrington, Hall, Kennedy, Nesbit, Golden (C. J.), Keough, Frey, McCaffrey, Boswell, Weber, Carey, Weaver, Canavan, Hirschberg, Parks, Yar-row, Kelly (J.), Lammert, Smith (N. F.), Triggs, Doyle (J. J.), Eisenring, Wilson, Gernon, Hannah, Bergstrom, Fischer, Mc-Givern, Donlin, Watson, Cook, Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Sullivan (J. J.), Fallon, An-derson (C.), Britton, Kelsay, Wood, Clark (W. N.), Furuseth, Canavan, Maloy, Grif-fin (H. C.), Ryan (P. J.), Keegan, Sum-ner, Cashen, Connors, Stecker, Tobin, Hughes, Gillespie, Neer, McLaughlin, Mc-Caffrey, Thomas, McMahon, Conboy (S. A.), Walden, Collins, Lynch, Morrison, Harding, McCullough, Young, Kohn, Alexander, Tracy (W. J.), O'Connell, Manning, Mur-phy, Atkins, Gramling, Walker (J. H.), Lewis (J. C.), Egan, Greer, Kearney, Ely, Hilfers, Holland, Kummer, Iglesias, Fox, Busby, Aymon, Nelson, Hammer, Campbell (W. M.), Ames, Foster, Zusi, Keating, Burch, Sampson, Fitzmaurice, Doyle (F.), Martinez, Marsh, Weimar, Covert, Bohm, Oglesby, Campbell (A. C.), Flynn (M. J.), representing 23,849 votes.

No—Powlesland, Morrin, McGinn, Ryan (E.), O'Brien, Fitzgerald (E. H.), Harper, Wooten, Nicholson, Weber, Badley, Spector, Deckard, Harbert, Morrison (H. L.), Fljoz-dal, Milliman, Miller (L.), Berry, Higgins, McHugh, Smith (W.), Sigmund, Burke (J. F.), Sullivan (H. W.), Sutor, Collins (Wm.), Strickland, Mahon, Fitzgerald (W. B.), Shea, Quinlan, Reardon, Bruce, Helt, Austin, Cone, Manion, Ramsay, Perham, Derricksen, Smith (G. R.), Powers, Hayes (M. S.), Armstrong, Barringer, Reilly, Rohr, Ryan (J.), Fitzsimmons, Anderson (G.), Hart, Loneragan, Berger, representing 3,910 votes.

Not voting—Aitkens, Boyer, Quesse, David, Zaritsky, Zuckerman, de Raay, Rose-mund, Bock, Hill, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Parker, Barry, McQuade, Olander, Pryor, Mitchell, Basky, Funder, Burk, Sweeney, Soderberg, Bolander, Jewell, Bowen, Nigro, Taylor (T. N.), Allen, Hall (E. G.), Nelligan, McAndrew, Ohl, Stead-man, Kutz, Cunningham, Wieck, Kelley (J. R.), Malley, Patton, Martel, Barnes, Jones (J. E.), O'Dell, Nelson, Long, Hardin, Som-mers, Rynearson, Lappert, Walsh, Frampton, Hughes (F.), Draper, Hushing, Bower, Reardon, Reed, Vaughn, Woodmansee,

Wood (R. T.), Trimmer, Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Saylor, Peterson, McGeory, Tinney, Carrozzo, Shafir, Abrams, Rubin, Effrat, Geyer, Rogers, Simons, McGibbons, Black-man, Camous, Miller (A. M.), Tracy (E. J.), Toman, Portway, Feinstein, Smith (Ben), Purcell, Dear, representing 764 votes.

Secretary McCullough continued the report of the committee as follows:

Steam Engineers' Extension of Jurisdiction

On that portion of the report of the Execu-tive Council under the above caption, page 39, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is of the opinion that the action of the Executive Council in granting this extension of jurisdiction to the Steam Engineers was taken for the best interests of all concerned and that the jurisdictional rights of other organizations are fully pro-ected.

Your committee therefore recommends to this convention that it concur in the action of the Executive Council in granting this permission to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to take into membership Marine Engineers.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth arose and stated that he desired to enter a most emphatic protest against any shore organization taking juris-diction over organizations of seamen of any description whatever. He opposed the recom-mendation of the committee.

Delegate Huddell, Steam and Operating En-gineers, supported the report of the committee, and said in part:

The organization that I represent asked for jurisdiction over the Marine Engineers who have seceded from the American Federa-tion of Labor, and in a convention within a year voted never to reaffiliate with the Fed-eration. We have in our international union many, many marine engineers, and we are in a position to take care of the entire marine engineers' membership and to benefit them by increasing their wages and bettering their conditions.

Long before this we had men working on the water, and from the statement of the pre-vious speaker you would think these men never saw land. They do work on land, they are glad to do it, and we are glad to have them work on land. The time they work on shore is the time we need them, and the time they go out on the water is the time they have no work on shore. We have an organ-

ization that is in a position to cover all the jurisdiction we ask for from the American Federation of Labor. In the past we have asked for jurisdiction, it has been granted to us and we have covered that jurisdiction and covered the men over whom jurisdiction was given us.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Wilson stated that the committee had no further report to submit at that time.

Committee on Resolutions

Vice-President Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The report of the Executive Council under the caption "Wages" was referred back to the committee for further consideration. The committee now reports as follows:

Wages

Reporting under the caption of Wages of the Executive Council's report, page 49, your committee submitted the following report:

"We recommend endorsement of the statement of the Executive Council on wages. We hold that the best interests of wage earners as well as the whole social group are served, increasing production in quality as well as quantity and by high wage standards which assure sustained purchasing power to the workers, and, therefore, higher national standards for the environment in which they live and the means to enjoy cultured opportunities. We declare that wage reductions produce industrial and social unrest and that low wages are not conducive to low production costs.

"We urge upon wage earners everywhere: that we oppose all wage reductions and that we urge upon the management the elimination of wastes in production in order that selling prices may be lower and wages higher. To this end we recommend cooperation in study of waste in production which the assay of the Federated American Engineering Societies covering important industries has shown to be 50% attributable to management and only 25% attributable to labor, with 25% attributable to other sources, principally managements in industries producing commodities for any single industry under consideration."

Therefore, an amendment was offered to your committee's report, followed by an amendment to the amendment and thereafter the entire subjects with all amendments were referred back to your committee for consideration and further report.

Having considered all matters submitted to your committee, we resubmit the report originally presented by your committee on this subject, not as a complete statement of the wages question involved, but as commentary upon that phase of it presented to the convention by the Executive Council.

Your committee has also considered the pro-

posed additional contribution on this subject submitted in the original amendment and amendment thereto and referred to us. We recommend concurrence in this additional statement amended as proposed in the amendment to the amendment, the committee's report in amended form to read:

We recommend endorsement of the statement of the Executive Council on wages. We hold that the best interests of wage earners as well as the whole social group are served, increasing production in quality as well as quantity and by high wage standards which assure sustained purchasing power to the workers and, therefore, higher national standards for the environment in which they live and the means to enjoy cultured opportunities. We declare that wage reductions produce industrial and social unrest and that low wages are not conducive to low production costs.

We urge upon wage earners everywhere: that we oppose all wage reductions and that we urge upon management the elimination of wastes in production in order that selling prices may be lower and wages higher. To this end we recommend cooperation in study of waste in production which the assay of the Federated American Engineering Societies covering important industries has shown to be 50% attributable to management and only 25% attributable to labor, with 25% attributable to other sources, principally managements in industries producing commodities for any single industry under consideration.

Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Personnel Research Federation

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, pages 32 and 33, the committee reported as follows:

This organization has from the first given frank and unreserved recognition to the functions of the trade union and is in a position to influence constructively all research carried on in this field.

Arrangements are now in process of development whereby this organization will

assist in gathering specific information needed by our unions.

We recommend continued affiliation with the Personnel Research Federation so long as in the judgment of the Executive Council it finds this Federation of service to labor.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Union Label and Organizing Campaign

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, pages 36-38, the committee reported as follows:

The plans developed for this campaign are most practical and comprehensive. We note with special gratification that the committee developing these plans was fully appreciative of the value and necessity of urging educational methods; that it is proposed to appeal to the intelligence and good will of the purchasing public and that effective modern methods are to be employed to get labor's position and purpose before the greatest possible numbers. Such methods are essential to constructive organizing work and purchase of union labeled goods supplements the power of economic organization by an influence helpful to union employers as well as union employees.

This union label and organizing campaign planned on such comprehensive lines, we commend to the generous and sustained support of all trade unions. The undertaking will succeed in proportion to support and cooperation forthcoming. Organizing work should always have prior claim on the attention of all unions.

We urge all central labor unions and their affiliated local unions to arrange for vigorous organization campaigns in accordance with the program outlined. There are an enthusiasm and zest that can be achieved only through united action that will add immeasurably to all individual efforts.

We urge all to prepare to participate when the campaign is launched.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department, in discussing the resolution, said in part: Last year in the El Paso convention of the Union Label Trades Department a resolution was adopted calling upon the secretary of the Department to inquire into the possibilities of a country-

wide campaign of organization and education as to the necessity of spending union-earned money only for union-made goods. Our Executive Board considered that at some length. We finally evolved a plan which we presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. It provided for five units of four men each to conduct a campaign over a period of forty weeks. We secured the approbation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and through them and through their influence we were able to call a conference in Washington at which seventy-one unions were represented. The plan outlined called for a budget of \$125,000. Each unit was to have four members, an advance agent, a lecturer, an entertainer and a moving picture operator.

We realized, as did President Green and the members of the Executive Council, that the most effective weapon we could possibly use would be one which would bring closer cooperation and coordination between the American Federation of Labor, as represented by the Executive Council, the affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor and central bodies, so that the work to be done, not only now, but to be continued, must be participated in earnestly by all those at interest.

At this point Secretary Manning stated that he had communicated with state federations of labor inquiring as to the extent they would cooperate in arranging meetings without expense either to the American Federation of Labor or to the Union Label Trades Department, and that there was an almost unanimous response in carrying out the program; that a meeting of representatives of state and central labor bodies had been held during the convention, and they pledged their support to the program. He also described somewhat more in detail the program that was being carried out, and announced that through the cooperation and the kindly offices of state federations and central bodies the expense of the campaign was very materially reduced. He stated that organizations other than those in the Label Trades Department had been generous in furnishing voluntary lecturers for the entire period of the campaign. He made an earnest plea for the support of every affiliated national and international union for the campaign outlined.

Continuing his address Secretary Manning said: I am here this afternoon to urge upon those unions that are in a position to do it to come along with the unions that have officers on the executive board of the Union Label Trades Department and volunteer eight or ten more lecturers for this campaign. The thought behind this is twofold, I might say threefold. First, we get the cooperation we desire and we cut the period of the campaign in two. Instead of extending forty weeks we will cover the country with our drive in twenty weeks. Second, after this drive is completed we can then turn the material we have in the way of pictures and literature over to the different state federations to take them into the towns where there are no central bodies. I think you will agree with me that that is essential to the continued growth and health of the different local unions in those cities.

When the international officers realize that this drive has been started primarily to help them they will more quickly and readily realize the need for cooperation. It has been proposed and will be carried out, that each of these lecturers will be in charge of the campaign as they go along. Each week they will report to the office in Washington the unions that are not very strong or that are not functioning properly in each community, the trades in which there are no unions, what unions are affiliated to the central bodies and what unions are affiliated to the state federation of labor.

In each instance where the unions are weak or not functioning properly, or where there are no organizations, all the facts surrounding that situation will be furnished to the unions at interest. Where local unions are not doing their duty to the labor movement President Green will be entrusted with the duty of taking the matter up with the national or international unions and urge them to see that the local unions do their duty.

I hope the presidents of the national and international unions here will take this thought home with them and contribute to this campaign by volunteering organizers for the twenty weeks' campaign. I realize that we are going to get cooperation, but I don't want merely cooperation, I want thoroughly wholesale cooperation in this if we are going to make a success, and, know-

ing the men of labor as I do, I am firmly of the opinion that when they take this matter home and study it that is the kind of cooperation we are going to get.

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers: I simply want to add this to what Secretary Manning has said: that I want to impress upon all the delegates here, and especially upon the international officers, that this campaign is not to be a union label campaign entirely; it is a campaign to organize workers in every craft. The lecturers will be instructed that it is to be a union label and organizing campaign, so that those of the organizations that have delegates here representing international unions will keep that in mind.

We are going to help those who are not in a position to contribute financially just as well as we will help the others. If you have a treasury that will enable you to contribute, I hope you will do so and help those who are not able to contribute. Please keep these things in mind and make your contribution as quickly as you can so we will be in a position to know how much money we will have and how far this campaign can be taken.

The members of the executive board of the Union Label Trades Department are very much interested in this, and they are willing to give their time, their money and their support in supplying lecturers. I think it is the duty of every other organization of labor that is not affiliated with the department to also contribute as far as it can.

Delegate Walker, President, Illinois State Federation of Labor, said in part: I believe if the local unions that are in the jurisdiction of central bodies and state federations of labor would affiliate with the central bodies and state federations those bodies themselves could practically finance this campaign. I feel sure if this campaign would result in nothing else than the affiliation of local unions that are not now affiliated to the central bodies and state federations we would increase the efficiency of the labor movement in those localities and we would add to the strength and influence of every national and international union represented in this convention.

Here is a campaign that is being financed by the American Federation of Labor and the Label Trades Department which is en-

tirely out of the hands of local central bodies and state federations, except insofar as they give cooperation in doing the work. The work will be completely in charge of the American Federation of Labor and the Label Trades Department, so that if there is any feeling with reference to central bodies or state federations that influences national and international organizations against seeing that their members are affiliated and pay their tax to these bodies, if they feel they would be willing to have that work done and agencies created which they will control themselves, this is an opportunity. I am satisfied their judgment and wishes will have influence both with President Green and Secretary Manning.

This is not entirely a label campaign, but it will also be a very effective labor campaign. It is a beginning of the moving picture method of organizing. I know of nothing that could be started at this time that could have in it the possibility of doing bigger things for our movement than this project that has been started by the American Federation of Labor.

You saw the picture shown here the other day. A great many things the labor movement has done are set out in that picture so that the people can understand them. The story of the accomplishments of our movement is a long one, and through the medium of the motion picture we will be able to reach men and women whom we cannot reach by any other method.

There are a great many of our people, not only in the unions but outside, who will not listen to other people lecturing them, but they will go to a moving picture, and if it is arranged in the right way we can induce them to go. I sincerely hope all the anticipations of the men who started this campaign will be realized, and that the local unions within the jurisdiction of central bodies that are not affiliated will come in and make those central bodies more effective.

Sometimes it is said the central bodies do not do just right. If the local unions that are outside stand for the regular program of the American Federation of Labor and they will go into the central bodies they can control the policy and keep it on the American Federation of Labor plan. That is true also of the state federations of labor.

President Green: The Chair begs to impose upon your patience for just a few minutes to speak to you in a most sincere and earnest way regarding this subject that you are now called upon to consider. I cannot conceive of anything more important, more interesting or more absorbing than this great organization campaign that will shortly be launched. I am deeply interested in the work of organization and education.

I am of the opinion that the primary necessity of the organized labor movement of our country is organization, understanding and education. I am of the opinion that all other purposes, all other plans are secondary, and that if we are to succeed in raising our standards of life and living, if we are to succeed in promoting our general welfare, in making our views heard in the civic and political affairs of our nation, it will be just in proportion as we can organize the forces of working men and women in our land.

There is a potential power in and among the working men and women of our country, a power that, if developed and mobilized, will carry the workers forward toward the new day and the new life. But we must organize and develop this potential power; it must be made active; it must be made aggressive, it must be made a vital force; and it cannot be that vital, active force we so much desire if only a small percentage of the working men and women engaged in industry are organized.

Is it any wonder that we sit down in our own councils and think earnestly over this problem? And is it any wonder, after we have thought it through, that we are filled with enthusiasm because after thinking it through we can see the possibilities, the potentialities, the power and the interest that can be harnessed and aroused? It is therefore my earnest desire that it can be made a complete success.

How can that be done? Only by being practical and earnest. I have come to understand as never before the importance, the influence and the availability of the central bodies and state federations. I never before appreciated so much the wonderful instrumentalities they are for the carrying forward of the work of education and organization; I never admired quite so much these central bodies and state federations and their officers as I admire them now.

It is upon them we must depend in a very large measure; we must expect them to till the soil, make it ready, furnish the machinery and give us the men and the opportunity to carry forward this campaign. And if that reasoning is sound, if it is well based, should we not make our central bodies and our state federations of labor strong and responsive to our needs. How can we do that? How can they be filled with enthusiasm and zeal?

The international unions can help, and it is for that reason I want to appeal to them now as the President of the American Federation of Labor to do what is within their power to bring about affiliation with the central bodies and state federations of every local that is eligible to affiliate. Let us make one supreme effort in that direction; let us appeal with all the power and enthusiasm and fervor we possess to the officers and members of each local union in every locality to affiliate for service in this great campaign of organization and education. It is a pressing need, and it is for that reason I make this appeal in this earnest and sincere way.

We are making this campaign upon an economic basis. We need money. We are going to call upon men to serve. The state federations are going to serve; they are going to give us of their time; they will arrange our speaking schedules and the showing of the picture. They have before them weeks and months of hard work, because this requires work. We need money to buy our pictures, to pay our men, to meet contingent expenses and pay administrative costs. Give us your money.

Shall it be said of the American labor movement that it is not able to raise a meager sum for such a great humane undertaking? There are other organizations representing other groups who seem to be able to raise immense sums of money with which to carry on propaganda, organization and educational work. Here is a movement of which we are proud, a movement carrying forward the work of the working people, advancing the cause of humanity, fighting for the children, the women and the working men of our nation, and surely we can raise the minimum amount of money required to do this work effectively.

So I want to appeal to the international unions to do their share; I want to appeal to the state federations and central bodies to do their share; I want to appeal also to the local unions in every city, hamlet and town to do their share, and I promise you on my word

of honor as a man that I will do my share in this work.

There has been indifference and apathy manifesting itself in every locality. Men and women in the labor movement have not been taking the active interest they should take in this great work. I am not saying this critically, because I realize it is a psychological condition affecting the minds and hearts and lives of all groups of people. There has been a letting down ever since the close of the great world war. Men and women everywhere seem to be war weary. There has been a slowing up, a resting up, if you please, and that has affected the labor movement as well as all other organizations, and it is that we want to deal with.

We wish to arouse interest, to create a new vision, a new spirit and a new outlook among our own people. There must be a revival among the organized workers in every section, and I sincerely hope that as a result of this campaign we may sweep with enthusiasm into our fold thousands of new members, and in that way we will mobilize our economic strength and go forward a stronger, more vital and more effective force in all the affairs of the community, the state and the nation.

Delegate Holland, President, New York State Federation of Labor, said in part: I want to reiterate what Delegate Walker, of Illinois, has said and also what my friend, John Manning, has said, that if the organizations in our states were members of the state federations we would not need to ask the Label Department of the American Federation of Labor to finance this campaign. In our state there are 2700 local organizations and not more than 450 of them are members of our state branch. There are international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that have at least fifty organizations in the State of New York that are reaping the benefit of that and other state federations, and still not one local of their organizations are attached to our state federation, and some of them are not attached to the central bodies. I think this campaign is a good move for the central bodies and state federations. Some of the organizations that will be greatly benefited by this campaign are not members of our state branch, and we cannot get them to be members.

We have the best child labor law in the country, due to the governor we have at the present time; we have the best compensation laws, we have the eight-hour law and the

prevailing rate of wages law, but they are not all we want. I hope the international organizations will take this matter up the same as the carpenters, the painters, the barbers and others have done, and see to it that their local unions become affiliated with the central bodies and state branches of their respective states.

Delegate Martel, Detroit Federation of Labor, said in part: I am glad the President of the American Federation of Labor has taken this occasion to bring home to the officers of the national and international organizations the necessity of affiliating with the central bodies and state federations. The condition in Michigan is even worse than it is in New York. We have more than 900 local unions in Michigan and there are not to exceed 200 of them affiliated with the state organization. If there ever was a territory in this country that needed organization, that needed the influence and power of organization, it is the State of Michigan and the city of Detroit. Michigan is rapidly developing into an industrial section.

It is regretted that when an international organization has to approach the government for the purpose of getting a new scale—such as the post office clerks—they flood the central bodies with communications asking them to line up the congressmen and senators to support their measures, but we cannot get a penny of revenue from them to support our movement.

The delegate here today from the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks volunteered the information that their local movements all over the country upheld their end of the show. They have at least a half dozen locals in the city of Detroit and not one of them is affiliated with the central body, notwithstanding the fact that we organized some of them for the Clerks.

If the trade union movement in this country hopes to hold what it has today you have got to build up the central bodies and state federations. The very foundation of your movement rests upon these organizations, weak as they are, and with the very small power that you have delegated to them they can be of influence for strength for every trade union in the country if they only have the backing of the international unions. If you men who never hesitate to ask a central body to look after a particular thing in its locality, if you will just see that your local unions get into that central body it will strengthen the entire movement.

I am proud of my international, the Typographical Union, that says to its local unions that they must be members of the central body. I am also proud of it because it is spending \$500 a month in Detroit to organize printers, and the printers are making progress in spite of the reputation Detroit has as the graveyard for organizers. Every organizer that has been in there for the last six months has made progress. We have put in three charters for President Tobin in the last year, and in a month he will have another in that territory. The same is true of other locals in the city, and it is because they have a strong central body in Detroit and the labor movement is working together.

Delegate Olander, Seamen, said in part: While I am seated in this convention representing my international organization I feel, nevertheless, under pressure to test the patience of the convention with a little further reference to this question of state organizations. I am, as most of you know, an officer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. I concur most heartily in all that has been said by those who have spoken before me, but I feel that in order that we in Illinois should be thoroughly understood there is something that must be added.

It is true that there are international organizations that have failed in their duty, that we rarely hear from except when they are in difficulties; but it is also true that there are other international officers who come to our assistance and who have helped us build up our state branch. In Illinois every local union of the Mine Workers is affiliated with the state federation of labor. There is no exception.

I want to express my appreciation also to the officers of the Teamsters' Union. While the teamsters are not affiliated one hundred per cent, whenever I need help to approach some unaffiliated teamsters' union I can go to an affiliated organization or to their international officers and get that assistance. The officers of the carpenters in Illinois, and particularly in Chicago, are giving us very valuable assistance. The bricklayers have not affiliated to any large extent, but their officers are now taking an active interest not only in bringing in their own local unions but in the whole movement.

There is criticism of international officers. Let me ask the officers of the state federations who sit in this convention whether we too are not entitled to some criticism? Have

we in the past failed to show a proper sense of responsibility to the A. F. of L.? We are state branches of this body and it is our duty to carry out its policies. All too frequently in the past—and I think the practice is dying now—we have been a sort of clearing ground where those not entitled to representation in the American Federation of Labor have been able to come upon our platforms and there stir up all sorts of difficulties for the international unions and for the American Federation of Labor.

We are fast getting away from that sort of position; but now that I have said that in criticism of the state branches, may I again turn to the national and international officers and say that some of the difficulties there may be laid at your door, because we still have state federations where the affiliation is so small that they cannot afford to have permanent officers.

Out of the experience of Illinois I can say to the other state federations of labor that in the main if you carry the case to the international officers you will get attention. All too frequently I have found that when there has been criticism against the national and international officers it has come from those who have not always attempted to bring their difficulties before these officers and asked for their assistance. There are national and international officers who come to us only when they want to call out the police, only when some local union strays off the reservation. The international will appeal to the American Federation of Labor to suspend the charter, and then call upon the state or central body to throw the local out. Sometimes there is difficulty because you have not supported your policeman properly.

Now we are going into a great campaign, one that I feel is going to bring results to all of us. It has been stated by President Green that state federations and city central bodies must play an important part in this campaign if it is to be successful. When you start out to organize your campaign and get your speakers together, it is certainly important that you give attention to the building up of state and central bodies, which you can do with the stroke of a pen. There isn't a national or international organization represented here that cannot get some local somewhere to affiliate with the state federation or the central body.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 60 and 62, the committee reported as follows:

The Executive Council, in its report, expresses the hope that "the central bodies, local unions, and the great rank and file will rally to the support of the campaign that will be outlined by this convention and by the Executive Council for next year's political contest."

The Executive Council announces that immediately after this convention the A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee will begin preparations for next year's Congressional election. It cannot begin too soon.

The assault on our democratic institutions has not only continued unabated since last year's Presidential election but it has been intensified and extended. The Executive Council refers to the nation-wide plot to weaken or abolish the primaries. All of the great reactionary newspapers and commercial organizations are enthusiastically and persistently at work in this campaign. It would carry the nation back a full quarter century to the narrow, corrupt and inefficient partisan politics that governed the country before the days of Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Robert M. La-Follette.

But the assault on the primaries is accompanied by another campaign, even more sinister and reactionary—the nation-wide and concerted effort to undermine and destroy the authority of Congress.

The sneering libels on the last Congress because of its progressivism have been replaced within the last year or two in a large part of the daily press by attacks against Congress generally, and against congressional government.

The demand that Congress adjourn, the so-called humorous jibes at Congress, are always in evidence when Congress is considering a measure for the masses rather than the classes.

This newest reactionary campaign, unparalleled in its truculence and impudence, means nothing less than an effort insidiously to overthrow the American form of government and to replace it by a supreme executive. It is an attempt to set up in this country a system differing only in

degree from the government of Mussolini, for which our stand-patters cannot suppress their sympathy and admiration. With Congress subordinated there could be no democratic or representative government, only an autocracy, an oligarchy, a bureaucracy, or an unholy combination of these outworn forms of misgovernment.

Every decade and nearly every election has shown a more progressive Congress—a Congress more truly representative of the people and of labor. The Congress elected last year to meet this December was no exception.

In spite of the overshadowing importance of the Presidential campaign nearly half of the present Senate and House were elected with the support of labor and of Republican, Democratic and Independent Progressives, while scarcely a fourth were elected against the opposition of the popular forces.

In the election of 1924, as the Executive Council has declared, "the A. F. of L. followed its traditional non-partisan political campaign procedure." This policy is persistently and often intentionally misstated. While it endorses no parties, it uses all. It endorses neither the two major parties nor any third party. It does endorse candidates of the two major parties and occasionally of third parties, or candidates running independently.

In the last election it endorsed 303 candidates of the House of Representatives, electing 186. Of those endorsed 280 were Republicans and Democrats and 23 were Independents or representatives of minor parties. And labor emphasized the Congressional rather than the Presidential election. These figures give an accurate picture of labor's non-partisan policy and there is no excuse for further misrepresentation.

The next step cannot be open to question. Further progress toward strengthening the popular forces in Congress and securing a firm and reliable majority favorable to labor and the people must come through a more energetic and effective national organization of the primary and election campaigns—re-enforcing the local campaigns and without any infringement of local autonomy. It will not be necessary to make any special effort in many congressional districts. The returns show that a large majority of those districts that have sent

to Washington men friendly to the labor and popular cause in the last two are safe for democracy. Other rock-ribbed conservative districts show no signs of getting early political wisdom. There remain less than a hundred close districts to be held or captured—not more than a few in any one state—a task entirely within the range of practicable possibility for the national and local organizations of labor and its progressive allies.

A thoroughly and permanently progressive Congress is almost within our grasp. The last Congress was increasingly friendly to labor with the aid of certain fluctuating middle elements. The Congress meeting in December promises to show a similar line-up. In the next fall election an increase of 15 per cent among Congressmen friendly to labor would for the first time give a responsive majority without the doubtful aid of neutral elements.

The brilliant results already achieved in the brief period of fifteen years since the non-partisan policy was made nation-wide prove that the prospects of early success are excellent. More energetic and effective organization, with special concentration on districts now definitely proven to be promising, must infallibly bring further victories.

This natural and inevitable development of the non-partisan campaign policy not only opens up a vista of hope and promise to American Labor and American democracy; it is imperative as a measure of defense against the deadly menace of the present assault on representative government.

For if the reactionary interests succeed in the assault now being made, not only will political democracy be reduced to impotence, but the economic position and the organization rights of labor and even the individual liberty and legal status of the wage earner and the citizen will be placed in jeopardy.

Your committee therefore recommends concurrence in the actions taken and observations made by the Executive Council on this subject and that it be authorized to proceed as indicated in its report and as herein outlined.

Delegate Furuseth discussed the report briefly and stated that he wished to compliment the committee on its report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

See supplemental report on this subject on pages 298-299 of next day's proceedings. Unanimous consent was obtained for the introduction of the following resolutions:

Killing of Striking Workers in Nicaragua

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, A gloomy report has reached the American Federation of Labor, stating that on Sunday, August 30th at the town of La Cruz, District of Rio Grande, Republic of Nicaragua, about fourteen defenseless agricultural laborers employed by the Cuyamel Fruit Company were shot to death apparently for no other reasons than to dare to strike for better wages; and

WHEREAS, Representatives of the workers of Nicaragua have appealed to the American Federation of Labor for moral assistance to voice the right of the workers to organize and strike; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend that the Chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor communicate with the President of the Republic of Nicaragua requesting him to cause an investigation of the alleged willful slaughter of defenseless workers and that assurance of the rights of the workers to organize and to strike for better living conditions be guaranteed.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Entering of United States Troops in Panama City

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rico Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, That recent press dispatches from Panama City stated that owing to the workers' strike against the higher rents of housing and housing conditions, the United States troops entered the City of Panama to disperse the workers' meetings and other demonstrations of protest; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the American Federation of Labor, to recommend and instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor to cause an investigation of the motives and reasons why the troops of the United States have been used to enter Panama City and serve as an instrument of force in a controversy of the people of Panama with their landlords and profiteering in the renting of houses for the workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if investigation results prove that the entering of the United States troops in the Republic of Panama was an uncalled for and unnecessary action, then the President of the American Federation of Labor is authorized to energetically protest to the President of the United States against the interference of the troops of the United States in the controversies of the people of the Republic of Panama.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

At 5.30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9.30 o'clock a. m. Wednesday, October 14th.

Ninth Day--Wednesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.

October 14, 1925.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 o'clock a. m., President Green in the chair.

Absentees

Myrup, Dohney, Tracy (W.), Boyer, Bradish, Conway, Kelly (M. J.), Spector, De Rany, Rosemund, Snow, Lucchi, Sigman, Kreindler, Perlmutter, Bock, Hill (C. E.), Crough, Parker, Funder Burk, Cashen, Manion, Alexander, Jewell, Nigro, Atkins (J. M.), Allen (G. H.), Ely, Nelligan, Steadman, Wiecek, Kelley (J. R.), Patton, O'Dell, Long (C. D.), Sommers, Rynearson, Lapert, Walsh (T. F.), Hughes (F.), Vaughn, Woodmansee, Trimmer, Peterson, McGeory, Tinney, Carrozzo, Shafir, Abrams, Ruben, Effrat, Geyer, Simons, Blackman, Camous, Portway, Mitchell (M. W.), O'Connell (J.), Hall (E. G.).

Secretary Morrison read telegrams and communications supporting the claims of the several cities seeking the 1926 convention, as follows:

Detroit, Michigan: H. F. Darby, Corresponding Representative, Local No. 31, Molders' International Union; Frank Plintz, Secretary Firemen and Oilers' Union No. 32; F. K. Harris, Electrical Workers' Union; E. P. Ludin, President, Tailors' Union No. 229; George M. Tries, Sprinkler Fitters' Union No. 669; Mathew Brady, Business Representative, Tile and Marble Setters' Union; J. Sharrock, President, and J. O'Rourke, Secretary, Carpenters' Union No. 1805; Lee McCallum, Secretary Local No. 5, Steam and Operating Engineers; John C. Cowan, County Auditor; Charles Anderson, President, and I. J. Understock, Secretary, Barbers' Union No. 552.

Birmingham, Alabama: J. H. F. Mosley, Publisher of the Labor Advocate.

Sacramento, California: W. K. Howe, Secretary of the Sacramento Ministers' Association.

During the reading of the telegrams Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers, suggested that the reading of all such messages be deferred until the time when the convention was deciding upon the 1926 meeting place. President Green stated that it had always been customary to read such com-

munications each day, thus saving considerable time when the election of the convention city took place.

Delegate Evans, Electrical Workers, moved that the election of officers of the Federation be made a special order of business at 2.30 o'clock p. m. Thursday, October 15. Delegate Doyle, Painters, amended the motion to provide for the election of officers at 2.30 o'clock Wednesday afternoon, October 14. Delegate Evans accepted the amendment as part of his original motion, and the motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Chairman Hirschberg presented the following report:

Secretary-Treasurer Charles J. Lammert, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, requests that Jos. Kelley be substituted in the place of George Hedrick, who found it necessary to leave the city. The committee recommends compliance with the request.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Green: The chair will interrupt the order of business as it was being carried forward last night by calling for the report of the Committee on Education this morning.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Henry Schmal, secretary of the committee, presented the following report:

Proposing That International Unions Assist in Erecting a Memorial to Labor in the Cathedral of St. John The Divine, New York City

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Jerome B. Keating of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York:

WHEREAS, There has existed for a number of years a very friendly cooperation and interchange of ideas between the two great modern forces seeking to permanently establish truth and justice in our country, namely: the organized bona fide labor movement of America and the organized churches movement of our country; and

WHEREAS, This cooperation has been exemplified on the part of the church movement in the several splendid reports after the careful investigation by the Federation Council of Churches of industrial conditions existing in the steel and other industries—this cooperation tending to establish public opinion favorably as to the justice of the claims of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, There has been a general movement for the establishment of Labor Sunday preceding our Labor Day where services are held for all peoples in order that the great mass of our citizens might know and understand the aims and objects of labor—the most notable of these services being the address of William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, at the special service held in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Labor Sunday, 1925, where he joined with Bishop Manning concerning the relationship of Labor and the Church; and

WHEREAS, The unusual character of this special service is indicated by the representation of organized labor of Greater New York, in a committee cooperating to complete the Cathedral, which without a question is the largest in the United States, and is said to be the third largest in the world, a mutual attitude of fair dealing between church and labor; and

WHEREAS, The aim of the construction of this Cathedral is to make it a house of worship for all peoples, labor desires to place a suitable and fitting memorial to the labor movement of America, in order to forever silence the charge that labor is selfish, biased and a non-communal organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 45th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, at Atlantic City, N. J., express its gratification at the cooperation of labor and the church, and recommend the extension of Labor Sunday Services throughout the country, as a means of general education and mutual understanding of the labor movement among our people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the international organizations call attention to the importance of the work, cooperate with the committee to construct this great edifice and to urge their international organizations to assist wherever they can to place a suitable and fitting memorial to labor in this national cathedral.

Your committee is in hearty accord with both the spirit and temper of this resolution. The American labor movement seeks to join hands with all forces of good will in the community. The organized church movement has already demonstrated their interest in the cause of labor. It is therefore appropriate that we should reciprocate that spirit of cooperation.

We are in hearty accord with the program to extend Labor Sunday throughout our land and we point with pride to the conspicuous service performed by President

William Green in the interest of this cause, by his eloquent address in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City on Labor Sunday of this year. We firmly believe that in the erection of this great national cathedral, as a place of worship for all the people, that labor by whose hands and faith every great cathedral of the past and the present has been built, should have a fitting memorial in this great national cathedral. We therefore approve and recommend the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Department of Education

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate F. G. Stecker, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The welfare of our nation depends upon the enlightened conduct of its people; and

WHEREAS, The great importance of education demands that it receive formal recognition by our government; and

WHEREAS, Our schools to function at their best must have the benefit of the best information that the science of education can possibly give them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, express its determination to continue, as in the past, to devote itself to the furthering of public education; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it reaffirm its belief in the necessity of the creation of a department of education with a secretary in the president's cabinet.

Your committee is in accord with the intent of this resolution and moves its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Educational Attaches

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate F. G. Stecker of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The best interests of our schools demand that there be made available the most complete current information to be had from all countries on education; and

WHEREAS, A more thorough and closer understanding of the peoples of the world will necessarily help promote a spirit of international good will; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that its support be pledged to legislation providing for the appointment of educational attaches whose duty it shall be to study and report on the development and progress of education in foreign countries.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and study of the subject matter referred to in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution on Samuel Gompers' Memorial

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate F. G. Stecker, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The history of the organized labor movement of America is largely the narration of the achievement of its labor statesman, Samuel Gompers; and

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers died serving the labor movement and gave his last bit of strength in cementing the friendship of the labor movement of Mexico and the United States; and

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers has always been an outstanding champion of the cause of public education which was brought into being because of labor's unstinted efforts and support; and

WHEREAS, School buildings are being erected in the Capital and named after men and women who have made noteworthy contributions to the development of the country; and

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers has not only made such contribution to his country but to the development of public education as well; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endeavor to secure legislation authorizing the commissioners and the Board of Education of the District of Columbia to name the first building hereafter to be erected in the District of Columbia as the Samuel Gompers School.

Your committee is favorable to the adoption of this resolution and moves concurrence in their report.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Proposing Endorsement of Workers' Health Bureau Program for Health Protection

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates Robert Fechner, I. A. of M.; Frank Basky, Stone Cutters; G. E. McCaffrey, Molders' Union; W. W. Britton, Roy Kelsay, Metal Polishers' Union; William P. Clarke, Thomas Gallagher, American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America; Wm. J. Canavan, Theatrical Stage Employees; Peter G. Cook, O. P. C. F. I. U.; George F. Hedrick, Chas. J. Lammert, Nick F. Smith, P. H. Triggs, John J. Doyle and Chas. J. Eisenring, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, Occupational diseases resulting from poisons, dusts, fumes, gases and other trade hazards, as well as industrial accidents and explosions, are menacing the ranks of the trade union movement in America; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor recognizes the need for controlling dangerous working conditions as part of the trade union struggle to improve the economic status of workers; and

WHEREAS, The Workers' Health Bureau of America already endorsed by nine international unions, nine State Federations of Labor, and having 126 Labor Bodies affiliated with it in the United States and Canada, is assisting its affiliated members in gaining health protection through Health Agreements with Employers; by Government regulations; and, for the purposes of immediate relief, by securing adequate Workmen's Compensation Laws to cover all occupational diseases, and by organizing Trade Union, Cooperative Clinics for research and treatment of occupational diseases; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled this day of October, 1925, goes on record endorsing the Workers' Health Bureau program for Health Protection for Trade Unions, and urges all International Unions to work toward the adoption of National Standards of Health Protection in all organized trades, to the end that the present wasteful and ruthless sacrifice of workers' lives may be stopped and the introduction of new hazards controlled through the power of Organized Labor.

Your committee is in full accord with the principles and spirit of the first and second paragraphs of this resolution, as they express policies for which the American Federation of Labor has always stood and contended. We believe that to concur in this resolution would be establishing an extremely dangerous precedent in endorsing the Workers' Health Bureau, which is a privately conducted body over which the American Federation of Labor has no control or authority.

While we recognize the good work which the Workers' Health Bureau has done up to this time, we believe that the promotion of Workers' Health education in all its related phases can be more effectively carried on through agencies that are already established and functioning, through the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee therefore recommends that the whole subject matter of workers' health education be made part of the duties of the Permanent Committee on Education. We further recommend that that committee be increased in membership by the addition of such number of members as the

Executive Council might deem necessary to disseminate and promote workers' health education among the wage earners to the end that the general welfare of the labor movement as a whole will be protected and benefited.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 48, the committee reported as follows:

In submitting our report on this subject we desire to quote from the report of the Executive Council to this convention in which they state:

The Sterling-Reed Bill providing for a Department of Education failed of passage. The most effective opposition to the Bill came from those who object to further federal aid to the several states for any purpose. This was said to have increased enormously. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924, it was \$144,264,373. There was also strong objection from private and parochial schools.

The Executive Council believes that an entirely new Bill should be prepared to submit to Congress in which the features so effectively objected to could be eliminated. It is believed that if a Bill providing simply for the creation of a Department of Education and the outlining of its functions was introduced it would have more influential support.

While your committee recognizes the validity of some of the objections to the Sterling-Reed Bill, it is firmly of the opinion that the creation of a Department of Education in our Federal Government is most necessary. Such a department should be given proper recognition, should be in charge of educationalists and be guided by the highest educational standards. Any effort made to place such a department under either political or military influence should be strenuously opposed by the American Federation of Labor.

We further recommend that in the creation of such a Federal Department of Education the contribution of labor to the cause of public education in our country be kept in mind and that representation be afforded labor on any boards that might be established representative of the interests of the community.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Compulsory Education

On that portion of the report of the Execu-

tive Council under the above caption, page 51, the committee reported as follows:

The action of the representatives of the American Federation of Labor in actively opposing the compulsory attendance of children at night schools in the District of Columbia who had not passed the 8th grade and who are under the age of 16 years is to be commended. Such attendance would undoubtedly have impaired the health of those children. The requirement that children under 16 years of age should cease their employment and attend day school until they had completed the 8th grade, as contended by the representatives of organized labor, is in fulfillment with the spirit and letter of the educational law of the District of Columbia.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Registration of Trade-Marks

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 53, the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the continuation of legislative action by the American Federation of Labor in support of the registration of union trade-marks and labels.

We urge all national and international unions having labels and trade-marks to render every possible assistance to the Executive Council and Legislative Committee in promoting this work.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Mothers' Pensions

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 54, the committee reported as follows:

The provisions of the bill for the establishment of a Bureau of Child Aid in the District of Columbia that deals specifically with mothers' pensions seem to be sound. We recommend its support in the next session of Congress by the Executive Council and the legislative committee.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

National Conservatory of Music

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 56, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee desires to record again endorsement of the project of a National Conservatory of Music which has long been advocated by the American Federation of Musicians,

and to urge the renewed efforts in connection with the subject and recommends that the Executive Council call upon all National and International Unions, State Federations and Central Bodies to render every possible assistance in promoting this commendable and laudable legislation.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Child Labor

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 64-67, the committee reported as follows:

There is no cause for which the hosts of American labor should give their undivided support more promptly than in behalf of the child life of our country. Our child life is our greatest asset as a nation. To save the nation's children from industrial exploitation is a great moral responsibility upon labor; it is a responsibility which labor would gladly bear and a cause which it must champion with even greater determination in the future than in the past. We must give substance to the touching statement of President Green in his opening address to this convention that "The American Federation of Labor has just begun to fight for the children of America."

The summary of the action taken by the several state legislatures up to the present time and the ruling of the Supreme Court on Constitutional amendments have all been set forth with commendable clarity in the Executive Council's report. The nature of the opposition to the ratification of the amendment has likewise been pointed out, but of utmost importance to labor is the limiting of decisions on this question to the State legislatures as the representative of the people. It suggests the nature of the campaign of education that must be carried on to enlighten these representatives of the actual conditions that exist.

The way to overcome error and misrepresentation is by the presentation of the truth. We heartily congratulate the President of the American Federation of Labor on his militant championship of this cause and on his preparation of a primer for the trade unionists on the subject of child labor which has been published through and with the cooperation of the Workers' Education Bureau of America. This pamphlet should be in the hands of every trade unionist; it presents facts, figures and forceful arguments upon this vital matter in such a convincing way that it is indispensable to every advocate of this cause.

Your committee desires to suggest that in each central body throughout the country speakers' classes be formed to train labor men to present this matter effectively and with a thorough knowledge of all the facts concerning child labor and that the speakers in turn address all local unions in the various localities on this subject and thus promote an ever widening understanding of the need of safeguarding our child life.

Your committee is of the further belief that efforts to secure adequate state legislation should not be neglected or overlooked. Indeed it is urged that this supplemental activity be vitalized with renewed energy and vigor.

In addition your committee was impressed with the suggestion made during the convention by Vice-President Woll, that effort be put forth to secure the enactment of a law similar in character to the Webb-Kenyon law and which will enable the states having advanced legislation on this subject to prevent shipment of goods and commodities into their state from such states which do not observe equal high standards of protection of child life.

Finally your committee recommends renewed energy in the field of organization and promotion of the purchasing of union labeled articles. By thus uniting and coordinating all our activities to a common end we will soon rid our nation of the crime now being perpetrated by permitting grasping and greedy employers to coin the flesh and sinew of the nation's children.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

To Continue Campaign for Child Labor Amendment

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy, of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States has met with considerable opposition from many sources during the past year; and

WHEREAS, The principal opposition is of such a misleading and vicious character; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this 45th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm their determination to carry on the fight for the liberation of children in industry until it becomes a federal law.

The substance of this resolution has already been covered in a foregoing section of the Executive Council's report. We recommend concurrence in the spirit of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

EDUCATION

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 72, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee, in reading over the report on education as submitted by the Permanent Committee on Education to the Executive Council and by the Council, in turn, referred to this convention, has been deeply impressed by the able manner in which the whole subject of education has been presented. The American Federation of Labor has always been a champion of education believing it to be a foundation stone of our American democracy. Its history as a labor organization has been a history of continuous advocacy of education for all the people. The report on education submitted to this convention points out the many ways in which the American Federation of Labor can be of further service to the cause of education both in our schools and State universities and through the education of the American trade union movement.

Attention might be here and now directed to a condition which is developing and one full of danger to the cause of the wage earner. Our present industrial situation, as is well known, is dependent upon judicial attitude, which necessitates our giving careful consideration to the many changes which are proposed. At the present time there are efforts being made to prevent the children of the workers acquiring an education in law and the other professions, despite their ability and fitness. The restrictions which are sought to be imposed by certain associations, if successful, would debar children of the workers from securing an education in law and other professions without great cost and many years of schooling and restrict the teaching of these professions to an extremely dangerous degree.

We believe this situation merits investigation and study on the part of the American Federation of Labor and therefore recommend that the Executive Council be requested to make a careful study of the qualifications and restrictions placed upon those who seek to enter all professions.

We further recommend that the Executive Council investigate the desirability of promoting legislation in the several states which will provide for the establishment of a specified number of scholarships in the state universities open to students of all secondary schools of recognized standing within the respective states, on the basis of merit.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 73, the committee reported as follows:

It has been a part of the wise policy of the American public education to place upon the locality large powers in the administration of its educational system. This develops a sense of responsibility; this policy also implies that in every locality that all the groups that are concerned with the results of education must take an interest in our educational system. American labor is one of those groups; it has expressed itself on many general principles dealing with education, in convention reports and in resolutions. It is of the utmost importance that these principles be carried out into practice as far as it is practicable. The creation of local committees on education in central labor bodies and State Federations of Labor to perform this important service have long been advocated by labor. Their steady development, during the past year, is a matter of great satisfaction.

We heartily commend the varied activities that have been assigned to these committees, whether it be the gathering of facts or social studies, securing representation on local school or library boards, or supporting adequate appropriations for school teachers, school purposes or indeed promoting the educational program of the Workers' Education Bureau. We again recommend that State Federations of Labor and every central body in the country join in the establishment of such educational committees so that the privileges and responsibilities of these activities may be borne and shared by all.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

SOCIAL STUDIES

On that portion of the report of the

Executive Council under the above caption, page 74, the committee reported as follows:

The importance of presenting the truth about our national life and its development to the youth of our land in their text books cannot be overestimated. "As the twig is bent so grows the tree." The reasons for the inquiry about social studies in our text books and the results of that inquiry make the present investigation by local committees of genuine importance. It will serve as a check on the results of the first published report. We commend the Committee on Education on the method it has employed and recommend that the results of this present study be made available in suitable form when completed.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

UNIFORM EDUCATION LAWS

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 74, the committee reported as follows:

As a guide for legislative enactment and as an assurance of an educational minimum in every state of the union, we support the recommendation of the Permanent Committee on Education that the American Federation of Labor draft a model compulsory education bill to be sent to all State Federations and Central Bodies.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 75, the committee reported as follows:

No more fitting tribute to the memory and educational interest of the late President Gompers could have been made than the provision of the El Paso Convention to support by a per capita contribution of all the affiliated members of the American Federation of Labor the activities of the Workers' Education Bureau in which he had taken such an active interest and to which he gave such generous assistance. We shall honor his memory and keep alive those principles for which he stood in proportion as we spread a knowledge of our American institutions and ideals among all the members of our trade union movement.

We commend the President of the American Federation of Labor on his action

in calling attention to the provisions of the El Paso plan and urge all National and International Unions to undertake active affiliation with the Workers' Education Bureau under the provisions of that plan. It is with extreme satisfaction that we note that within the first six months 41 National and International Unions complied with the provisions of this plan and the request of the President of the American Federation of Labor.

We fully recognize that it is indispensable to the future of the American Federation of Labor and the Workers' Education Bureau that every National and International Union join in this fundamental service, for as our Federation relies on educational methods it is of the utmost importance that all organizations share in the burdens of this educational work. We shall furthermore give substance to the well-known counsel of Samuel Gompers that "Whatever progress the American movement makes in the future will rest upon an educational basis." We commend therefore those organizations that have become active members of this Bureau and strongly urge all other unions to cooperate actively in its essential work.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: May the chair take advantage of this opportunity just briefly to request that this report of the committee be given most thoughtful consideration by all the representatives of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor? Likewise may this same request be made to the officers of State Federations of Labor and the officers of central bodies?

I regard the work of the Workers' Education Bureau as highly important. We must rely upon education in a very large measure for the advancement and development of our great movement. We must, through education, carry the message of organized labor to the members of organized labor. It must be carried through a Department of Education, under the control, guidance and authority of the American Federation of Labor. This department might well be regarded as an arm of our great movement, and we want to make that arm strong, we want to strengthen it through affiliation of

all national and international unions, state and central bodies, in the Workers' Education Bureau.

All of you have noticed, I am sure, the education display in the rear of the hall, and I am confident that all of us have been very favorably impressed by this display. That is a part of the display of the Workers' Education Bureau.

By these statements I do not mean to convey the thought that this movement of education has even approximated the ultimate, or the high purposes for which it is organized and to which it is aimed. There are lots of things yet to be accomplished. It is only in its infancy. If it has some faults we can correct those faults; if there are any mistakes we can correct them. We can make this Bureau responsive to the educational needs of the American Federation of Labor.

Let all the International Unions become affiliated. Help us in this educational work, contribute your moral and material influence and support to this great work, and it will help the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, it will help our movement through the dissemination of education, all of which is so very much needed.

I merely wanted to take advantage of this opportunity to express these few thoughts. I am sure that you will weigh them carefully and be governed accordingly.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 76, the committee reported as follows:

We note with interest the action of the Fourth National Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau and its incorporation of the provision of the El Paso convention into the organic law of that Bureau. Under the Constitution as amended and adopted at that convention adequate provision is made to give functional representation to National and International Unions, as such to the American Federation of Labor, to study classes and workers' colleges as well as to local unions.

As a further service to better International relations, fraternal delegates were present from Mexico, as well as several other countries. We commend the Bureau on this service and

the broad basis of representation as set forth in its new Constitution.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Workers' Colleges, Study Classes and Educational Committees

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 76 and 77, the committee reported as follows:

The progress made in the establishment of workers' colleges and study classes has been very marked during the past year. When we consider the advance made since the convention met in Atlantic City about six years ago the progress seems phenomenal. We realize, however, that as yet only a small portion of our membership are attending these classes, and we favor every effort being made not only to extend the number of these workers' classes throughout the country for the free and impartial study of such subjects as are of interest to them but to increase the volume of their attendance. As a valuable link in this progress we recommend to the National and International Unions the creation of educational committees, and to State Federations of Labor the establishment of educational departments and the appointment of educational directors to cooperate with the Workers' Education Bureau in the extension of this important educational service.

For those members who do not attend study classes we favor provision for mass education, for forum debates and other lectures in the various trades unions halls.

We heartily endorse the suggestion that National and International Unions give consideration to the establishment of training classes for all new members of trades unions for their instruction in the aims, ideals and achievements of the American trade union movement. We urge that added efforts be made to secure the use of portable motion picture machines in carrying on the general program of education in an effort to interest the membership in current problems.

We further favor the formation by labor of special institutes and conferences in different parts of the country for the discussion of special problems of current interest to the workers. We urge that wider provisions be made for co-educational summer schools for workers in different sections of the country.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Publications

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's

report under this caption, page 77, the committee reported as follows:

The publication of books and pamphlets by the Workers' Education Bureau is an achievement of the first order. It is a service of immeasurable value to the American Labor movement. The success with which these publications have been received has demonstrated not only that workers will read but that there is a desire for the best that has been thought and done, that there is an eagerness for those interpretations of our modern industrial society which labor has done so much to create. The workers' bookshelf is a contribution to our labor literature, it is as well a part of our national storehouse of knowledge.

We commend to the membership of our movement the publications of the Workers' Education Bureau for their study.

Your committee is in complete accord with the concluding words of the Executive Council, "In commending this Bureau for its high service to our movement" and in "recommending that provision be made for increasing its support from the trade union movement, so that it can fulfill with even greater effectiveness its educational service to working men throughout our land." We recommend that this convention authorize the President of the American Federation of Labor to appeal to all affiliated bodies to make the fullest use of all the services of this Bureau and to share in the support of its activities which means so much to the future of the trade union movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Education Week

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 77, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee notes with interest the highly constructed program of the permanent committee on education in observing education week last year to bring the local committees on education of the central bodies into touch with the local public libraries, through the use of a check list of books on labor problems as prepared through the helpful co-operation of the Workers' Education Bureau, a general service to both labor and the libraries. Education thus conceived seems a coordinating agency within the community.

We heartily commend this observance of Education Week and urge a similar observance for this year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Library Cooperation

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 78, the committee reported as follows:

We deeply appreciate the potential educational service of the public library and the desire on the part of the American Library Association to give the fullest possible public service, as evidenced by the invitation extended to the Workers' Education Bureau to attend and address their last convention in Seattle.

We commend and approve the action of the American Federation of Labor in accepting service on a joint committee of the American Library Association created for the purpose of increasing the educational service of public libraries.

We further recommend that efforts be made to establish the principles of organization and membership in the American Federation of Labor among those engaged in the important educational service of the public libraries.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Research

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, page 78, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee desires to record its approval and support to the request made of the Workers' Education Bureau by the President of the American Federation of Labor, to direct studies of specific problems upon which the labor movement needs additional data and dependable research information.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Samuel Gompers' Fellowship

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 78, the committee reported as follows:

The exchange of fellowship between the American and Mexican Federation of Labor, which was created at the El Paso convention as a tribute to the constructive services rendered by Samuel Gompers in Mexican-American relations, now becomes a memorial fellowship of special significance. It is of the utmost importance that the provisions of this fellowship be complied with, and we therefore add a most urgent recommendation that the Executive Council be authorized to make every possible effort to secure funds for this undertaking.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

International Summer Schools

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 78, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee desires to add its endorsement and general approval to the establishment of International summer schools for working men and women, for the free and impartial study of National and International problems as of service in promoting better International understanding.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Assistance to Graduate Students

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 78, the committee reported as follows:

The extension of the privilege of examining the information and records in the national archives of the American Federation of Labor is a commendable service to students of labor problems. Your committee recommends the approval of this policy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. of L. Publicity Service

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 80, the committee reported as follows:

An informed public opinion about labor aims and achievements is of increasing importance to the American Federation of Labor. A publicity service that can keep the daily press and the labor press informed about labor's condition and accomplishments deserves our united support. We believe that the American Federation of Labor publicity service has performed this task even though the machinery for its work has been simplified and we favor a continuance of the present policy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 80, the committee reported as follows:

The changes made in the general attractiveness of the American Federationist have been most pleasing. Today this official magazine of the American Federation of Labor has become one of the foremost labor publications in the country, if not in the world, reflecting within its pages all the

major activities in current labor history in both the new world and the old world. It is a worthy medium in which to record the unfolding history of labor. We heartily recommend that this convention convey to its editor, William Green, an expression of deep appreciation for the creative ability displayed in fashioning the American Federationist after this new high standard.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR WEEKLY NEWS SERVICE

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 80, the committee reported as follows:

The weekly news service like the other informational services of the American Federation of Labor grows in importance to the labor movement because of the rapidly expanding developments in the industrial and political world, which affect the interests of labor so vitally. This service provides an equally important medium for the dissemination of news articles about the varied activities and services of labor. We favor its continuance and recommend its wider use by the members of the trade union movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PAMPHLETS AND ORGANIZING LITERATURE

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 80, the committee reported as follows:

Pamphlet literature has long been recognized as a useful medium for extending ideas upon current labor problems. The pamphlets issued by the American Federation of Labor during the past year have been particularly helpful. We feel it incumbent upon us to call attention to the attractive appearance of some of the newer pamphlets and recommend these pamphlets and other literature issued by the Workers' Education Bureau to all members of the labor movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGAL INFORMATION BULLETIN

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 81, the committee reported as follows:

The large number of cases involving the rights and interests of labor that arise in the course of the year throughout the country have fully demonstrated the value of our legal information bureau. The dissemination of the various decisions of the courts with respect to labor through the legal information bureau has been most valuable. We endorse and favor the continuance of these bulletins.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HISTORY, ENCYCLOPEDIA AND REFERENCE BOOK

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 81, the committee reported as follows:

As a reference book of the history of the American Federation of Labor from 1919 to 1923 the second volume of the History, Encyclopedia Reference Book, is to be recommended to all officials of our trade union movement throughout the country. This book contains a mine of information; it should prove of great assistance to our movement and we recommend it to members of organized labor and other students of economics.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LIBRARY

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 81, the committee reported as follows:

We have learned with a great deal of interest and satisfaction of the valuable addition to the library of the American Federation of Labor. The entire membership of the American Federation of Labor will be deeply touched with the additional evidence of the devotion of Samuel Gompers to the movement, by adding to our library practically his entire collection. We most earnestly recommend that the delegates to this convention record their most sincere appreciation to the members of the family of our former leader and convey to them a message of gratitude for this gift.

In addition we record our firm belief in the widest possible use of this library for research assistance to our movement and further urge upon our members the opportunity that is afforded to secure this valuable aid.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMERICAN LEGION

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 81 and 82, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee heartily concurs in all that the Executive Council has said and done in its friendly and cooperative relations with the American Legion. In their support of American ideals, freedom, tolerance and the common good both Labor and the Legion can stand shoulder to shoulder. We urge our membership to promote this friendly relationship and mutual understanding whenever possible to the end that both can join in support of legislation in the interest of social progress and betterment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR PRESS

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 92, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is unanimously in accord with the declaration of the Executive Council relative to this subject matter. The effort on the part of the various unions to make their official journals mediums for the education of the membership of organized labor on the vast number of economic and industrial questions of the day is most commendable. We recommend the extension of this idea to the labor press of the country, not only in the interest of labor but in the interest of public education on the aims and ideals of labor along the path to constructive results.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR'S MEMORIAL SUNDAY

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 82, the committee reported as follows:

Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the subject of Labor Memorial Sunday and the proper observance of that day by organized labor. On the fourth Sunday in May labor with other citizens of our land is privileged to pay a tribute to the men who have, during their lives, fought for the cause of labor and to establish its principles and ideals that those who live after them might enjoy a better and happier life.

We believe labor wishes to pay such a tribute to the memory of the heroes of labor; we urge its national observance on this day.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR SUNDAY

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 92, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in hearty accord with the declaration of the Executive Council relative to the proper and fitting observance of Labor Sunday.

The opportunity given to the representatives of organized labor to speak in various churches on that day and on other occasions is doing much to bring about a better understanding of labor's aims and purposes by the public generally. The pronouncements made by many prominent clergymen of all denominations has been most helpful in this respect. We urge that organized labor through its various affiliations do everything possible to promote a general observance of Labor Sunday, a practice which, if extended, would be of great benefit to the entire community.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR DAY

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 92, the committee reported as follows:

We deplore the laxity and indifference on the part of organized labor in its failure to fittingly celebrate and observe Labor Day, as its founders intended it should be observed.

Labor Day is organized labor's day set aside by legal enactment. We must not permit any other form of celebration to set aside or take the place of labor day parades, outings and mass meetings which mean so much to the organized labor movement in promoting its educational, economic and social activities. Thus shall we be able to promote and set forth the spirit of fellowship and brotherhood which are the life of the labor movement.

We recommend that all Central Labor Unions put forth special effort to celebrate each labor day with parades, outings and mass meetings and that all International

unions urge their affiliated local unions to participate in such celebrations.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Schmal, secretary of the committee: Mr. Chairman, that completes the partial report of the Committee on Education.

President Green: The United Mine Workers' delegation, through its President, desires to introduce a resolution at this time. The President asks for unanimous consent, and the chair will gladly recognize President Lewis, of the United Mine Workers.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: Because of circumstances the United Mine Workers' delegation was not able to prepare and introduce a resolution bearing upon the controversy in the anthracite coal producing fields before the time limit for the introduction of resolutions had passed, and inasmuch as it is probable that the convention will conclude its business within a comparatively short time, we have presumed to ask the indulgence of the convention this morning to permit, if possible, of the admission of this resolution by unanimous consent.

President Green: Are there any objections to the introduction of this resolution? Hearing none, the rule of unanimous consent applies, and the resolution is introduced and becomes the property of the convention.

Delegate Lewis: Mr. Chairman, I request that the secretary of the convention read the resolution, and anticipating that he will do so I desire to move the suspension of the regular rules governing such matters and ask for a direct consideration of the merits of the resolution by the convention at this time. (Motion seconded).

Secretary Morrison read the resolution, as follows:

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates of the United Mine Workers of America, John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, Thos. Kennedy, Wm. Green, Frank Farrington, Walter Nesbit, Lee Hall, C. J. Golden:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, extend its full and complete indorsement and sympathy to the 158,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America now engaged in the strike in the anthracite in-

dustry. The American Federation of Labor extends to these mine workers its commendation for their great spirit of self-sacrifice and determination in resisting the efforts of the anthracite operators to break down their working conditions and effect wage reductions. We approve the efforts of the mine workers in their demands for increased wages, improved working conditions and complete recognition of the union. In the name of the millions of organized workers in America, we approve their policies and extend to them the hand of fellowship and mutual cooperation. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to cooperate in every possible and practical way to the end that the anthracite mine workers achieve complete success in their efforts.

The motion offered by Delegate Lewis to suspend the rules and give immediate consideration to the resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers, moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded by Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers, and several others.

Delegate Lewis: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention: I shall not, in this rather informal manner this morning, enter into a detailed discussion of the matters of difference between the United Mine Workers of America and the anthracite operators as represented in the present strike. Many of the questions at issue are rather technical in form and substance and require some time for analysis in order that they might be fully understood. There will be handed each delegate to the convention this morning a pamphlet issued by the Anthracite Scale Committee setting forth in full the position of the United Mine Workers of America in the anthracite fields, as was represented to the Citizens' Committee of the anthracite region at a meeting in Hazleton on August 25. You will find that record comprehensive and illuminating. It deals with each of the principal wage demands of the United Mine Workers and explains them in a manner that all may understand, whether or not they have any technical knowledge or practical knowledge of the anthracite industry.

Suffice to say that after some weeks of negotiation with the anthracite operators our representatives were unable to come to any agreement on the matter of the terms of a new contract designed to supersede the one which expired on August 31 of this year. There was no accord upon the matter of any of the terms of the contract. There was no agree-

ment upon the matter of wages, upon the matter of working conditions, upon the matter of hours of labor, the length of the contract, or any other single item.

We found, much to our surprise and our great disappointment, that when the anthracite operators came into conference they came in with a policy pre-determined to resist every claim of the anthracite mine workers and to decline to consider, upon a basis of merit, any of their demands, and at the same time making a demand of their own for a reduction in the labor costs of producing anthracite. This position was assumed by them and has been maintained by them consistently throughout the period of the disagreement, notwithstanding the fact that the anthracite miners are able to prove conclusively, and have so set forth the facts in a public way, that the anthracite industry is competent to pay the mine workers of that region a substantially increased wage without any necessity of increasing the cost of the coal to the consuming public.

The wages of the day men employed in the industry are from a minimum of \$4.62 a day to a maximum of \$5.96 per day. That represents the wages of 70 per cent of the total number of men employed in the industry. There are about 158,000 men, more or less, in that field. The earnings of 70 per cent of them come within the range of the figures I have quoted you. The other 30 per cent represent contract miners who are employed by the ton or by the car or by the cubic yard. Their wages average substantially less than \$2,000 per year, as you will find set forth in this record of the anthracite mine workers.

In addition to the fact that those wages are meager and pitiful indeed, in consideration of the service rendered by those who work in the industry, we find that each man in the industry is deprived of the opportunity of working for twenty-five days each year by reason of the personal injuries which he suffers. Every man of the 158,000 men in that industry stands to be idle upon an average of twenty-five days in the year by reason of the injuries which he receives. If he is not injured during that twelve-month period it merely means that his neighbor or his friend or associate or some other mine worker is injured for a period of time doubling that number of days.

The figures on earnings of contract miners published by the anthracite operators merely comprehend the earnings of those favored few

mine workers who, by reason of exceptional skill or extraordinary physical strength and complete lack of injury during the twelve-month period, are able to make a record of production and earnings which cannot be approximated by their less fortunate average associates.

In dealing with the earnings of our people in that industry we are obliged to consider the earnings and the requirements of the average individual, and not those exceptional few who, by reason of the fortunes of chance or extraordinary skill, are able to earn a little more than their fellow men.

In 1923 there were 29,172 men carried home upon stretchers or hauled in ambulances from the anthracite collieries to their homes. In 1924 there were 30,241 men injured in the anthracite industry, out of a total number of 158,000 men employed. Since 1870 the anthracite industry has butchered 1,210,000 of our people in order that the wheels of industry might turn and that you and I and our fellow members of society might be kept warm. Five hundred of these men are killed outright every year. The ratio of killings for the first seven months of 1925, if continued without the strike and stoppage, would have killed six hundred of our people this year. Every day between breakfast and the evening meal, when the collieries work, two of our men die in the industry. For every man who dies each day, sixty are carried home upon stretchers to their lamenting and grieved families, and the anthracite miners hold that in consideration of the services they render, their wages are pitifully inadequate, that they fail to properly compensate either for the laboriousness of the toil which they give and the service which they render, the degree of skill required in the industry, or the element of extreme hazard which they endure. A man who knows that he has one chance in six of being injured during the twelve months' period and who must take his chances, whether his injury shall be a minor injury that will merely lay him off for a short time or be sufficient to permanently incapacitate him from further service in the industry, or whether he shall die, cannot very well, on a wage of \$4.62 a day, which one-third of them receive, provide for his family or lay aside a sufficient sum to enable him to face that day of adversity and woe with that spirit and knowledge that should be his if he is bound to leave his loved ones under those conditions.

We are asking that, because of this most

extraordinary service which the men in the anthracite industry render to their employers and to society, that their employers and the society of our country recognize that service and at least pay them for it. It is impossible, of course, to fully compensate for the destruction of a man's body by the mere payment of dollars and cents. It is impossible to justify the killing of a man for a few dollars, and yet something is necessary to compensate the family, in so far as material things are concerned, for the loss and the crippling of these thousands of bread winners in that industry year after year.

The United Mine Workers of America are having the same experience with the anthracite operators in the present controversy as has always featured the history of our joint relationships with those who control the anthracite industry. Never in all the history of the anthracite industry, from the time that John Mitchell and his gallant men waged the great struggle in that field in 1902, have the anthracite operators ever voluntarily conceded a point of consideration to the thousands of employees who man their collieries. It is true that during the war period upon two occasions there was a voluntary increase in wages in the anthracite industry, not comparable with the requirements, but an increase. That action was taken by the anthracite operators merely because other industries were paying wages to such a degree that the contract miners were leaving the mines and entering service in other industries that paid wages in excess of the anthracite industry, and merely in order to check their working forces and personnel from leaving to the point where production and distribution would be seriously hampered, the anthracite operators yielded some slight concessions. But in every other instance, from 1902 down to the present day, they have never on their own motion yielded a single point of consideration to their employees unless it was first shelled from them by the grape and canister of the miners as represented by the United Mine Workers of America.

And we are saying to the anthracite operators today that if they elect, as they do, to run true to form and never retreat except under fire from their employees, then the United Mine Workers of America as represented in the anthracite region are prepared today to engage them in battle upon the elements of consideration which are at issue here, and if it takes industrial warfare in the anthracite region to gain proper and humane

consideration, then the responsibility for that industrial warfare must lie with the magnates of the industry whose policy it is to take all and give nothing.

When our negotiations first began the anthracite operators had from seven to nine million tons of steam size coal stored in their storage yards. It is true that they could have sold that coal as they mined it for the prevailing prices, but not desiring to take such action, being possessed of storage capacity in their great yards, being possessed of the necessary financial requirements for such storage policy, they elected to store that coal over long periods of months, waiting for a time when they might dispose of it at enhanced prices.

And so in bringing about a suspension in the industry, one must not forget that they have created a situation whereby they are able to dispose of from 7,000,000 to 9,000,000 tons of steam coal at an increased price of two, three and four dollars a ton more than it sold for before the suspension took place. As a cold-blooded, sheer commercial policy and considered only from that standpoint, they may call it good business, but from the standpoint of public interest and from the standpoint of the interests of the employees of the industry, it represents nothing more nor less than the following of a policy or levying all that the traffic will bear.

Nut coal is selling in Philadelphia today at \$18 a ton, by those few coal dealers who have nut coal. In towns on Long Island it is selling at as high as \$19.50 per ton. Those prices represent an advance of from \$4 to \$5 per ton over the prices which prevailed on August 31st of the present year. In addition to that the prices of pea coal, buckwheat, in the lower steam sizes have substantially advanced, and it is being sold at prices which merely represent the extortionate view point of those comparatively few who still have some coal in storage.

The American public is being systematically mulcted by this commercial practice of the anthracite operators and the wholesale distributors of the anthracite commodities. The people have been told during the past sixty days or more that the public need not fear a suspension in the anthracite industry; that there was ample coal on hand to last until such time as the mine workers were driven back in the mines and came to an appreciation of their foolish policy. The redoubtable John Hays Hammond, from his marble palace at

Gloucester, has repeatedly issued statements to the effect that the public need not have any apprehension; that there was ample coal; that the strike was foolish, and that in due time it would be broken and there would be no increase in prices, and so on, ad infinitum.

Hammond, the coal operators, and other foolish public men have created for the American people a fool's paradise, and they are due for a fool's awakening. All the damage has been done. If the mines were to start work tomorrow, which is extremely unlikely, from present prospects, production and distribution would not catch up with fuel requirements before the coming of the next spring. What will be the condition if the anthracite operators permit this strike to run until the people who have coal in their basements have burned it up in the cold days of the coming winter, and then they undertake to settle and resume production? It simply means that hundreds of thousands of homes that will be without fuel will be unable to secure fuel for some months to come, until they can produce it at the mines, transport it over the railroads and convey it to their several domiciles.

In the meantime, the wholesalers and the retailers in the industry will be making hay while the sun shines, and where coal is now being sold at from \$18 to \$19.50, it will be sold at an additional increase far in excess of the figures I named. There are some people in this country who are able to pay any price to keep warm, and those of favored position and finance who will bid for the fuel will make it doubly hard for the average consumer who is not able to pay the increased prices of the commodity.

The public is being told that the substitute fuels that might be available will amply protect it, that gas, coke, oil and bituminous coal will be available. I am assured by some of the leading industrial engineers of the country that the by-product coke industry is unable to take care of any of the increased fuel requirements of the public because they have a sale for all of their product and they are unable to extend their production facilities to any degree in the present instance to take care of the increased fuel requirements of the public in the anthracite consuming territory.

Neither do I understand that the average small householder in New England and other anthracite consuming territory is able to scrap his anthracite burning equipment, and at an initial cost of five or six hundred dollars, install oil burning equipment. One can imagine

how that advice would sound to the worker in the textile industry in New England, whose wages and earning capacity have been recently decreased by the action of the magnates of that industry.

With regard to bituminous coal any one who has any technical or practical knowledge of the relative substance and form of the two fuels, bituminous and anthracite, knows full well that the anthracite equipment will not burn bituminous coal in a manner that will protect the health and safety of the householder. There are hundreds and hundreds of miles of tenement houses in our great centers of population in the eastern country where the chimneys were built for anthracite fuel, and any attempt to burn bituminous coal in those chimneys will mean the wholesale asphyxiation of whole families by reason of the fact that the gases from the bituminous product cannot be carried away by the vents and orifices in the roofs of the domiciles.

And yet Mr. John Hays Hammond, in his great mansion, with a coterie of engineers to run his heating appliances, says, nonchalantly, "Burn bituminous." The public is certainly entitled to a supply of fuel at prices that are not exorbitant, and yet we find the public strangely apathetic to the dangers and hazards which are facing it today by reason of the suspension in the anthracite industry. They have been lulled into a sense of security by the editorials in our great metropolitan newspapers, written by men, oftentimes, who have no understanding of the problem upon which they write. Yet they presume to sagely issue their fulminations to guide the American people in rendering judgment upon a controversy of the present character. Their entire object and idea is not to protect the public, but merely to create a state of mind which will redound to the detriment of and bring about the defeat of the organized mine workers of the anthracite region. And to accomplish that one thing these Chambers of Commerce, these Manufacturers' Associations, and oftentimes these civic clubs and the managements of our great metropolitan newspapers are combined to have the American public believe that the anthracite suspension at the present time is not a menace to their convenience, to their health, to their security, and that they need have no concern.

I am saying to the American people today that they are due for a rude awakening. The

anthracite commodity takes care of the fuel requirements of some 60,000 communities in the Atlantic seaboard country, and it is physically impossible, even were other conditions favorable, for the railroad corporations of our country to transport enough bituminous coal into these 60,000 communities to care for their requirements, even if they could burn it.

We hear talk about the low volatile and smokeless coals of central Pennsylvania and southern West Virginia. As a matter of fact, these coals do not lend themselves to preparation, and it is impossible to burn the mine run product even in equipment that is designed to consume the bituminous product. So there lies no security there for the public, and it is due the public to become appreciative of the menace that is facing them and to awaken to the necessity of having the anthracite operators concede some degree of justice to their employees.

May I point out that in the pamphlet that will be distributed to you, there are figures setting forth the earnings of the anthracite operators. They show the tremendous profits which are being taken from that industry. It shows the tremendous spread between the original mine labor cost of \$4.62 a ton and the \$14, \$15 and \$16 a ton which the anthracite consumer ordinarily pays for his product. There is no reason or justification for the statement or the belief that the anthracite operators could not tomorrow agree to give their employees an increase in wages and improve their working conditions and spend some money to make that industry more safe, in view of what they are taking from the American public in the operation of this great combination of capital and mine property.

The anthracite operators are extorting from the public a sum which ranges between sixteen million and twenty million dollars annually to which they have no decent claim. When they appeal to the public for support, they come into court with unclean hands. In April of this year they put through a resizing deal with the retailers which gives the operators a chance to work off their steam sizes on the public by mixing them with the domestic sizes and charging the old prices. The retailers feared that if they protested they would be cut off and given no more coal to sell. The operators stand to make between sixteen and twenty million dollars annually by this deal to retain the old trade names and lower their quality. The public is now pay-

ing for the old names at the old prices and getting much smaller coal to burn.

They not only lowered the sizes outright, but introduced the round mesh in place of the square mesh in the breaker screens. This move alone means a reduction of one-fifth in the size of practically every grade of coal. The "rough edge" of the producers that takes the greatest possible advantage of every emergency and that was found to be shipping sixteen per cent dirty coal immediately after the 1923 suspension, is using this change in standards as an excuse for a wholesale pouring of the smaller sizes into the larger ones in disregard of both old and new classifications. They will doubtless make this change pay them five million dollars annually over and above the grab shared by all the producers.

The mesh for chestnut and pea sizes has been changed so that between one-fourth and thirty per cent of all the pea coal sold, or 1,437,000 tons at least, is now sold as chestnut. Chestnut has always had an allowance of fifteen per cent of smaller sizes, but this is something new. The difference in price between the two sizes is \$3.15 per ton, and stands to pay the operators \$4,526,550 for their shrewdness.

The mesh for buckwheat No. 1 has been cut so that at least one-third of all the buckwheat is now sold as pea coal. In 1924 they sold 9,384,000 gross tons of buckwheat No. 1. At present prices, buckwheat sells at the mines at \$2.50 per gross ton, and pea sells at \$5.50. The difference is \$3.00 per ton. The sales of one-third of the total buckwheat production as pea coal will net a profit of \$3.00 a ton on 3,128,000 tons, or \$9,384,000. This is in addition to the 862,000 tons of buckwheat coal that has in the past years regularly been sold as pea coal.

The mesh for stove coal has also been changed by seven per cent, so that 1,242,000 tons of chestnut are now being sold annually as stove coal, which sells at fifty cents more. Here they make \$621,000 annually.

In addition, in order to get a larger amount of stove coal, which is the highest priced size, they have increased its mesh so that fourteen per cent of the egg coal can fall into it. This amounts to 1,481,000 tons. The difference in price is fifty cents per ton, or \$740,500 annually.

Even what is left of the first grade of steam coal, buckwheat No. 1, is being

diluted. It has in the past had an allowance of fifteen per cent of smaller sizes in it. This has now been increased to twenty per cent. This addition amounts to 468,000 tons. The difference in price is ninety cents. The total gain annually to the operators here is \$421,740.

The grand total of underhanded profit to be made in this way, not counting the amounts made by changing to the round mesh and the amounts arbitrarily taken by the more unscrupulous operators, is \$15,693,790 annually, a great deal over a million dollars a month.

We do not object to the legitimate efforts of the operators to sell their steam sizes, but when they inform the public that they are not selling them and that they are not making any money at the same time that they are perpetrating this grab, the hypocrisy of the situation is repugnant to the minds of honest men.

This action typifies the state of mind and the traditional policy of the anthracite operators. Their industry is the most highly organized industry in this country of ours, representing more or less of a national monopoly. They have organized it systematically, so that they have levied all that the traffic will bear on the question of its production and its transportation and its wholesale and retail distribution.

It is well known, and has often been shown by the United Mine Workers of America, that the great anthracite coal carrying railroads are levying freight tariffs for the carrying of that coal traffic to tide-water in New England entirely out of proportion to the rates charged by other railroads for transporting bituminous products throughout the country. Time after time our representatives have made an attempt to have the anthracite operators join with us in asking for a revision and a lowering downward of these freight tariffs upon the anthracite railroads, and time after time their answer has been no. They are maintaining their consistent and their traditional attitude, but the tragedy of the whole thing is that the American people will be made the chief sufferers from this situation. The public is already being mulcted of great sums of money by reason of the increased prices that they are compelled to pay for the inferior grades of coal that they are now able to secure.

In addition the public may well make up its mind that it will be impossible in the forthcoming winter, no matter when the strike ends, for production to catch up with consumption requirements, and that there will be months and months and months of these comparatively high prices. The anthracite operators, the anthracite wholesalers and distributors will have achieved their end of utilizing this strike and this contention with their employes to add to the tremendous profits which they are taking from the industry under the guise of placing the responsibility upon their employes who are asking increased wages and improved working conditions for the highly specialized and meritorious service which they render.

May I say that the United Mine Workers of America, in the resolution which has been offered for your consideration, are asking the organized millions of wage workers throughout our country, and particularly in the eastern section of our land where anthracite is a factor, to cooperate, to extend their good will and sympathy, and use their personal influence to educate the public to a proper understanding of this situation in order that the mine workers of that field may gain that degree of consideration to which they are entitled.

Let me assure you, ladies and gentlemen of the convention, that there is not now nor will there be later any question of the mine workers of the anthracite territory faltering in the step that they have undertaken or departing from the policy which they have laid down. They have elected to engage in a struggle with this great anthracite financial and operating combination. They have every appreciation of the responsibilities of such a contest, but they believe that their cause is just, they believe that thrice armed indeed is he whose cause is just, and they have decided to carry on, come what may, to the end that success will accrue to their efforts.

The fact that the public will be inconvenienced is a matter of great concern to us. We have no desire in any way to inflict any public harm, but the public in this instance is not careful of its own rights and is permitting the anthracite operators to perpetrate a campaign of extorting a public loot to a greater degree than has ever

before been witnessed in the history of our industrial era, in so far as an essential public commodity is concerned.

We ask you to express yourselves in this resolution as being sympathetic with our people, to the end that greater cooperation may exist, that greater good will may exist, and in order that our people may have the full understanding that the hopes and the good will of the organized workers of America are with them in the conflict.

President Green: There has never been and there can be no doubt now as to the sympathy and good will of the delegates attending this convention and those whom they represent being extended in full measure to the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America and to the anthracite miners in this heroic struggle in which they are engaged, but I am confident from conversations I have held with numerous delegates and because of expressions I have heard that there has been some lack of understanding of the basic, fundamental reasons for the strike which is now in effect in the anthracite coal region and for that season this timely, instructive, illuminating and able address of the president of the United Mine Workers will be highly appreciated. You have secured information you so much desired; you are better able now to go back among your constituents and tell them about the merits of this struggle, the human factors involved, the false propaganda that has been circulated and last, but not least, the fixed and irrevocable determination of the anthracite miners to go through until victory crowns their efforts.

I wish that all of you may read the pamphlet distributed among you. It contains an address delivered by President Lewis at Hazleton. You will find in this pamphlet a mass of facts, unanswerable facts, through which you may be armed in meeting false and misleading information that is being circulated in every anthracite coal consuming community. In addition, I wish that this address delivered this morning may be printed in our minutes in full so that it may be widely circulated. I sincerely hope that the suggestions I have offered will be acceptable, as I know they will, to the delegates attending this convention.

Delegate Shea, Scranton: I move that this convention extend, a rising vote of thanks to President Lewis for his explanation of conditions in the anthracite region and that his address appear in today's proceedings. (Seconded and carried unanimously).

Delegate Nelson, Chicago Federation of Labor: I move that in addition to printing this address in full the secretary of the American Federation of Labor have the speech printed in pamphlet form, and distributed to all affiliated local unions, central bodies and state federations of labor. (Seconded and carried unanimously).

The resolution introduced by the United Mine Workers' delegation was adopted by unanimous rising vote.

Delegate Lewis: In behalf of the 158,000 mine workers who are now on strike in the anthracite region and in behalf of the entire membership of the United Mine Workers of America I desire to express their thanks and appreciation to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee: The committee desires to present a supplemental report to its report of yesterday dealing with the subject of the American Federation of Labor non-partisan political campaign.

A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign

Supplemental report on that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 60 to 62:

For several months the Vice-President of the United States has conducted an agitation for the purpose of abolishing free speech in the United States Senate, the only forum in the world where cloture does not exist and where members can prevent the passage of reactionary legislation.

Your committee feels that this campaign of the Vice-President for the abolition of free speech in the United States Senate is not in the interest of the people but in the interest of the reactionary element that is seeking to control all legislation. The American Federation of Labor has been successful in the defeat of reactionary legislation because of the fact that free

speech prevailed in the Senate. Some of the most vicious legislation could have been enacted if free speech had not been permitted.

The people of the United States should awaken to the fact that the agitation for cloture in the United States Senate does not come from the people, but emanates in the secret chambers of the predatory interests. The railroad industry, the great oil industry and other great industries in the United States, want to make it possible for a handful of men in the United States Senate to control all legislation. It is a vicious idea, a vicious purpose to which the Vice-President of the United States has loaned himself. Labor is not deceived; Labor knows what is behind the move to abolish free speech in the United States Senate, and will vigorously and continuously fight against any proposition that will make it possible for the interests to control all legislation.

In the House they have cloture. A former leader of the dominant party in the House pointed out one time to a representative of the American Federation of Labor that liberal legislation required twelve to fifteen years for its passage, while legislation in support of special privileges could be passed in a week or two through the cloture exercised in the House. If the Rules Committee objects to legislation or the steering committee objects to legislation in the House, it is impossible to bring it before that body.

Your committee believes that the ulterior purpose behind the agitation for the abolishment of free speech in the Senate is a scheme of the reactionary, backward looking interests to control all legislation.

We therefore recommend that every means be taken to expose this un-American proposal. The people should be informed that the agitation is not in their interests. No matter how plausible the agitation becomes, no matter how glittering the words that are used to deceive the people, the abolition of free speech in the United States Senate should be fought as determinedly as any other proposal inimical to the interests of the people has ever been fought by the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: It is with

great pleasure that I heard the report of the committee. Some years ago, as many of the older delegates can remember, a strong disposition, in fact a very determined agitation was carried on in the American Federation of Labor for the establishment of a third party, a labor party in the United States. Some of us then undertook—without making any noise about it—an investigation into the real situation in the House and in the Senate. The real situation in the House was found to be that unless you had enough votes to call for a roll call it was impossible to bring before that body any special thing that the majority or those in control did not want brought forward. As a result it was necessary, secondly, to investigate into the possibilities of obtaining the necessary number of ayes and noes to compel a roll call vote.

This branch of the investigation led to the question of what would be the possible number that labor with its friends could elect in the industrial states, and it was found that it was absolutely out of the question, because of the gerrymandering of the congressional districts. As a result, the American Federation of Labor adopted its non-partisan policy.

After this investigation the former president called a conference which resulted in the drafting of labor's bill of grievances. I want to call your attention to the fact that there has been no remedy as to the House. It is the most important of the houses of legislation, it is the most important part of Congress, because it has in its keeping the purse. But through the rules that have been adopted, some of them direct and some of them indirect, the House has been shorn of its power. The purpose of labor should be to restore to the House its absolute power, its full constitutional power that it has and should have under the constitution of the United States. There will, no doubt, be a movement in that direction. There are men who have struggled with that for a long time on Capitol Hill, but the result is questionable because of the tremendous campaign that is insidiously carried on against that branch of the government. While that change is going on there is a definite and clear purpose to put the Senate in exactly the same position as the House.

Some of you have been told by the news-

papers what a terrible thing it is that the majority does not always rule in the Senate of the United States. The Senate of the United States discusses a question and it goes to the public generally. It is a kind of a referendum. If you will take note of discussions on very disputed questions in the Senate you will find that these discussions are carried on from time to time, and it is for the purpose of bringing the facts to the general public, so that the general public can bring its pressure to bear upon individuals. It is through that process that it has been possible to defeat some of the most pernicious, some of the most dangerous legislation that has appeared in the United States in the last forty or fifty years.

Strip the Senate of its power, as is proposed by Mr. Dawes, to discuss, as you call it, ad infinitum, any question of serious importance—do that, and you have at the same time destroyed real representative government in the United States.

I want to congratulate the committee on its report yesterday, and I desire still more to congratulate them upon what they have added today, because they have touched upon both the House and Senate in this last report. It is time that you should give this subject the most serious consideration.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Woll: The committee wishes to deviate from the regular order in presenting a statement and a request emanating from the committee, owing to the urgent necessity if the proposal is to be carried out. The committee's statement is as follows:

Illness of Former Representative Isaac N. Sherwood, of Ohio

The attention of your committee having been called to the serious illness of former Representative Isaac N. Sherwood, of Ohio, who, in the days of his activity, always proved a staunch friend and supporter of the cause of organized labor, your committee, therefore, recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to send a message of sympathy, hope and cheer to former Representative Isaac N. Sherwood.

Secretary Woll: I move the adoption of the report of the committee and its imme-

diate carrying out. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

Conscription

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 52, the committee reported as follows:

We urge continued alertness against conscription except during actual defensive war.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Panama Canal Zone

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 64, the committee reported as follows:

We concur in the recommendation of the Executive Council that efforts be continued to relieve the employes on the Canal Zone. Representatives of labor have encountered a willingness to make an investigation as a basis for action. However, efforts should be continued until either conditions lost through the Harding executive order are restored or the differential compensation for the more onerous conditions is increased. One of these two courses is necessary to reduce the number of the alien workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legal Information Bureau

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 71-72, the committee reported as follows:

We commend highly the wisdom of our executives in extending the work of the Legal Information Bureau. The information gathered and supplied by this bureau has been invaluable to lawyers and individual unions.

Appreciative of the strategic importance of this work, we recommend that the opportunities of the bureau be extended as rapidly as our finances will permit. We fully realize the value of getting labor's contentions before legal students, before lawyers and judges and before all groups concerned with the enactment and application of legislation.

We commend highly the present form of the Legal Information Bulletin and express our appreciation of the efficient way in which the bureau has been directed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Warning Against Communist Activities

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 90-91, the committee reported as follows:

We recommend that the warning of the Executive Council against communist activities be given widest possible publicity. We believe that communists can make no headway in our movement if trade unionists are forearmed with dependable information and if constructive development goes on apace.

It would be the part of wisdom if all organizations make careful inquiries concerning all movements before making commitments of cooperation. The office of the American Federation of Labor is obviously the agency through which such information should be disseminated.

Against the communist boring from within we recommend that drastic action which the surgeon takes against a malignant growth—removal of all affected tissues. To temporize is to endanger the health of the whole organization.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, spoke briefly in support of the recommendation of the committee and asked that it be read again in order that it might be impressed upon the minds of the delegates.

The request was complied with by Secretary Woll.

Delegate Doyle, Painters, discussed the question, and gave an interesting account of the manner in which the communists carry on their work. He called particular attention to the work of a man named Scarboro, who was arrested in Buffalo while addressing a crowd in the streets, during the course of which he attacked the American labor movement, the American people and the American flag. Questioned in the office of the lawyer he retained to defend him he admitted that he had been commissioned to go into the cities of Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo to stop organized labor activities.

In concluding his discussion Delegate

Doyle stated that a few weeks ago, in the convention of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, held in Montreal, Canada, with a delegation of 650 present, a vote to expel from the organization every man who is a member of the Communist Party was carried by 641 votes. He advised that other organizations take similar action.

Delegate Bohm, Bookkeepers and Stenographers and Accountants, spoke of trouble caused in Local No. 12646 of New York City by a number of communist members,

forty of whom were expelled and the local reorganized. He referred to Resolution No. 28, which contains the details of this affair. He urged that the American Federation of Labor go on record advising organizations to take action to expel all communists from their memberships.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote. The vote was taken by show of hands.

At 12:30 o'clock an adjournment was taken to 2:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Ninth Day--Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

Absentees

Myrup, Dohney, Tracy (W.), Boyer, Bradish, Conway, Spector, De Raay, Rosemund, Snow, Lucchi, Sigman, Kreindler, Perlmutter, Bock, Parker, Hill (C. E.), Crough, Funder Burk, Cashen, Manion, Alexander, Jewell, Nigro, Atkins (J. M.), Allen (G. H.), Ely, Nelligan, Steadman, Wieck, Kelley (J. R.), Patton, O'Dell, Long (C. D.), Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Walsh (T. F.), Hughes (F.), Vaughn, Woodmansee, Trimmer, Peterson, McGeary, Tinney, Carrozzo, Shafir, Abrams, Ruben, Effrat, Geyer, Simons, Blackman, Camous, Portway.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I rise at this time to call attention to the rules of the American Federation of Labor, and to point out that the action of the convention this morning in setting aside this hour for the election of officers is in violation of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. Article V. provides specifically that the election of officers shall take place upon the last day of the convention. I would ask that the Chair rule upon this matter or that the convention reconsider its action.

Vice-President Woll: I move that the action taken setting aside this afternoon for the election of officers be reconsidered. (Seconded).

Delegate Mahon: I think all that is necessary is a ruling under the law.

President Green stated that he would be glad to rule upon the constitutional point if the motion were withdrawn.

Vice-President Woll withdrew the motion to reconsider.

Delegate Evans, Electrical Workers, stated that he offered the motion with the intention of expediting the business of the convention.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that it will be impossible for this convention to complete its work today. An investigation of the status of the work of the committees shows clearly that it would be impossible for the convention to conclude its work today. There are reasonable grounds to believe that it could be completed by tomorrow evening. In view of that fact the Chair will rule that the action taken at this morning's session was clearly in violation of the constitution and that therefore it is nullified and set aside.

The chairman requested Delegate Daisy Houck, of the United Garment Workers, to escort Delegate Mollie E. Weitler, of Cincinnati, to the stage. Delegate Houck complied with the request.

Delegate Conboy, of the United Textile Workers, presented to Delegate Weitler a handsome purse, and in doing so said:

To me has fallen this afternoon a most pleasing duty, but before I perform that duty I want to make a few remarks. A great many years ago in the city of Cincinnati, away back in 1883, a slip of a girl took out a union card. From that day to this day she has not only carried a union card but has been an active member of her organization. She is secretary of one of the largest locals of women in the country. She is here as a delegate of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

It has been said many times that this is an ungrateful movement, but indeed it is not, for the heart of labor is big and generous and kind, and we want to prove to Delegate Weitler that we appreciate her work throughout forty-two years, almost a lifetime. I am commissioned by the women delegates present, some of the visiting women and some of the other delegates to present her with this little gift.

Delegate Conboy then presented the purse, which she explained contained two new one hundred dollar bills.

Delegate Weitler: As I sat in this convention I heard in the different talks something about "carrying on". In the years that have gone by I have tried to carry on in the labor movement. My whole heart and soul were in the work to uplift, especially the women workers and the children. I worked at a time when we had no children in the factories, and I was very much disturbed when I found children coming into the factories and taking the places of men and women.

I fully appreciate the spirit you have put into this gift, and I shall always remember as long as I live that I was accepted as a worker amongst the workers. I thank you, brothers and sisters from the bottom of my heart.

Delegate Kennedy, Mine Workers: I move you that we fix the hour of ten-thirty tomorrow morning as the time for the nomination and election of officers. (Seconded).

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, in opposing the motion, said in part: Before you vote on this I hope you will consider what is involved. There is a great deal of important business yet to come before this convention. There are matters in the hands of committees upon which reports will be made that will be of deep interest not only to the delegates here but to the organized workers' movement that they represent. This business is the business of the convention and it should be properly attended to. I will admit that the business of electing officers of the American Federation of Labor is important business, but the constitution of the American Federation of Labor is framed on the understanding that the important business, the pressing business of the convention, should be disposed of before the election of officers.

If you fix the time for electing officers at ten-thirty tomorrow morning, after the election is over you will find the seats in this hall very largely deserted. You will find that a great deal of important business will be transacted by a handful of delegates and many of you will go home not aware of what actually took place in this convention. Let us not make this special order for ten-thirty tomorrow, but let it come on tomorrow afternoon when everyone will be glad to stand up here and watch the secretary cast the vote for the election of our officers.

Delegate Bolander: I move that the hour of ten-thirty be set aside and two-thirty be substituted.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers: I rise to ask of the Chair whether or not that can be legally done if we are to conform to the rules adopted by this body, which provide when the election of officers shall take place, and the election of officers does not take place until all unfinished business and new business has been disposed of.

President Green stated that the convention could suspend the rules, and asked Delegate Bolander if his motion included a suspension of the rules. Delegate Bolander stated that he would include that in his motion.

The motion offered by Delegate Bolander was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Well continued the report of the committee as follows:

Injunction Abuses

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 69-71, the committee reported as follows:

This section of the Executive Council's report definitely sets forth the fundamental issues involved in Labor's protests against injunction abuses—the issue of government by consent or government by discretion. Viewed in its industrial application the issue is of fundamental concern to trade unions; considered in its larger aspects it is of concern to all believers in constitutional government.

Wage earners have felt keenly the limitations of their rights through extension of equity jurisdiction. Organized labor has now

been struggling for a quarter of a century against the efforts of its enemies to destroy it by means of injunctions of the equity courts. The menace to the very existence of organized labor is as great as ever today.

In a struggle of this length there is always danger that Labor's forces may not keep up with the new phases and developments of the situation and that the public ear will become deafened by the repetition of reiterated arguments. The Executive Council has ably avoided both of these dangers. It points to a new development in the struggle and uses a new line of argument which cannot fail to interest the conscientious and intelligent public. The Executive Council rightly emphasizes the fact that labor is not engaged in futile complaint or in the impossible effort to enlighten hostile judges, but is seeking a plain and practical remedy—legislation by Congress and the State Legislatures defining and limiting the powers of equity courts, especially in labor disputes.

Great Britain dealt effectively with this evil almost two decades ago. Several American states have tried to deal with it along similar lines, only to be checked by the United States Supreme Court. This brings us to a grievance of labor in connection with injunctions, second in importance only to the injunction evil itself. Labor has been compelled to defend itself against those courts which have been hostile and especially against equity courts. This natural and unavoidable policy of defense against judicial usurpation has been twisted and destroyed by labor's enemies into an attack on the courts.

Organized labor in this country is attached to every fundamental American institution, and fully understands and appreciates the place of the Judiciary in our political system, including its necessary function of a limited interpretation of the constitution. Our system of government is one of divided powers; it does not place supreme power in any one branch. If, then, the Judiciary is always given the last word, this is not the American system, but a monstrous perversion of the American system. There is no conceivable reason in the constitution why Congress should not legislate without restriction, just as the British Parliament has done, on the power of the equity courts.

The Executive Council points out that labor does not propose to cut down the functions of the courts. What it proposes is this—that questions connected with industrial disputes

shall be decided according to legislative enactments and not according to the distorted logic and prejudices of a bygone year of an equity judge.

Legislation thus far enacted has sought to define the application of the injunction. The Council now recommends legislation to limit equity jurisdiction. We do not propose changes in legal rights, but we do propose that redress for violation of such rights be sought in courts of law.

A year or two ago the promoters of government by injunction rejoiced that some labor organizations had also taken advantage of the equity courts. The Executive Council has noted that this tendency has been checked. Wise and cautious labor organizations refrain from utilizing, for any purpose, this perversion of legality, and so recognizing its legitimacy. Especially grave is the temptation to employ these autocratic processes for the enforcement of labor contracts.

We support the recommendation to trade unions to refrain from involving themselves in litigations, especially by appealing to the equity courts. Unions are voluntary organizations and can best deal with their problems by voluntary methods.

We note the report on legislation recording the failure of Congressional Committees to act upon measures to prohibit injunctions in labor disputes.

We urge continuance of the efforts to secure effective remedial legislation. We approve the drafting of a suitable model for submission to legislatures and we re-affirm the attitude heretofore expressed that usurped and unauthorized powers exercised by our equity courts in labor disputes are without warrant of law and should be considered accordingly.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Furuseth, who again complimented the committee upon the report presented on the subject.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Opposing Any Effort to Foster Militarism

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates M. Zaritsky, M. Zuckerman and N. Spector, of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The 15th Biennial Convention of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The Citizens' Military Training Camps are run jointly by the employers through the Military Training Camps Association and the War Department, for the purpose of giving military training to and developing a spirit of militarism in the working people, so that they may be used as cannon-fodder to promote the imperialists' ambitions of Wall Street, many of whose leaders include labor-hating open shop employers who are on the Advisory Board of the Military Training Camps Association; and

"WHEREAS, The Military Training Camps Association practically determines the policy of the training camps and uses them in an attempt to foster its open shop campaigns, and is trying to bribe the workers by offering them a month's vacation for the special purpose of attending these camps, because they consider the military training as a good investment to undermine organized labor; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That this 15th Biennial Convention of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union condemns all attempts to foster the spirit of militarism through a Citizens' Military Training Camp or other means; and, be it further

"RESOLVED, That our delegates to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor introduce a resolution to this effect; and

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is pledged to promote international peace and good will among the nations upon the basis of full and unqualified national self-determination for all the peoples of the world; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That this 45th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor again goes on record as vehemently opposed to any attempt to foster the spirit of militarism, whether it be through the Citizens' Military Training Camps or through any other means."

Resolution No. 2 is captiously drafted and the objective sought is cunningly cloaked in the mantle of a popular and well-founded protest against militarism. On the subject of Militarism the American Federation of Labor has clearly defined its attitude in the pronouncement made at the 1918 convention held in St. Paul, Minnesota.

While the American Federation of Labor is thus and has always been opposed to a military force that is no more than a skeleton on which an army can be built and rely on its defense on the mass of the citizens in case of attack, it has never opposed whatever character of training is intended and designed to build up strong bodies, healthy minds and patriotic souls. On the subject of Training Camps, interjected into this resolution, the El Paso convention has clearly presented the attitude of organized labor on this subject and which is as follows:

"Pacifism in any form is as obnoxious to your committee as it is to those having presented this proposal. It is in agreement with the purpose of amply and fully safeguarding our nation and its people and democratic institutions against any and all invasions. It, too, believes that every effort should be made and every opportunity should be availed of that will develop the physical and mental well-being and stimulate the patriotic spirit of the youth of our land.

"It is the conviction of your committee that however meritorious the purposes embraced may be that it is of first importance that we assure ourselves that these military training camps are operated in practice for the upbuilding of the mind and body of our young men and that these camps are not so conducted as to inculcate the spirit of militarism or tend toward the exaltation or glorification of war."

In addition, that convention included instructions to the Executive Council to inquire into these camps and take such further steps as will insure the full observance of the declarations made.

Your committee is informed that these instructions are being carried out. Your committee while recommending non-concurrence in this resolution for reasons before cited, take the opportunity of directing attention to the fact that while the American Federation of Labor is emphatically opposed to militarism, it is likewise opposed to that pacifism that believes that never under any circumstances should we prepare for our national defense. Many pacifists are honest, sincere believers in the doctrine they preach. Others, who call themselves pacifists, constantly preach the overthrow of our government by force and violence and do all in their power to create a state of civil war. Then, too, these latter pacifists never utter a word of condemnation against the army of Soviet Russia, 1,750,000 strong. Nothing is more provocative or tends more toward militarism than the pacifism which parades under the insidious, pernicious and treacherous doctrine of communism that would destroy the democracies of the world by destructive discontent and force, violence and by bloodshed if needs be.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Woll: The following resolutions

deal with the charges made against Public Printer George H. Carter.

Calling for an Investigation of the Acts of Public Printer Carter in the Administration of His Office

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate James P. Holland of the New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is alleged that Public Printer Carter in his discharge of the employees of the Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C., violated every phase of the Civil Service Law; and

WHEREAS, It is alleged that Public Printer Carter advertised over the country with blazing posters the opportunity for life-time employment in the Government Printing Office, and in the face of these advertisements discharged, without notice and without charges, many employees who would have received the pension in a few months, disregarded ratings of employees, discharged and refused to re-employ ex-service men who, under the law, were to have preference; and

WHEREAS, It is alleged that Public Printer Carter is not a practical printer as the law requires; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., that we call on the President of the United States to order an investigation of the office of public printer; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the Senators and Congressmen, to the Labor Press, to the Typographical Journal, to the President of the International Typographical Union and the President of Washington Typographical Union.

Proposing That Steps Be Taken for Removal of George H. Carter From the Office of Public Printer

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Wm. S. Sampson, of the Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the conduct of the Government Printing Office Plant at Washington, Public Printer George H. Carter has been guilty of many actions detrimental to the best interests of organized labor, especially that of the printing industry; and

WHEREAS, Columbia Typographical Union No. 101 is demanding the removal of said Public Printer, George H. Carter, from the responsible position which he holds; and

WHEREAS, The interests of all who toil will best be served by his removal, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as supporting Columbia Typographical Union No. 101; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take such steps as it deems necessary to aid in such removal.

Resolutions 9, 15 and 17 all relate to the

same subject. They seek to accomplish a like objective. Inasmuch as those most directly concerned in these resolutions are members of the International Typographical Union, it is deemed best that Resolution 17 be reported and acted on in lieu of all other resolutions on this subject.

Resolution 17 sets forth a number of charges of misconduct and incompetency of Mr. Carter as Public Printer. It includes the charge of ineligibility to office for lack of legal qualification.

With the consent and approval of the introducers this latter charge has been eliminated from the resolution. The purpose of the resolution is an investigation into the charges made.

Amended in the following form your committee recommends concurrence in the amended resolution.

Proposing An Investigation of Charges Against Public Printer George H. Carter

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate James M. Lynch, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the International Typographical Union, by unanimous vote of the delegates representing that organization's locals in the United States, endorsed resolutions charging that George H. Carter, acting as Public Printer, violated the law of the United States by lowering the term of experience required of printers for employment in the Government Printing Office from four years to two years; that he, early in his administration of the Government Printing Office, established a spy system, than which there is nothing more un-American in the galaxy of things, by which spy system he greatly impaired the printing efficiency of the office and the morale of the employees thereof, the reports of the tale-bearers and stool pigeons apparently having more to do with one retaining his position or rating than any competency or lack of competency he might possess; that on several occasions the said Public Printer has wantonly and without reason scandalized the employees of the Government Printing Office, notably at Atlantic City, N. J., on May 23, 1924, where, in a carefully prepared speech, which speech was broadcast by the Associated Press, he stated among other things that he had been compelled to discharge 268 employees of the office in his campaign to rid it of graft, corruption, gambling, bootlegging, etc., which statement he must have known to be false, because in his report to Congress, dated December 31, 1924 (more than seven months later than his Atlantic City speech) it is shown that only about one hundred employees (to be exact, eighty-one plus "about a score") had been discharged to that time for all causes; that

he has, without any justification whatever, villified Columbia Typographical Union No. 101, of Washington, D. C., and has refused to treat with its officers or committees in any manner, and has shown his antagonism at all times to the said Typographical Union; that such antagonism makes him a menace not only to the Typographical Union but to all unionism; that he placarded the post-offices, custom houses and other public places throughout the United States with posters advertising for printers to work at the Government Printing Office, holding out in said posters false promises of permanent and lucrative employment to all who would accept same, well knowing at the time that the promises were false and that a large reduction of force was in sight even while the advertising campaign was in progress; that after this advertising campaign, and on March 7, 1925, he summarily discharged, without any notice whatever, 127 printers, many of them grown old in the service of the Government; that these men were good printers almost without exception; that their only offense apparently was that they were members of the Typographical Union and would not stultify their principles by acquiescing in the Public Printer's un-American conduct of the Government Printing Office; that he has by his vicious and intolerable actions brought about a condition in the Government Printing Office that makes it a detestable place in which to work; that this condition is evidenced by the fact that all who can are finding work elsewhere, even though such action brings about the sacrifice of many years' service records and a possible retirement annuity in later years; that the foregoing are only a few of the instances which could be cited of the unfitness and incompetency of Public Printer Carter to be head of the Government Printing Office, in which capacity he is virtually the master of the destiny of more than four thousand American citizens; that that position should only be held by one with ability, experience in the handling of men and business, tolerance of the rights of others and that the present Public Printer measures up to none of these specifications; and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned delegates to the International Typographical Union convention also passed resolutions protesting against the retention of George H. Carter as Public Printer and as a menace to an efficient, economical and fair public service, and calling upon the President of the United States to remove said Public Printer from office on the grounds that he is an incompetent and intolerant public servant who has become a public tyrant; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, delegates to the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Atlantic City, N. J., hereby respectfully request President Coolidge to investigate the serious charges made by the Typographical Union against Public Printer Carter, and should His Excellency decline to do so, the Executive Council of the American Federa-

tion of Labor is hereby instructed to demand of Congress that an investigation be made by a committee of Senators and Representatives.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen: I understand the committee's report proposes a complete inquiry upon this subject. Am I correct in that?

Secretary Woll: Yes, the committee makes this statement: "With the consent and approval of the introducers this latter charge has been eliminated from the resolution. The purpose of the resolution is an investigation into the charges made."

Delegate Berry: I am satisfied with that.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Selection Made of Hotel for A. F. of L. Convention Headquarters

Resolution No. 18.—By Delegates Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas F. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, and John J. McDewitt, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America:

WHEREAS, At the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the City of El Paso, in the State of Texas, representatives of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America addressed the convention and directed attention to the fact that our International Union had for more than three decades since it was chartered showed a most liberal and tolerant attitude so far as convention hotel headquarters were concerned. That on a number of occasions we frowned upon efforts made by some local unions, who were quite willing to annoy and harass officers and delegates because of convention arrangements which denied to these members of ours the recognition which they had been taught would be shown to them by the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, At the last referred to convention of the American Federation of Labor a direct appeal was made to the officers and members to cooperate with the officers and members of our International Union, to the end of making this, the forty-fifth annual convention of the A. F. of L., one which could not be accused of indifference to our interests; to in fact demand of the selected hotel for the convention headquarters that its kitchen and dining rooms should be manned by trades unionists, members of our International Union, and that failing to so agree, that other quarters be selected for the housing of officers and delegates to the A. F. of L. convention; and

WHEREAS, We reported these facts to our last general convention held at Montreal, Canada, and that convention having positive information, that despite the ef-

forts of their delegates to the convention of the A. F. of L., arrangements had been completed to house the officers and delegates in a hotel which by no stretch of the imagination could be regarded as favorable to the organized wage earners of the catering industry and members of our International Union; and

WHEREAS, With these facts before our general convention, the following resolution was presented and adopted without dissenting vote:

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, Local 30, San Francisco, Cal., and Agnes Quinn, Local 305, of Portland, Ore.:

RESOLVED, That our delegates to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to bring before the next convention of the American Federation of Labor a protest of the action of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor in selecting a non-union hotel as convention headquarters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates whose names are appended hereto, that they reiterate the appeal made to the El Paso convention, that henceforth trades unions accommodations be made a part of any future convention arrangement for A. F. of L. conventions.

The committee has considered the complaint, purpose and appeal contained in this resolution from every point of view. It regrets that conditions are such that make possible the complaint set forth and that it is difficult to avoid like complaints at all times and places, especially since other International Unions may request and are entitled to like consideration.

Your committee in lieu of the resolution submitted urges that every possible effort be made at all times to assist the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League and every other International Union whose members are employed by hotels and restaurants. In approving this appeal it is likewise urged that the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League and all International Unions concerned cooperate with those in charge of making convention arrangements so that comfortable, suitable and fitting accommodations may be provided for those attending conventions. Where such accommodations are not available the spirit of tolerance should govern all.

The discussion on this resolution and the report of the committee, in part, is as follows:

Delegate Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: We do not ask the people who

represent the several international unions, state federations and central bodies to do the impossible. In the last seven years we have tried to the best of our ability to teach the men and women in the industries just what the label will hold out to them. We tell them that when they wear a collar, a hat, a shirt, a necktie or smoke a cigar or have printing done to patronize your products. Now what are we confronted with? When we go back to our people we will be asked, "Why did you go to Atlantic City?" You told us there were several establishments in Atlantic City which had a good number of our members employed therein. When we were asked in the El Paso convention what the conditions were in Atlantic City we said we did not have a large hotel there that was thoroughly unionized, but we were working and doing our utmost to bring that about.

You came here despite the fact that you knew the conditions. Through your officials you promised us every assistance and support. I challenge any of you to produce anyone who can show that any work has been done to assist our people except the work done by our own local and our own international union. Is that cooperation? Is that helpful to us?

Many of you on this floor can testify that we have gone the route for you, not once, but upon numerous occasions, and all we ask is a square deal from you. We say to you, "We are wearing your hats, clothing, shirts, collars, underwear; our printing bears the union label; we smoke union made cigars, cigarettes and tobacco. We ask you to do likewise. When you are going for a meal or a drink, encourage the people who serve you to become members of our organization." If I were to go back to my office tomorrow and send out literature without the printers' label, if I were to employ a non-union machinist on the machines in the office, if I were to employ a non-union driver to convey me from the depot to my home, would I be justified? I don't think I would, yet you are placing us in a position where we are being asked by the men and women we represent, "Why are you helping these other organizations if they do not help you?"

Delegate Sampson, Pittsburgh Central Labor Union, approved the remarks made

by Delegate Sullivan, and stated that he had been instructed to enter a protest against holding another convention where union hotel accommodations could not be secured.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: We have no objections whatever to the American Federation of Labor, through its executives, seeing that all the other trades in the American labor movement are organized in the establishments they select for their headquarters; but we do say that when they engage headquarters for the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and when the national and international unions engage hotels for their headquarters they should at least take into consideration the facts as to whether or not the food departments of these establishments are organized.

After the El Paso convention it was partially agreed at least that before arrangements were made at Atlantic City the Hotel and Restaurant Employees would be given the opportunity to work with the secretary or whoever made arrangements for hotels, and give us a chance to cooperate with him. We partially agreed that the Ambassador Hotel was as fair as any in this city; in fact that it was fairer to our international than any other. Later some disagreement arose between that hotel and the Council, and it was not considered a suitable place for the convention. When the Council was in session in Washington I was asked by the secretary what cities had union accommodations where the convention could be held. I furnished a list of nineteen cities where we could provide them with hotels that were union as far as food conditions were concerned.

Notwithstanding the action of the officials in the El Paso convention, and notwithstanding that our organization was to be taken into consideration, the Executive Council directed the secretary to go to Atlantic City and conclude arrangements without further delay. He came into this city and arranged for the delegates in a hotel that is run on the American plan. If it had been on the European plan you could have at least exercised your own judgment and eat where you please.

The department we are affiliated with, the department that has been advocating the

union label and asking for us to appropriate \$125,000 or more to conduct a campaign of education, notwithstanding the fact that we filed an official protest with them after the American Federation of Labor had closed arrangements with this hotel, went right ahead and closed a similar arrangement. I think it is about time our international union had something to say on this question, and that is one of the reasons why we brought the resolution into this convention.

Secretary Morrison: Last January I came to this city with the representatives of the Departments, Mr. Manning, Mr. Berres and Mr. Tracy. We went to the Ambassador Hotel where the Executive Council had its headquarters on several occasions. That hotel was built entirely by union labor. Tentative arrangements were made to have our headquarters there. The information I had was that the employees of that hotel belonged to an independent union, but they had an arrangement with the restaurant employees that if any extra waiters were called in they would be called from the local organization of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees. The barber shop was non-union. The building trades found fault because the hotel did not employ union maintenance men. I reported to the Council in February the facts in the case. I told them that probably The Ambassador was as fair as any other hotel so far as the waiters were concerned.

The Executive Council seemed to think that The Ambassador was too far away from the convention hall and instructed that an effort be made to either get a hall nearer The Ambassador or a hotel nearer the place we would arrange for the convention. We investigated all the hotels and could not find one that had union waiters. A protest was made against The Ambassador, the Traymore, the Breakers and one other hotel by the central body and by the building trades council, and the representatives of the departments and the secretary of the Federation traveled down to this city again to see if we could straighten this out in accordance with the action of the last convention. The committee representing the central labor union and the Executive Council of the building trades said it would be satisfactory if the Federation selected any of the hotels for headquarters except

the four named. On that committee was a representative of one of the locals of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

I feel that we did everything we could. We placed Mr. Ritchie here in connection with the organizer of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and paid the salary of the colored organizer to endeavor to organize the employees in the hotels so there would be union waiters. They failed, but they made the effort.

I want to call your attention to the fact that an earnest effort was made. President Green and the secretary met Mr. Flore in Buffalo for the purpose of doing our level best to be of assistance to the Hotel and Restaurant employees. Never since I have been secretary was such an effort made to get a hotel which would be satisfactory to all concerned.

When the question came before the Council we asked if the convention would be removed from Atlantic City. There was some sentiment in favor of removing it, but after discussion it was thought that action should not be taken by the Council. I want to submit that the officers of the Departments, the Executive Council of the Federation, the President and the Secretary did everything humanly possible to carry out the resolution of the El Paso convention. When the convention city was voted on in El Paso I have no recollection of receiving information from the Hotel and Restaurant Employees that there was no hotel in Atlantic City that had union waiters. It is true that some of them may have cabarets and that they have union waiters there; the Knickerbocker may have two or three union waiters, but the waiters in the hotel where the delegates would eat were non-union, at least when I was there. Organizer Ritchie, who had been working in the city, stated there were no hotels in Atlantic City that had union waiters.

I think that in justice to the Executive Council, the officers of the Departments and the Secretary I should make this statement, and in doing so I want it understood that I have no objection to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees taking the position they do. I regret that our efforts to organize the Strand Hotel and other hotels was a failure. It seems to me there is no hotel we could have selected that would not have been unfair to some of the organizations.

Delegate Martel, Detroit Central Body, stated that some of the largest hotels in that city had union employees; that the cooks and waiters had a very large local there, and if the convention decided to meet in Detroit in 1926 there would be no lack of accommodation of the proper sort for the delegates.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: The American Federation of Labor, through Organizer Ritchie, did pay a colored man here sixty dollars. He is a lawyer in the black belt, that is all that was paid him, and I am informed that Ritchie paid him. The constitution provides that if conditions are not right in a city the Council has a right to move the convention to some other city. Why didn't they do it in this case? The Secretary said the barber shop in the Ambassador is non-union. Is it union in the Strand? The first day we came here the engineers informed me that the engineer over there isn't right. That is all past history, however. Now let us start out from here and go to union hotels in the convention city.

Delegate Flore offered the following addition to the committee's report:

That the Executive Council be authorized, if they cannot secure union hotel accommodations in the city selected for the next convention city, that they be authorized to transfer said convention to a city where such accommodations can be secured.

Delegate Conners, Switchmen, asked if the constitution did not already provide the manner in which the convention shall be selected, and if the amendment could be adopted without changing the law.

Delegate Flore: My amendment simply specifies the conditions under which the Executive Council may be authorized to do it, in compliance with the constitution as it now reads.

President Green ruled that the amendment was in order.

Delegate Jerome Keating asked what efforts had been made by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees to organize the hotels in Atlantic City, and called attention to the large field in which they had an opportunity to work and organize the classes of workers that come under their jurisdiction.

Delegate Carney called attention to the fact that it was not necessary to have the delegates

stay in hotels where the American plan prevails, but that arrangements can be made for rooms in a hotel and the delegates can secure meals at restaurants where the cooks and waiters are organized. He stated there were fifty-two such restaurants in Atlantic City and there were 20,000 rooms which were available for the delegates.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union: I would like to know just exactly what constitutes a union hotel. Does that include the chambermaids as well as the cooks? I want to be able to vote intelligently on this with my one vote.

Delegate Flore: I specified union hotels; I did not specify hotels where the catering employees only were organized. I am willing to leave the construction of that term to the Council.

Delegate Doyle, Painters, stated that the members of his organization had as much to say about the hotels as the restaurant employees, and that they wanted more information on what Delegate Flore meant by a "union hotel." He stated that they were not going to admit that a hotel was union because a handful of employees were organized.

The amendment offered by Delegate Flore was declared lost on a viva voce vote.

Delegate Koveleski asked for a roll call vote. The demand was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates to secure a roll call.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Proposing Endorsement of Standard Bill Designed to Make Unlawful Individual Contracts Drawn to Prevent Union Membership

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates M. J. Keough, John P. Frey, Geo. E. McCaffrey, and G. W. Boswell of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Employers, guided by un-American policies, have endeavored to prevent their employees from becoming or remaining members of trade unions by compelling them to sign individual contracts; and

WHEREAS, These individual contracts force those signing them to surrender one of their most essential rights as freemen—the right to voluntary association, without which all other rights are modified or destroyed; and

WHEREAS, A Bill has been prepared which, when enacted by state legislatures will prevent the further use of individual contracts by hostile employers, this bill having been introduced in the Ohio and Illinois legislatures by the trade union movement in those States in the following form and language, to wit:

A BILL

Declaring provisions in contracts of employment whereby either party undertakes not to join, become or remain a member of a labor union or of any organization of employers or undertakes in such event to withdraw from the contract of employment, to be against public policy and void.

Section 1. Every undertaking or promise hereafter made, whether written or oral, expressed or implied, constituting, or contained in, any contract, or agreement of hiring or employment between any individual, firm, company, association, or corporation, and any employee or prospective employee of the same, whereby (a) either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises not to join, become, or remain, a member of any labor organization, or of any organization of employers, or (b) either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises that he will withdraw from the employment relation in the event that he joins, becomes, remains, a member of any labor organization or of any organization of employers, is hereby declared to be contrary to public policy and wholly void. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse this measure and adopt it as the standard bill for the guidance of state federations of labor and all other trade union organizations.

The purpose embraced in Resolution 20 commands our most hearty and favorable response. Your committee is in accord with the objective sought, i. e., the safeguarding of the inalienable and unencumbered right of the wage earners to opportunities of employment without being required to bargain away their right to join with their fellow workers in their trade unions or associations as a condition preceding employment or to disassociate themselves from their fellow workers, on penalty of idleness and economic repression. This practice is contrary to all American concepts of freedom of contract and diverts this great instrument for freedom into a device for economic enslavement.

While in accord with the principle set forth and the objective sought, the committee believes that before the procedure outlined is followed further study and research should be given the proposal herein contained to the end that whatever final recommendation may later be submitted to the several state federations of labor for legislative enactment so as to be as all inclusive and fool-proof as it is possible to design.

Reference of this resolution to the Executive Council is therefore recommended and for the purpose herein indicated and contained in the resolution itself.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Frey, Molders, spoke in support of the resolution, stating that he was in hearty accord with the report of the committee and believed that the measure contemplated in the resolution should have the careful study of the Executive Council. He said in part:

In the State of Massachusetts the American Shoe Machinery Company desired to destroy the union of machinists in its plant. It served notice upon them that unless they signed individual contracts designed to surrender their trade union membership they would be discharged. To prevent the company from forcing them to sign these individual contracts the machinists went on strike, with the result that finally the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts held that a strike to prevent employers from enforcing 'yellow dog' contracts upon their employees was an illegal strike, so that so far as the judicial made law of Massachusetts is concerned, the right of a trade union organization is no longer an inherent right of free men, but depends upon the employer's consent.

In some of the manufacturing states the practice of using these individual contracts has increased. The National Metal Trades Association, through its local organizations, fosters the use of these contracts. In Ohio employers have gone to employes and forced them to sign these contracts, surrendering their trade union membership as the price of retaining their positions. The attorneys for these employers have then sent written communications to the business agents and the national officers notifying them that all of the employes have signed contracts surrendering their trade union membership and pledged themselves not to take any collective action while in the employers' service. The communication further informs these trade union officials that if any effort be made to reorganize these men it would be an attempt to prevail upon them to break their contract and lead to immediate court process.

Not only that but in some instances the individual was compelled to sign a contract binding him to make an effort, after he left the firm's employ, to organize employes who might remain, so that as a price of retaining his job he pledged himself that throughout his lifetime he would make no effort

to preach trade unionism to the employes of the firm whose service he had left. It is an effort to introduce a condition which, if it succeeded, would place us in very much the same position as the peons were in this country at an earlier day.

I consider nothing more important at the present time in many of our states than to have laws enacted which will declare that a contract of employment entered into which compels a wage earner to surrender his right to a trade union organization is null and void. There are organizations upon this floor which, if it were not for that form of contract extensively applied in their industries, would have hundreds of thousands of members more than they have today.

I am in agreement with the thought in the committee's report, but we want that study to be made shortly and we want the Executive Council to speak authoritatively, because unless the Council does that in some states we will go ahead and do the best we can, because the individual contract is one of the most powerful weapons which the anti-union associations of employers have been able to apply.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee reported jointly upon the following resolutions:

**To Prevent Repeal of Section No. 466 of
Tariff Law**

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The American Shipowners have, for a number of years, pleaded for an American Merchant Marine; and

WHEREAS, They are now showing their loyalty to the American Flag by having their ships repaired in foreign ports; and

WHEREAS, They are now advocating the repeal of Section 466 of the present Tariff Law on repairs to American ships in foreign ports; and

WHEREAS, The repeal of Section 466 of the Tariff Law will result in the closing of many shipyards in this country and thus further aggravating the present unemployment situation of the shipbuilding and kindred trades; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor now in session protest against the repeal of Section 466 of the Tariff Act; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to do all in their power to prevent the repeal of Section 466 of the present Tariff Law.

**Proposing Congressional Investigation of
Textile Industry to Determine Influence
of Present Tariff Schedule Upon
Conditions of Labor**

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy, representing the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The New England Textile Manufacturers, through their various associations, have proclaimed through the public press, that the lack of employment, due to the serious depression in the textile industries, is due primarily to foreign importations of textiles; and

WHEREAS, The statements issued by textile employers are giving the impression to American consumers that the present Fordney-McCumber tariff rates on foreign importations are too low; and

WHEREAS, The official statistics, issued by the United States Treasury Department, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor and the Department of the Interior, contradicts the statements of the employers, insofar as it relates to importations of foreign merchandise; and

WHEREAS, The many and frequent reductions in wages that have taken place in the textile industry during the last few years with an ever-increasing army of unemployed during all these periodical depressions; and

WHEREAS, We believe, as representatives of organized labor, that the present tariff rates should be scientifically adjusted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at this forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Atlantic City, N. J., call upon the Congress of the United States Government to make an investigation of the textile industry for the purpose of determining whether or not the present tariff schedule on textiles is or is not responsible for the general existing conditions in the textile industry; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use their every effort to carry out the contents of this resolution in the interests of the consuming public and the workers engaged in the textile industry.

**Requesting That Tariff on Linseed Oil Be
Lowered in Compliance With Recommendation of the United
States Tariff Commission**

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Charles J. Lammert, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The United States Tariff Commission has unanimously recommended under date of March 3, 1925, to the Executive Department that the tariff duty upon linseed oil be reduced, and such reduction has not yet been ordered by the President; and

WHEREAS, Linseed oil is an important raw material entering into the cost of new building operations and in the painting and repairing of buildings already built; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be pointed out to the President of the United States that the delay in ordering the lowering of the linseed oil tariff is prolonging a situation wherein the domestic crushers of flaxseed are exacting exorbitant prices for linseed oil from the public; delaying the taking of proper steps to preserve the life of property which requires paint and other surface preservatives containing linseed oil; making for unsanitary conditions where the application of paint and other surface preservatives would eradicate an unsanitary condition; denying to the labor which would be engaged in the laying on of surface preservatives the full measure of employment which would be possible with more reasonably priced raw materials; encouraging the adulteration of linseed oil with inferior substitutes which injure the reputation and prestige of honest craftsmen engaged in laying on such surface preservatives as contain same, all of which results in gain to only a small group of 12 linseed crushing corporations who pass none of this gain back to the growers of flaxseed in the United States, as only about one-half of their flaxseed requirements are domestic grown, while the balance comes in from the Argentine and Canada at a net rate of duty less than one-half the equivalent duty on linseed oil, despite the fact that labor cost in the crushing of linseed oil is negligible; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be requested to follow out at once the unanimous recommendation of the United States Tariff Commission that the tariff on linseed oil be lowered.

These three resolutions propose that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give aid to certain organizations dealing with the tariff problems. Inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor has accorded to individual organizations the free determination of attitude upon this principle within their own industries, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to render such aid to organizations which are concerned in tariff legislation for their individual industries as seems best to the Executive Council. It is to be understood that in so responding the American Federation of Labor is not to be committed to any question of principle relating to general tariff legislation.

In this regard we call attention to and note with approval the recent communications and utterances of President Green in support of the textile workers which were

made in response to and in accord with this pronouncement.

In view of the foregoing, it is further recommended that the three resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and such action as to it seems best and in accord with this declaration.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers: I do not want to take up the time of the convention, but I do want to give some reasons why the textile workers of this country, through their officials in the regular labor movement, are desirous of impressing the great consuming public as well as the organized labor movement with the camouflage tariff that started away back in 1867 and that has been carried on so successfully year after year, or term by term, and has resulted in reducing the wages of the workers in the textile mills of our country.

I only want to go back to the statement of the present Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Ex-President Taft, when he said that the 11 cents per pound on greased wool was an indefensible charge, and yet today 31 cents per pound on clean content wool is the tariff duty, or an increase over what President Taft said was indefensible, of 72 per cent.

I want to call your attention to the fact that in the woolen industry alone, due to the conspiracy that was hatched between some senators who had large ranches in the northwest under their control, or rather they being controlled by these ranchers, less than one per cent of the farmers are receiving any remuneration from the present tariff. The workers realize that the \$50 and \$60 suits we are wearing now are possibly fifty per cent shoddy. We realize full well that in the woolen mills, so far as the textile workers are concerned, on the present suit of clothes the labor cost is but two dollars.

We want to bring these things before our Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, we want them to bring it before the Congress of the United States if it is possible and they see it is practical. We believe as textile workers that we have been buncoed long enough. We believe that the workers should understand that here is an industry with one million of

workers that is being driven into slavery, driven into subjection, driven into peonage by and through legislation enacted by those who now control what some say is a political question, but which I maintain is an economic question in so far as it concerns the great consuming masses of this country, economic in so far as it concerns the workers in our industry. It is as an economic question that we are approaching it.

There is no other motive back of it, there is no power, political or otherwise, urging us on, but for over two years we have been making investigations and we have figures and facts that convince us that something should be done to let the consuming public know that the trade union movement, the American Federation of Labor, is ready and willing to see that justice is meted out, not only to its membership but to the great public, and that we are trying as we have done it the past to do our full duty.

I need only mention the two letters taken up by Secretary Woll of the committee. We know better than any one else the effect of President Green's letters to Mr. Amory, President of the Cotton Manufacturers' Association, and to Mr. Andrew Pierce, President of the American Woolen Company; but do you know that the recently deposed President of the American Woolen Company is the largest individual income tax payer in Massachusetts? None know better than we that the workers in the particular mills of the American Woolen Company and others are today earning, for a 48-hour week, less than \$22 a week. It is a magnificent criterion of an industry that has one side picking all the plums and the other side being buncoed.

We will have delegations undoubtedly that will appeal for a protective tariff in our industry from Fall River and New Bedford. They may be paid from the coffers of the employers. The Arkwright Club or the Home Market Club, of Boston, may send delegates down before the Ways and Means Committee and the Finance Committee in the Senate. We feel that we should be heard, and to make our appeal effective we want the Executive Council to make as practical an investigation as possible of this question that so materially concerns us. We feel that when it is known that we produce but one-third of the wool that we consume in this country and we import two-thirds of the wool and pay 31 cents per pound upon it, the questions can surely be asked, "Why the

high price of clothes? Why charge it all to labor? Why not look into these matters that so vitally concern us—in particular those of us who are directly connected with the labor movement?

The last thing that I want to do, Mr. President, is to bring any question on the floor of this convention or in any convention that concerns a political question unless same is advocated by the American labor movement, but we do desire an investigation that will be far reaching, and we want no other things attached to our resolution that will in any way interfere with what we are trying to do. We believe that we are on the right track now, and we will continue on this track through our International Union.

We know the frauds that are being committed in our industry upon the American public insofar as the clothes we wear are concerned, and we know the greater fraud that is being perpetrated upon the workers when the words appear in large type in the newspapers that the protective tariff means high wages. If the protective tariff meant high wages, then the textile workers would be today the highest paid workers in the United States. We have been protected so much that we are now ready, in many corners of our land, to have the state or municipality take care of us or some of our people.

We have that infamous foreign corporation that I spoke of yesterday, with a dividend year in and year out of 73 per cent maximum and 46 per cent minimum, made on a 15 per cent ad valorem rate; they went before our friends and received an increase of 25 and 30 cents ad valorem. The thread that goes into the clothes, the shoes, the thread that is consumed for domestic purposes in the United States is controlled practically to the amount of 66 2-3 per cent, at least, by foreign corporations.

We believe there are things in the tariff, if arranged scientifically insofar as it concerns textiles, that would not only be of great value to the American people but to textile workers as well. We are for a tariff that is fair and equitable, and we believe that with the knowledge that we have to import two-thirds of the wool that we consume, that some arrangement should be made whereby the seven per cent, or thereabouts, of large sheep raisers would not be receiving, along with the worsted manufacturers, the tens of millions of dollars that is taken from

the pockets of the American consumers by the present rate of tariff of 31 cents per pound clean weight. It costs the American public \$300,000,000 per year, and out of that amount the United States government receives but \$62,000,000, the balance going into the pockets of the few large wool growers as well as to the above named worsted manufacturers.

We believe in a tariff so arranged that the various grades of wool imported into our country would be taxed according to their value and not, as at present, having a specific duty. We believe in the protection of the American farmer, but we also believe that the clothes that he wears should be woolen and not shoddy.

It is not only the tariff on wool alone but the tariff on many other textile products that should be looked into by our Executive Council for the purpose of giving to the American people the true status of what the tariff really means. The importations of woollens into the United States during the first six months of the year 1925 were but four-tenths of one per cent, and the importations of worsted cloths was but five and nine-tenths per cent of our total production. It can thus be seen that importations of these commodities gave opportunity to the beneficiaries of the tariff in the United States to exploit not only the workers and farmers but the general consuming public.

We are desirous of having the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, in our request for a Congressional investigation of the Fordney-McCumber tariff insofar as it relates to the textile industry. It is our purpose to continue this fight until Congress and the consuming public knows where the United Textile Workers of America stand on the question of the tariff that so vitally concerns them and will be, we believe, of material aid to all workers of our land.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Transfer of Government Administration of Porto Rico from Bureau of Insular Affairs to a Civil Department

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias of the Porto Rico State Federation of Labor and F. Rivern Martinez, of the Central Labor Union of San Juan, Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, The War Department of the United States through the Chief of its

Bureau of Insular Affairs has just made public that the only solution and remedy found by the War Department after over 25 years of administration of insular official affairs in Porto Rico to better the conditions of the people is to pour out of the Island at least 300,000 people into any other country; and

WHEREAS, The very bold statement of this Department proves conclusively beyond all doubts the inefficiency of this Department to deal with this colonial possession, its maladministration, unfitness and great failure, after over 25 years of the insular affairs of Porto Rico having been continuously under its unchecked control; and

WHEREAS, The Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Saint Paul, Minnesota, in June 10 to 20, 1918, unanimously adopted resolution No. 50 introduced by our late brother Samuel Gompers, reading as follows:

WHEREAS, The Island of Porto Rico, as a result of the war with Spain, came under the control of the United States Government in 1898 and was governed directly by Federal representatives until 1917; and

WHEREAS, Congress by enactment of the so-called "Jones Bill," provided for the people of the Island citizenship and local self-government with the right to choose their representatives in both branches of the Insular Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that it is the sense of this convention that to continue the policy of keeping the Island of Porto Rico in the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department as a part of the military arm of the national government, is repugnant to every principle of our democratic form of government, especially now when one hundred thousand young men of that Island have registered under the selective draft act to make the world safe for democracy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as the people of Porto Rico having been granted a civil form of government in harmony with our territorial form of government and being a law-abiding and peaceful race of people that this convention, through its officers, requests of the President of the United States to transfer the official government business of that Island from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to a civic department and in our judgment the Department of the Interior, which department has always had official supervision over all our territorial forms of government; and

WHEREAS, We consider the time to be ripe enough to bring about the change as sought for in the above quoted resolution; be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor now ratify once and again its full endorsement of the principle involved in the above referred to resolution, and the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are earnestly recommended to insist upon reiterating to the President of the United States that such a change, as provided for in Resolution 50 of the Saint Paul Convention, be brought about at the earliest possible moment.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution and in so doing takes occasion to include the granting of authorization to the Executive Council to petition Congress of the United States to enact such required legislation as will place the people of the Virgin Islands under a civil form of government, release them from the control of the Navy Department and grant to them the rights of American citizenship.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Creation of Commission by Congress to Investigate Conditions in Porto Rico

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias of the Porto Rico State Federation of Labor and F. Rivera Martinez, of the Central Labor Union of San Juan, Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, The Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, in charge of all the official affairs of the Island of Porto Rico, General Frank McIntyre, has just issued for publicity a most gloomy statement to the effect that at least 300,000 native born Porto Ricans have to be taken from that Island to be sent to any other part of the world; and

WHEREAS, The Island of Porto Rico is rapidly and unceasingly becoming the property of a few financial interests and business corporations that have gained possession and taken hold of the soil and resources of the Island in violation of the Organic Law of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this concentration of the lands and financial powers by absentee landlords the bulk of the profits produced by the Porto Rico masses of laborers are never reinvested in the Island but in the continental United States, and foreign countries where absentee owners reside, and it is thusly seen that while a great increase in the wealth production of the Island is recorded the masses still remain and are left suffering in the most unbearable degree of poverty, hungry-stricken and industrially oppressed; and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department has ostensibly devised for this problem the heartless solution of separating 300,000 Porto Ricans from their native soil, because the withdrawal of wealth from the Island by absentee landlords makes their life untenable and their industrial development almost a dream; be it

RESOLVED, By this Forty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of the American Federation of Labor be earnestly recommended to request the President and the Congress of the United States to create a Commission as soon as possible with full authority to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions as well as the general governmental affairs of the Island,

especially the living and working conditions of the masses of laborers in Porto Rico, land and financial resources, and to ascertain how the Federal as well as the Organic Law of the Island have been continually violated by the big financial interests, corporations and individuals which exploit the people of the Island to the discredit of our Nation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the earnest wish of the American Federation of Labor that such Commission may visit the Island of Porto Rico to make a thorough investigation as these resolutions urge that such a Commission may be composed of men who will not—as several commissions have done in the past—accept mere courtesies and superficial official declarations as sufficient evidence upon which to base their official conclusions and recommendations, but that the aforesaid commission be composed of Senators and Representatives capable of going to the very heart of things, to get the real points and views of men who toil in every kind of work and business, who know local conditions, who feel the real feelings of the people and who understand our local conditions.

Your committee recommends reference of Resolution No. 25 to the Executive Council, including the authorization to do all in its power to be helpful in the early accomplishment of the objective sought.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Proposing Erection of a Radio Broadcasting Station at A. F. of L. Headquarters

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Edw. I. Hannah, of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters:

WHEREAS, The radio is now being extensively used in a large number of the homes of mechanics, workingmen and women, and others throughout the United States, and later, will be used universally; and

WHEREAS, This medium of transmitting information to the people of cities, towns, villages and rural places, which cannot be reached on such a large scale as the radio provides; and

WHEREAS, The radio is presenting an opportunity for business interests, amusement companies, political interests, government interests and churches of all denominations which seek the aid and cooperation of the people, to convey the quality of their respective occupations and professions; and

WHEREAS, It has always been alleged by representatives of organized labor that in large industrial disputes, strikes and lockouts, it is impossible to get before the public the facts and the truth of the disputes, strikes and lockouts; and

WHEREAS, The radio provides a medium of reaching a considerable number of people who are interested in public welfare, justice, liberty, and fair play; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of

Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., to direct its Executive Council to consider the advisability of erecting at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, in Washington, D. C., the capital of our nation, a broadcasting station to be used exclusively for labor's interests.

Your committee finds itself in accord with the reasons prompting the submission of Resolution No. 26. An investigation of this subject, made by President Gompers during his life time, however, discloses the impracticability of erecting and maintaining a broadcasting station. In addition to the financial difficulties involved there are other obstacles preventing the successful consummation of the proposed undertaking.

However, your committee does believe that the objective sought, i. e., the use of the radio to carry the message of labor, is possible of attainment. It is believed that present and future broadcasting stations in the several parts of the country may be encouraged to set aside stated hours at periodic times, weekly or otherwise, to receive and carry forward the message of labor and as it may be expressed by representative labor men and women under the direction of organized labor.

In lieu of the resolution offered, it is recommended that the Executive Council investigate the feasibility of entering into such arrangements with existing and future broadcasting stations and if possible provide for the transmission of labor's message by radio through and under the direction of organized labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, explained that in Omaha, from station WOAW, maintained by the Woodmen of the World, the opportunity had been given members of organized labor to send their message once a month to all parts of the United States and Mexico. He stated that this station was one of the largest in the country, and that he personally had had returns from local unions in all parts of the United States and Mexico indicating that his voice had been heard as it carried the message of trade unionism. He expressed the belief that the same privilege would no doubt be extended members of organized labor by other broadcasting stations if the effort was made in that direction.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Investigate Employment of Canadian Workers in Violation of United States Immigration Laws

Resolution No. 37.—By Delegate E. G. Hall, of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, At the present time along the borders of our several states in the Province of Ontario numbers of working men and women are engaged in the arts and crafts, employed by various corporations and other employers in states adjoining; and

WHEREAS, The employment of these workers who are residents of the Dominion of Canada are competing with the organized and unorganized workers of our states, which we believe is in violation of the immigration law; and

WHEREAS, Our American workers, organized or unorganized, do not enjoy these same privileges; and

WHEREAS, Protests have been made repeatedly to the immigration authorities at Washington; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to investigate this situation along the borders in an effort that this exploitation and unfair competition be abolished.

In considering Resolution No. 37, your committee finds that while the purpose sought to be accomplished may be desirable, there is also embraced an element of danger. Then, too, the subject is one requiring additional research into the legal as well as economic problem and consequences involved. Hence your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for further research and study, to take such action as the Executive Council thereafter deems best to fully safeguard and promote the best interests of all affiliated National and International Trade Unions and organized wage earners.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Favoring Disarmament to Prevent War

Resolution No. 45.—By Delegate Gust Anderson (by request), of the Central Labor Council, Portland, Oregon:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in the Forty-fifth annual convention assembled endorse the following peace covenant and instruct the officers of the Federation to forward same to the President of the United States, and request that a convention be called to meet in the city of Washington, D. C., in the early part of the Spring, 1926, to which accredited delegates of the Nations of the world will attend:

Articles of Covenant

1. That all Nations of the world reduce their military and naval forces to the minimum, maintaining only sufficient force to keep order at home and police the high seas.

2. That all Nations cease the manufacture of arms and equipment for war.

3. That in the event of war between two or more nations, that the other Nations of the world not involved bring the utmost pressure to bear on the warring Nations to cease war and from furnishing munitions of war.

4. That in case there be an aggressive war, that the resources, wealth and the industry of the nation be conscripted as well as the man power.

That a copy of this Covenant be sent to all the Central Labor Councils and Building Trades Councils of the Federation, requesting them to act likewise with their affiliated bodies, and also present to all Fraternal Delegates a copy of the same to bring back to their respective Councils.

Resolution 45 is printed under the caption "Favoring Disarmament to Prevent War".

What the resolution does is to favor one specific plan of disarmament as against all alternative plans and in addition to propose a new covenant for the nations. Two of the four "articles of covenant" proposed are of a vague and general character. A third article proposes that all nations cease the manufacture of arms and equipment for war, but the article gives no indication whatever how this accepted ideal of labor and democracy is to be brought about or enforced. The fourth article makes the extraordinary proposal that "in case of an aggressive war that the resources, wealth and the industry of the nation be conscripted as well as the man power". This is the first occasion on which the conscription of the "man power" has ever been advanced in a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The resolution further arbitrarily sets out a specific manner and a specific date and place for a disarmament conference—next Spring at Washington. Such arbitrary methods might retard rather than accelerate disarmament. Already an international disarmament conference has been officially proposed and preliminary plans are under way.

In view of these facts we recommend that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to do all in its power to promote international disarmament in accord with the international principles of the American Federation of Labor and by the means that promise to be most effective for that purpose.

The American Federation of Labor stands, as it has always stood, for international peace and comity between nations.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

**Commending the Struggle of the National
Sailors and Firemen's Union
of Great Britain**

Resolution No. 46 — By the Seamen's Delegation:

WHEREAS, During the years 1920 and 1921, the International Seamen's Union of America was subjected to a vicious attack from promoters of false social and political doctrines which were offered by alleged radicals as a substitute for trade unionism; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid attack on the International Seamen's Union of America was brought to a climax at a time when the organization was involved in a lockout by the Ship Owners of both Atlantic and Pacific coasts; and

WHEREAS, The combined internal and external attack by alleged radicals boring from within, the other by Ship Owners through the lockout resulted in the defeat of the organization and the creation of a condition under which wages were reduced as much as fifty per cent and working hours in some cases increased proportionately; and

WHEREAS, The real purpose of these so-called radicals is to sabotage transportation by sea and to turn the seamen into carriers of such revolutionary propaganda as cannot be sent through the mails; and

WHEREAS, The officers and members of the National Sailors and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland, the legitimate trade union of British Seamen, are now successfully opposing the same sort of an attack from persons masquerading as radicals under much the same leadership as conducted the attack upon the International Seamen's Union of America; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, hereby tenders its hearty congratulations to the officers and members of the National Sailors and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland for their firm stand against the destructionists who have been seeking to scuttle that organization by the so-called "boring from within" policy.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen's, spoke on the resolution and directed particular attention to the fourth "Whereas." Continuing, he said, in part:

Shortly after the meeting of the first Third Internationale there was published in the United States a report upon the question of the seamen. The propagandists came to the conclusion in their discussion that the seamen could be very valuable to them, first, because they could sabotage interna-

tional commerce; second, because they could and would be made into carriers of propaganda.

At this point Delegate Furuseth related an instance that occurred when a vessel left San Francisco, with a crew picked up by the Sea Service Bureau, three-fourths of the members of which crew were of the propaganda type. He stated that the most trusted member of that crew, the man in whom the captain had more confidence than in any other, was found, upon investigation by the customs officers in Yokohama, to have his valise filled with propaganda for the I. W. W. in the United States and the Communists in Russia.

In addition to the dangerous propaganda that can be carried by this type of men, Delegate Furuseth explained that they were totally unfitted, in the event of an accident, to lower the boats and save the lives of passengers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 50 by inserting in the last "Resolve" the words, "of whatever nature." The amended resolution reads:

Opposing Ship Subsidy Legislation

Resolution No. 50—By International Seamen's Union of America delegation:

WHEREAS, The United Shipowners met in the early days of May and agreed upon more than forty amendments to the maritime law, which amendments they claim to be necessary in order that the United States may have a Merchant Marine needed in trade and for national defense; and

WHEREAS, Most of these amendments would, if enacted, destroy such possibilities of a Merchant Marine as we now have; and

WHEREAS, Shipowners had the ear of Congress from 1789 to 1894, speaking for themselves and the men employed and received from Congress everything they asked for, even a subsidy, which, however, was repealed for good reasons shortly after enacted; and

WHEREAS, After Congress, acting upon shipowners' advice after one hundred years, found the country practically without ships in the foreign trade and practically with no native seamen in any trade; and

WHEREAS, These new proposals are now being fostered and propagated by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It is thus intended to develop a public opinion, which will cause Congress to repeal the important sections of the Seamen's Act and to grant such subsidies as the shipowners shall want; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we are opposed to any amendments that will act in any way to weaken the Seamen's Act; and further be it

RESOLVED, That we are opposed to any ship subsidy of whatever nature being granted.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Proposing Amalgamation of Unions in Same Industry Into One Organization

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate J. V. Fitzsimmons, of the Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The employers throughout the nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertions, and, moreover, they are supported by the Government, the courts, and the press, in any union-smashing undertaking they engage in; and

WHEREAS, They are carrying on a vicious attack upon the labor movement, singling out the various unions and forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation; and

WHEREAS, These unions, because they are divided against themselves along trade lines and are thus unable to make united resistance against the employers, constantly suffer defeat after defeat, with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standard of living and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers, through the amalgamation of the various trade unions, so that there will remain only one union for each industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officials of the American Federation of Labor are herewith instructed to call a series of conferences of representatives of the various unions in the respective industries for the purpose of launching movements to amalgamate these unions in the respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover an industry.

We recommend non-concurrence in this resolution. The trade union is a development in response to specific needs and conditions which give it form and direction.

The Executive Council has had the wisdom not to try to superimpose conformity to a theory instead of practical facts. We do not recommend any form to the exclusion of others, but leave each group of workers free to choose methods best suited to the situation under consideration. This position was declared for by the Scranton convention.

We recommend for reaffirmation of that declaration.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fitzsimmons spoke briefly in support of the resolution, stating it was his opinion that the adoption of such a policy as the resolution contemplated would make for better progress in the labor movement.

Delegate Basky, Stone Cutters, took a similar position in regard to the resolution, adding that he believed some such action as the resolution proposed would have to be taken sooner or later to avoid the continuance of jurisdictional disputes between crafts whose lines of jurisdiction are closely related.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers, spoke in support of the committee's report. He referred briefly to a visit he made to countries in Europe recently, where the absence of purely craft organizations and the existence of organizations on the basis set forth in the resolution made the progress of the movement there much slower than in the United States.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Recommending New Trial for Sacco and Vanzetti

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Luigi Antonini, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The 42d convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati and the Forty-fourth convention in El Paso have gone on record demanding a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, convicted of murder in the first degree by a biased jury under instructions of a prejudiced judge in the State of Massachusetts, and President Green in accordance with the spirit of the El Paso convention has during the last year put forward his earnest efforts to achieve the desired aim by taking the matter up with the President of the United States and the Governor of Massachusetts, and by pledging his further aid in a strong letter to the defense committee which has had a marked effect in behalf of the case; and

WHEREAS, Five and a half years have passed since the men were first arrested, four and a half years since their original trial and more than a year since the trial judge tardily denied their application for a new trial, during all of which time they have languished in prison and the wife and two children of one have suffered outside, and the appeal for a new trial which will cut short their sufferings by freedom or death, is dreadfully pending before the state Supreme Court; and

WHEREAS, Their indefinite imprisonment

pending the outcome of their case and the danger of undeserved death at the hands of the executioner constitute a ghastly miscarriage of justice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Forty-fifth annual convention assembled at Atlantic City, hereby reiterates its demand for a new trial for these defenseless victims of race and national prejudice in order that they may have an opportunity to present the incontrovertible evidence of their innocence, and that the honor and fairness of the American people may be preserved untarnished before the eyes of the civilized world; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Governor of Massachusetts and the President of the United States and the press.

Your committee feels impelled to utter its dissent to the constant presentation of resolutions at each succeeding convention on subjects previously affirmatively acted upon and wherein the officers of the American Federation of Labor have done all they can do to bring about the particular objective sought. The instructions intended by this resolution are the same as those contained in a resolution of similar character acted upon a year ago, and we are therefore moved to assert that no further action is required upon this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Conference With Representatives of the American Bar Association to Oppose Proposal of Drafting a Uniform State Law Embodying the Principle of the Kansas Industrial Court

Resolution No. 66—Introduced by Matthew Woll, of the International Photo Engravers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The American Bar Association has been investigating the Kansas Industrial Court for the purpose of determining its effectiveness in settling industrial disputes; and

WHEREAS, This special committee has been authorized to continue its investigation and to cooperate with a special committee of the National Conference on Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, which is charged with the duty of drafting a uniform law for adoption by the several States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. arrange for a conference with the proper representatives of the American Bar Association to present Labor's objections to the principle of the Industrial Court.

Your committee recommends approval of **Resolution No. 66**.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Cooperate With Affiliated Government Employees' Organizations for Elimination of "Speeding Up" Practices in Government Employment.

Resolution No. 60.—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Theodore E. Lippold, Perry J. Bradish, Charles R. Gale, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. McGavin, M. T. Finnan, National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, Charles Wiegand, National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, In the postal service and other government establishments there have been instituted highly objectionable practices, under the guise of "efficiency systems," which are harmful to the workers physically and destructive of service morale, and therefore add materially to labor costs on government employment; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" practices assume various forms and methods, all directed toward mechanical standardization by plans of weighing or counting, or otherwise measuring output without regard to variations of work and other essential factors; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated in all lines of endeavor that any system of "speeding up" the workers beyond a reasonable standard is disastrous in its reactions upon both employer and employee; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" systems in government employment are not only harmful to the health of the workers directly affected but they add to public taxation burdens the cause of the large overhead administrative cost of the superfluous supervision involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 45th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of government employees' organizations whose members are subjected to these dehumanizing practices with a view of their elimination in the interest of the workers and the public service.

Your committee recommends concurrence in **Resolution No. 60**.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

On **Resolution 65**, your committee proposes the insertion of the words "farmers' organizations" in the last resolve, preceding the words "trade unions," and the insertion and substitution of the words "all essential factors in agriculture and industry" after the word "organization" as well as the substitution of the words "A. F. of L." instead of "the convention" in the first line of the last resolve so that the amended resolution will read:

To Request the Secretary of Commerce to Call a National Conference to Consider the Elimination of Difficulties Preventing Constructive Organization of Industries

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Matthew Woll, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Sustained progress in any line of human endeavor is dependent upon records of experience together with research and continuous re-examination of principles and methods; and

WHEREAS, This sort of orderly development is possible only through functional organization of all the various factors, employers and employes, concerned in an integrated undertaking and expressed in collective form in order that each shall render its full constructive contribution to productive processes and to the finding of improved methods; and

WHEREAS, These desirable services find their constructive activities are hampered by legislation, judicial rulings and interpretation which attempt to limit or restrict the helpful cooperation between the essential elements within industry, and without which cooperation there can not be the necessary avoidance of economic waste and full opportunity for industrial development based upon scientific production plans; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the Congress for the modification of existing legislation tending to prevent the cooperation between the essential elements in organizations within industry, endorse the principles of thorough organization of all elements in production and that we support as the basis for directing policies for preventing misuse of industrial organization the principle of uniform and public accounting at stated periods of a type to be prescribed by the Department of Commerce in cooperation with the organizations of employers and employes; and that the Department of Commerce shall render its good services in guiding developments; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. request the Secretary of Commerce to call a national conference of representatives of both trade associations, farmers' organizations and trade unions to consider the elimination of difficulties preventing constructive organization of all essential factors in agriculture and industry.

Thus amended, your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Amalgamation of Trade Unions Into Industrial Form of Organization

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate J. Shafir, of the Chicago Bank Employees' Association No. 17709:

WHEREAS, In the bitter struggle going on in all the industries between the workers and their employers over the division of the products of labor, experience teaches that in order to defend their interests, the workers must have powerful trade unions following a militant fighting policy and animated by a clear conception of the fundamental antagonism of interests between the workers and the capitalists; and

WHEREAS, There is a growing tendency on the part of the trade unions to turn away from this fighting conception and policy and to accept the theory of the identity of interests between capital and labor, which means to follow a policy of class collaboration, to subordinate the trade unions to the interests and control of the capitalists, and to destroy their militancy and usefulness to the working class; and

WHEREAS, This growing policy of class collaboration manifests itself by such schemes as the Baltimore and Ohio plan, which carries with it the degeneration of the trade unions into little better than company unions and the abandonment of trade union conditions won by long years of bitter struggle, and by the establishment of labor banks, workers' insurance companies, etc., which, having nothing in common with true cooperative enterprises, serve only to subjugate the trade unions to the capitalists connected with these institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. convention repudiates the whole program of class collaboration, as exemplified by the B. & O. plan, labor banking, etc., and declares in favor of a militant policy of struggle against the employers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That as first steps towards the strengthening of the fighting forces of the trade union movement, we propose the amalgamation of all the craft unions into a series of industrial unions, and the launching of a general campaign to organize the millions of unorganized workers.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in Resolution No. 76.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

At 5.35 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9.30 o'clock a. m. Thursday, October 15th.

Tenth Day--Thursday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J., Oct. 15, 1925.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 o'clock a. m., President Green in the chair.

Absentees

Myrup, Dohney, Tracy (W.), Boyer, Bradish, Conway, Zaritzky, Spector, DeRaay, Rosemund, Snow, Lucchi, Sigman, Kreindler, Perlmutter, Bock, Hill (C. E.), Crough, Parker, Funder Burk, Cashen, Manion, Alexander, Jewell, Nigro, Atkins (J. M.), Allen (G. W.), Ely, Nelligan, Steadman, Wiecek, Kelly (J. R.), Patton, O'Dell, Long (C. D.), Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Walsh (T. F.), Hughes (F.), Vaughn, Woodmansee, Trimmer, Peterson, McGeary, Tinney, Carrozzo, Shafir, Abrams, Ruben, Effrat, Geyer, Simons, Blackman, Camous, Portway.

Secretary Morrison read a telegram from Charles Jacoby, President of the Wholesale Cleaners and Dyers' Association of Detroit, asking that the 1926 convention be held in that city.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Sara Conboy, secretary of the committee, presented the following report:

The committee considered jointly Resolutions Nos. 36 and 13, which are as follows:

To Negotiate With Brotherhood of Railway Clerks for Admission of Colored Workers

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates Ben Oglesby, of Freight Handlers' Union, No. 17769, and Albert C. Campbell, of Freight Handlers' Union, No. 17775:

WE RESOLVE, That Unity, guided by Intelligence, is a bulwark of strength that can withstand all attacks. Without intelligence and organization we cannot acquire the discipline which enables us to act together, concentrate our strength and direct our efforts toward a common purpose. Therefore, for the purpose of promoting such unity of action, for our mutual protection and to promote the general welfare of our crafts, the organization known as the Freight Handlers and Station Employees ask that the following be resolved:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has granted jurisdiction of all railroad freight house employees, including freight handlers, to the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees; and

WHEREAS, Article 2, Section 1, as printed on page 50 of the Constitution of the Grand Lodge statutes, covering local lodges, admits to membership only white persons; and

WHEREAS, There is a large number of colored persons employed in railroad and express service on positions under the jurisdiction of working rules agreements negotiated with representatives of the Brotherhood; and, whereas, these colored employees are entitled to and should receive the full benefits of working rules or wage agreements; and, whereas, a large number of colored employees have affiliated themselves with the labor movement by organizing under A. F. of L. charters; and, whereas, a number of System Boards of Adjustment have and are representing this class of employees through a System working card; and

WHEREAS, The full cooperation of this class of employees, with other classes coming under the jurisdiction of our working rules agreement is desirable and necessary for the furtherance of our cause; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the American Federation of Labor that the President of the American Federation of Labor, together with such other officers as designated by him, handle with the Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, for the full admission to membership for all classes under their jurisdiction as granted by the American Federation of Labor; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the event satisfactory arrangements cannot be made with the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, that the American Federation of Labor take the necessary action to properly protect the welfare of this class of railway employees.

Proposing That Jurisdiction Over Colored Freight Handlers Be Withdrawn From Brotherhood of Railway Clerks

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Albert C. Campbell, of the Freight Handlers' Union No. 17775, Kansas City, Mo.:

WHEREAS, That the Colored Freight Handlers of America affiliated with the A. F. of L. and under direct jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks are without direct representation on account of the Laws of Railway Clerks Brotherhood that prohibits such; and

WHEREAS, At the convention at Montreal in 1920 the A. F. of L. accepted a resolution of the Colored Freight Handlers to have the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to accept them; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks requested the Colored Freight Handlers to wait until the Dallas Convention at which they promised to settle the question involved, the introducer of this resolution being a delegate from the southwest representing the Colored Freight Handlers, was not allowed to enter the convention or per-

mitted to carry the issue before the committee; and

WHEREAS, As an organizer for the A. F. of L. and knowing what detriment it is to have such existing friction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the present convention take immediate steps to straighten out the conditions and have the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to waive jurisdiction over the Colored Freight Handlers and the A. F. of L. give them a charter or place them in an organization where they can have direct representation.

On the third day, afternoon session of this convention, the Chairman of the Committee on Organization reported that on Resolutions 13, 36 dealing with the misunderstandings between the Colored Freight Handlers and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, a lengthy hearing was held, but that both parties involved asked that they be given a chance to get together in order to reach an understanding if possible. This the Committee on Organization agreed to, provided that they would notify the Committee of the results of their conference as soon as possible.

President Fitzgerald, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, informs your Committee that a conference will be held in Kansas City, October 29, 1925, at which time the grievances or misunderstandings of the Colored Freight Handlers will be taken up.

Your Committee recommends that the President of the A. F. of L. appoint a representative of the A. F. of L. to be present at that conference, he to report results of the conference to the President of the A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Organization of Negro Workers

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Albert C. Campbell, of Federal Labor Union No. 17775:

WHEREAS, The Preamble of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor declares: "A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit"; and

WHEREAS, Among the toiling millions of the United States there are many influences at work which tend to prevent the combination of workers for mutual protection and benefit, and all such influences are injurious to the working masses and to Organized Labor; and especially the century old custom of workers allowing themselves to be divided into antagonistic groups on the basis of race, color, language, place of birth, sex or religion; and

WHEREAS, More than ten million Negro toilers live and labor in this country, as the most exploited and abused section of the industrial and agricultural workers; and their hope of liberation from their present bondage as a mass can be realized only through organization as an integral part of the labor movement, and through the common action of a united labor movement including all workers without distinction of race or color; and

WHEREAS, The interests of the Negro workers and of the white workers are identical and the interest of Organized Labor no less than of the Negro workers demand that the Negro workers be organized and included without distinction in the Trade Unions, with the full protection of organization extended equally to black and white without prejudice and no progress but only disastrous results can be expected from any exclusion of workers from the Unions on account of race or color; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor declared officially as far back as the year 1890 that it "looks with disfavor upon trade unions having provisions in their constitutions excluding from membership persons on account of race or color," and requested that such provisions be expunged; and again in 1897, and in 1910, 1917 and 1918 the American Federation of Labor or its officers took actions or made official statements affirming the position; and

WHEREAS, Nevertheless, several of the largest and most important International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. as well as some unaffiliated continue to preserve in their constitutions provisions by which workers otherwise eligible are excluded from their ranks because of their race and color; and

WHEREAS, Other affiliated Unions which have no written rules prohibiting the admission of Negroes, do nevertheless in practice generally refrain from enrolling Negroes; or after enrolling them do not grant to these members the same degree of Union protection as is granted to the white members; and

WHEREAS, The effect of such practices, as has been repeatedly indicted by the American Federation of Labor, is to leave a great mass of workers, because of the color of their skin, in a position of great disadvantage, working for lower wages than the union standard, frequently unable to obtain employment because of discrimination not justified by any lack of loyalty to the cause of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The continuation of such provisions and practices undermines the standards of living of all the organized as well as unorganized of whatever race, and constitutes a fatal weakness in the Organized Labor Movement; and

WHEREAS, Compromises on the basis of separate Unions for Negro workers distinct from the white workers have frequently been resorted to; and these are only makeshifts which may at times be justifiable as better than no organization at all, but are

sometimes justly resented by self-respecting Negro workers as being the preservation of "Jim Crow" institutions; and the problem of organizing the mass of the workers on the basis of solidarity as indicated by our Preamble remains unsolved; and

WHEREAS, Those cases where the white workers and colored workers are enrolled together in the same Unions without distinctions, such as the Mine Workers and the Longshoremen, have proven that in this manner all race and color prejudices and divisions in the ranks of Labor are successfully eliminated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its forty-fifth annual convention assembled does hereby declare that any constitutional provision, rule or practice, whether of official policy or by tacit custom, by which workers are excluded from Trade Unions because of race or color, is contrary and antagonistic to the principles and Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and to the interests of the masses of workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon all affiliated bodies which may have such provisions or customs, to adjust their constitutions and likewise their practices to these principles, so that every worker on a basis of exact equality regardless of color or race may enjoy within the Unions the same rights, privileges, protections, opportunity to obtain employment along with and equal to all other members of the Unions, with the same wages for the same work and the same conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized and instructed to take up this matter with each and every affiliated body, inquiring into the provisions and practices of each in this respect, using such official authority as they possess in urging the International Unions and other affiliated bodies to remove in fact and in form all such discriminations as exist, and the President and Officers of the A. F. of L. shall make public from time to time the progress of such efforts, and shall report to the next convention of the A. F. of L. whatever results may be obtained in regard to each affiliated body separately; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall with the greatest possible dispatch and energy proceed with a campaign to organize all Negro workers in the same Unions with the white workers wherever this can be done under present conditions; and where it is unavoidable to organize the Negro workers into separate Unions, but at the same time to take up with the existing Unions the question of combining the organized Negro workers with the existing Unions which for the time being may refuse to admit them; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the most effective and sincere manner by which the American Federation of Labor can ensure a response to its efforts to organize the Negro workers is to take up in an aggressive and whole-hearted manner the cause and de-

entitled to all the rights, benefits and privileges specified in their laws. The few fence of the Negro against legal and social discrimination and abuses, such as lynching, segregation, disfranchisement, etc.; so that Organized Labor becomes the champion of the Negro's social demands as the demands of the most abused and exploited section of the working people; and the President and Officers of the American Federation of Labor are authorized and instructed accordingly.

The American Federation of Labor from its birth favored and advocated the organizing of all wage workers irrespective of race, color or creed. The A. F. of L. has organized the colored workers. The A. F. of L. proposes to continue to organize them.

Of the 107 National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. at least 100 admit colored workers to membership, National and International Unions not admitting colored workers to membership were informed by the Buffalo, N. Y., and St. Paul, Minn., Conventions of the A. F. of L., that if they did not admit colored workers to membership, the A. F. of L. would organize and charter them direct.

This has been done. All of which your committee concurs in and recommends that the work of organizing colored workers be persistently continued.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Conboy: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman;
THOMAS S. FARRELL,
CHARLES A. MOYER,
E. J. MANION,
JOHN P. BURKE,
MARTIN T. JOYCE,
I. M. ORNBURN,
W. N. REDDICK,
PATRICK E. GORMAN,
GERTRUDE McNALLY,
D. W. HELT,
PHILIP BOCK,
E. E. MILLIMAN,
ROE H. BAKER,
C. J. GOLDEN,
SARA A. CONBOY, Secretary.

Delegate Conboy moved the adoption of the committee's report as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee discharged with a vote of thanks.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the Com-

mittee on Resolutions, directed attention to a typographical error in the proceedings, page 321 of the ninth day, relative to Resolution No. 76. He stated that the committee recommended non-concurrence in this resolution, and not concurrence.

The correction was made a matter of record.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Proposing Formation of a Labor Party

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate J. V. Fitzsimmons, of the Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The organized workers in their struggle for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions have found themselves forced to combat not only the employers directly but also the Government, through all its agencies, anti-labor legislation, Daugherty injunctions, Railroad Labor Boards, use of troops and police in strikes; and

WHEREAS, The entire history of the struggles of the working class shows that so long as the powers of government are allowed to remain in the hands of the capitalist class, as at present in the United States, just so long will those powers of government be used against the workers; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary, in order for the workers to develop the political power of their class, to build up a political organization of their own, a labor party, which will draw the millions of workers into political activities, and organize them for political struggles against the capitalists; and

WHEREAS, The LaFollette Progressive Movement, which is devoted to the interests of middle class business elements and large farmers, cannot serve as a party of the workers and poor farmers and has completely betrayed those workers who saw in it a substitute for a labor party; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor herewith favors the formation of a labor party based upon the trade unions and including as affiliated section all other political organizations of a working class nature, upon a local, state and national basis; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. stands instructed to work out plans for the formation of such a party.

Resolution 58 proposes that the American Federation of Labor form a Labor Party. If the resolution confined itself wholly to that object it would be effectively answered by referring to the established position of the American Federation of Labor on that question and to the action taken by this convention on Labor's Non-Partisan Political activities. But, in addition, the resolution

contains a revolutionary philosophy branded and repudiated. It demands that organized labor in its political activities associate itself with "all other political organizations of a working-class nature," undoubtedly intending thereby to advocate political co-operation with the Socialist and Communist parties; it goes out of its way unjustly to attack the LaFollette Progressive movement, a movement entirely independent of the American Federation of Labor; it refers to the government as a thing apart from the American people and as having been hitherto entirely out of their control.

The motives, the reasoning and the aims of this resolution are diametrically opposed to the principles, ideals and methods of the American Federation of Labor, and we recommend that it be not concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fitzsimmons, Canton Central Labor Union, the introducer of the resolution, spoke briefly in its behalf and said, in part:

I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that I don't think it is fair that the report on the non-partisan political program of the American Federation of Labor should have been acted upon before this resolution was discussed on the floor. While I went along with the non-partisan political program, I feel that a Labor party is something that labor needs, and I think that the American Federation of Labor should get behind anything that shows the semblance of a Labor party.

The non-partisan program reminds me of what the delegate said the other day—you get promises from these politicians and they are only fish hooks to catch suckers. The attempts that have been made to form something that looks like a Labor party during the past thirty years have been fairly successful, and I think it should be the program of the American Federation of Labor to get behind this movement. The press ridicules the men who are elected to Congress by these independent parties, and they do not get a chance to get their heads above water.

Look at the speakers in this convention. If we had some of them in Congress I think we would make some headway. There is not a nation in the world or a Parliament in the world that hasn't got Labor members, and I think this country is away back with their Labor Party.

Delegate Max Hayes, Typographical Union: I don't believe altogether with the whereases of this resolution, or even more with the resolves, but the final paragraph, which says that the Executive Council stands instructed to work out plans for the formation of such a party, I can endorse, and for that reason I

intend to vote against the report of the committee.

Fears that may have been expressed by Brother Woll to the effect that certain revolutionary elements would be drawn into this Labor Party seem to me groundless, if we interpret the final paragraph of this resolution practically. The Executive Council has the right to designate who should compose the organization that would send representatives to a conference to work out a third party movement.

I am opposed to the report of the committee and in favor of the principle or policy that has been expressed in the resolution, because I want to maintain a consistent attitude upon this question. It has been frequently stated that persons on the floor who take an attitude hostile or opposing the committee are doing it for obstructionist purposes or to gain some notoriety in the public press or in the proceedings, or wherever these remarks are reported. Well, I can say that it is not a very popular proposition to oppose what apparently is the will of the majority. It is a mighty easy job to run along with the crowd and say yes, sir, and no, sir, to anything and everything that anybody else may propose, and I haven't any hesitancy in saying what I think upon a proposition that comes before this convention. If it is fundamentally correct I will approve it, even if I stand alone, and apparently those who advocate the formation of a Labor Party are in a rather lonely position at the present time.

I know in the past we have had some very interesting and sometimes red hot discussions upon the question of going into the political field to back up the industrial movement. In recent years, however, there has been very little of that. That reminds me of the fact that delegates here by the dozens have expressed their disappointment at the apparent lethargy that exists. One brother whom I consider one of the ablest delegates in this convention said the other day that there ought to be in these conventions an administration party and an opposition party in order to thrash out some questions that are not only of great importance and interest to the labor movement of this country but to society as a whole, and when I asked why he didn't do it, why we didn't start to form an opposition party he ducked—let George do it—and that seems to be the general fashion.

In so far as our political solidarity might be concerned, even among our own unions I

can't explain the peculiar psychology of the American working people that has been so prevalent during the past few years. There seems to be little interest among the masses, except they will say—and I have met hundreds of them—that there ought to be a Labor party, there ought to be a political movement of the American workers, the same as we have in other countries. And you ask them why they don't get busy and start one and they answer, "Oh, well, I haven't got time." They won't come to our union meetings for the same reason—they haven't got time, there is always something else in which to interest themselves. Movies, baseball games, prize fights, dog fights, manufacturing "hootch," tinkering with their tin lizzies—anything and everything. Maybe they are all so prosperous that they don't have to worry about tomorrow or the conditions of the immediate future.

In the city of Cleveland there is one automobile for every six inhabitants; that means one for nearly every family, and of course Jones or Smith or Brown, as long as he is steadily employed, getting fairly good wages, getting the union scale, and having a few other conveniences, feels that the labor problem is solved, but it is not solved and it is not going to be solved by this indifferent attitude on the part of the workers. I want to repeat what I have said before these conventions in the past, that this labor question is not going to be solved upon the industrial field.

True, we can ameliorate conditions temporarily, but there can be no permanent solution of the injustices that have been complained about in this convention ever since it has been in session and in many previous conventions, under the present system. John Lewis stood upon that platform yesterday and delivered what, in my opinion, was one of the most eloquent addresses that has ever been heard upon this floor, in which he brought an indictment against the great coal monopoly that controls the anthracite field, which, in my judgment, is absolutely unanswerable. The increased wage the miners demand could be paid by the operators without raising the cost of anthracite a single penny, but they are in possession of these great natural opportunities, and possession means everything before the law, and they say no.

Now I can't see how that question is going to be solved by these repeated strikes and lockouts that may be enforced on the miners, with the tremendous difference of \$4.76 to produce a ton of coal and the \$18 or \$20 that

you and I pay as consumers, going into the pockets of a non-producing class such as the anthracite coal operators and their hangers-on are. Certainly with such enormous profits it is small wonder that they are able to buy page after page in the daily newspapers, that they are able to influence the news articles through their publicity agents, that they are able to obtain the friendly statements they do in the editorial columns.

When we had these discussions twenty odd years ago there was no such monopolization as we know exists at the present time, but there was an unreasonable profiteering going on in which the workers who produce wealth were denied a reasonable share of that wealth, to the extent that surpluses were being piled up and could not be disposed of.

It has been over twenty years ago that I sat in the office of Senator Mark Hanna, at his request, in Cleveland, to discuss the possibility of joining the Civic Federation in which he was actively interested at the time. Senator Hanna was a multi-millionaire, he knew the business game from A to izzard, and he said: "Max, here is the fundamental proposition that I believe we must deal with. Owing to the increase in the efficiency of the American worker, speeding up machinery, the tremendous increase in the production of labor, there are four billions of surplus in unconsumed wealth created in this country each year. Now I know enough about political economy to realize that these four billions of commodities that are in the market and can't be consumed have a deterrent effect upon production and business, that it must be unloaded somewhere in the markets of the world, and my hope is that we may be able to combine, or rather merge the employers upon one side and the workers on the other and bring about some sort of understanding that would be helpful in eradicating this danger and our condition of so-called over-production."

Those are the statements of Mr. Hanna. I told him that as far as I was concerned, I did not believe that the Civic Federation would be able to accomplish that, but if they would I would be perfectly willing to go along, but that first of all the employers must be organized and show in good faith that they will deal on a collective bargaining basis with organized labor, rather than merely going to dinners, sitting down and listening to labor's speakers, nodding assent and patting them on the back, and then refuse to have any dealings with them, as I knew certain gentlemen were

accustomed to do. Well, he was unable to bring the employers into his line of thought and get them to deal fairly with organized labor to solve this question.

Since that time and up to the present there has been that steady acceleration in production until today it is estimated by our economists—I believe Secretary Hoover is one—that our annual production is from six to eight billions in excess of our consuming capacity.

My friend John Frey enunciated the other day what I believe is a sound principle. As a matter of fact, it is Marxian doctrine; you may condemn it or not. Some of you may have read Karl Marx, unless you are prejudiced, and if you are I would recommend that you dismiss your prejudice long enough to read his book on Capital, which is an analysis of the production and distribution of wealth, etc. Brother Frey has injected that as a fundamental declaration into the proceedings of this organization, and it is very proper, and I believe when you follow that up, with the reduction in hours and the other improvements that may be achieved, we will be on the road to make progress on the political field.

But that still does not solve the problem that now confronts us. It is necessary, in order to give more power and force to our industrial movement, to be in position to back it up with our political power, with representatives in Congress and in the State legislatures upon whom we can absolutely depend, who are subject to the orders of a Labor party or this Federation. Then we would not have to complain about the misuse of the injunctive power every time we go on strike, we would not have to complain about the brutality of the police, as is demonstrated wherever there is a strike and picketing being conducted. We would have friends at court—not friends, but our own brothers and sisters would be in control of the legislative and administrative powers of this government, and as well the judicial, because as soon as we demonstrate our strength and sincerity upon the political field, you will find plenty of attorneys and other professionals who will rally to the cause and assist us in making progress.

You say that you lack but fifteen per cent of having control in Congress. I wish I could believe that. I don't say that the committee is deceiving us or deceiving itself. Maybe they believe it. The 186 that you have probably will stand up and vote for some of your labor bills, but when you introduce a bill in Congress, for instance, to nationalize the tele-

graph, which should mean a whole lot to the printing industry and particularly to the labor press of this country, which is unable to compete in the matter of telegraph, because of the monopolized field exercised over by the Associated Press and the United Press, will they support you? With a national telegraph system, where the tolls would be the same for all classes and associations and individual papers, it would open the way to the publication of more newspapers, among which would be daily labor papers.

Again, we are confronted in the printing industry with the fact that daily newspapers are going out of existence, are being merged under a burden of expense being heaped upon them, not merely by the Associated Press but by the paper combine, the Mergenthaler combine, by the supply concerns which are in their several combines and which exact the last dollar that the industry will bear in the shape of profits.

Now they are merging newspapers all over the country. Towns in the State of Ohio of fifteen, twenty and up to fifty thousand population, where they used to have two or three daily newspapers, now have one. Very frequently in a number of cities the Democratic and Republican newspapers are printed by the same company. They have two editorial writers, one a Republican and one a Democrat, who sit side by side in adjoining rooms and grind out editorials to the political dumb bells. The morning Republican paper and the afternoon Democratic paper grinds out political wisdom for the hoi-polloi of their particular community. The labor press is practically crushed. More than one-half of the local newspapers have gone out of existence because of high costs.

If you think you can ask your 186 representatives in Congress to vote for government ownership and get a square deal, you will find that you have deceived yourselves. If the miners, who went on record in favor of nationalization of mines, go before Congress with 186 Congressmen and say, we want to nationalize the mines, and that will put an end to this horrible profiteering that was pictured by Brother Lewis, we want a chance to deal with the government direct, we want a voice in the production and distribution and the fixing up of these conditions, of those 186 men there will be very few that the miners can depend upon.

And the same thing will confront you on any other fundamental, honest-to-God piece of

legislation that you may attempt to introduce and put through Congress.

I just want to say this in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, and I am simply repeating what I said before, that I intend today, with whatever power that is within me, to continue in the effort to build up a distinct Labor party to follow along the lines, if necessary, of those in other countries that have made successes and are making successes and will continue to make successes, and I am quite certain that within the next ten or twelve years you will find labor government in practically every civilized country in the world.

Delegate Lynch, Typographical Union: I rise to support the report of this committee, as a member of the committee and because of the conviction that the report of the committee is entirely correct.

May I say now, in relation to the newspaper business that has been touched upon by my colleague so learnedly, that I have some knowledge of the newspaper field on the North American continent. I come in contact with these newspapers daily, month in and month out. I don't know of a single instance on the North American continent where the same publisher conducts a Democratic paper and a Republican paper, with a Democratic editor and a Republican editor. I do know of some instances in which a publishing company owning the printing factory publishes a Republican paper and a Democratic, but both under different ownership.

If it is true that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, then it is true that my friend's logic and his argument crumbles at the touch of fact. You say, too, that we heard John Lewis talking yesterday of the struggle that is being made in the anthracite field for decent conditions and fair wages for the 158,000 men that he represents. I at least do not recall that he suggested that the mine workers should abandon their effort on the industrial field and substitute a political movement in order to win the battle in which they are now engaged.

My friend is a member of the International Typographical Union, one of the men who go around negotiating wage scales and forming unions, and this organization of which he is a member has been somewhat active in the industrial field for more than

seventy-five years, and because of its activity in that field its 70,000 members last year earned more than \$150,000,000, and not one of them worked more than an eight-hour day.

I would take some stock in this question of the efficacy of a Labor Party if I could be shown some country in which labor is in politics as the predominant work which it performs, in which the conditions today on the industrial field are, or have been at any time within the past fifty years, better than the conditions enjoyed by the organized workers of North America. It seems to me that we can learn from the history of this movement, and that if we do study the history of this movement we will not be misled by iridescent dreams.

I have heard this speech on the floor of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for fourteen years. I have it by heart, but I refuse to substitute its false philosophy for the industrial activity of the International Union with which I am connected, and I assume that every other International officer and every other member of a union with experience on the industrial field will refuse to accept that philosophy as a substitute for the activities in which we are now engaged.

I cannot conceive, Mr. President, of those who find their pleasures in jazz and in the radio and in the automobile selling the automobiles and the radio machines in order that they may engage in a labor political movement. We got into politics in labor in the last Presidential election. Did you notice, Mr. President, how all the hosts of labor rallied to the support of the men who stood for labor's cause? Don't you remember how they lined up in front of the ballot boxes in lines a mile long, eager for the opportunity to vote for LaFollette? Well, if they did vote for him, then the only explanation is that the election tellers did not count the vote.

The report of the committee is sound, sound for its time. It may be that some time in the future, when all of the people of this country speak the same language, when all of them have the immense and conclusive realization of industrial conditions that my friend has, it will be possible to organize with some degree of success a distinct Labor party, but that time is not

now, and I am afraid from the experience that I have gone through with it is going to be quite a number of years before either he or I will see it.

Just a word in conclusion in support of the report of the committee. There is often more glory, my friends, in disagreeing with reports of committees, more show of what appears on its face to be independence in disagreeing with the reports of committees, but at the same time it requires more courage, coupled perhaps with obscurity, to support the thing that is right than it does to disagree, and, for the moment, bask in a temporary limelight.

I trust that the report of the committee will be approved, and I am confident that it not only represents the great experience of the labor movement but also the sentiment of the delegates here who are up against the real thing every day, and so far as I am concerned, I refuse to substitute this Labor party movement for the alleged apathy on the industrial field, an apathy more imaginary than real, because if we are to take the illustrations frequently referred to by the previous speaker, there is no apathy now on the industrial field which would indicate that the anthracite miners do not know what they want, and by heavens, they are so organized that they are determined to get it, and they will get it.

I trust that the report of the committee will be adopted by a practically unanimous vote.

Delegate Frey, Molders: I am not aware of any newspapers which endeavor to carry Republican and Democratic editorials at the same time, but I am aware of some publications in this country where men attempt the marvelous feat of publishing a Socialist and a trade union paper in one.

I have no particular desire to reply to the criticism of the committee's report. I merely desire to call attention to the illogical construction which was placed upon this convention's action in adopting a wage policy. Not because I believe it, but because I desire to be informed, I have kept Karl Marx's "Das Capital" in my library for twenty-five years and have read it and studied it carefully, so that I might understand its philosophy.

I have listened to the advocates of Karl

Marx in this country, and if there is one thing that I have understood about their philosophy it was this, that their purpose is to abolish the wage system. Those at the present time on this earth's surface who claim to be the true, Simon-pure Marxians in Russia have shed more blood and killed more human beings for the purpose of abolishing the wage system than have ever gone to their graves during any of this world's revolutions.

The proposition which was adopted the other day is not aimed for any other purpose except to bring a larger measure of social, economic and industrial justice in the formulation of wages. I want to make it clear, because others may repeat the same statement, that the Socialist movement and the Socialist philosophy aims to destroy the wage system, and the trade union position is to deal with existing conditions and provide for a basis for wages which will be more just.

President Green: The chair would like the opportunity of saying just a few words upon this proposition. I desire to say it so that there may be no mistake as to the attitude of the President of the American Federation of Labor upon this subject.

First of all, I want to say without reservation that I heartily concur in the report of the committee. I am confident that every delegate in attendance at this convention is inspired by the same desire. We are united in so far as our desires are concerned. We wish to improve the conditions of the toiling masses, raise their standards, and make men politically and economically free, so that I lay at the very basis of all this discussion a common desire on the part of all to achieve the same purpose. We can honestly differ as to means and methods, and so far as I can preside honestly and judiciously over this convention I shall, that every one in this open forum, this great, democratic institution, will have the opportunity to express his or her opinion.

But what has been the experience of the labor movement? Experience is one of the best teachers men have, and our labor movement is founded squarely and fairly upon the basis of experience. There are a great many men and women who believe that labor could advance its interests more rapidly, if you please, through the formation

of an independent political party, a Labor party, a Socialist party, or call it what you may, but a party that would represent labor, an independent Labor party. Well, we have respect for the opinions of all those who firmly and honestly believe that through this method the workers could advance their political and economic interests, but the great mass of the working people of America do not believe that way.

The delegates in this convention reflect the sentiment of the working people back home, for if they do not reflect that sentiment, if they do not register the will of the majority, the majority will find a way to send men to this convention who will reflect their will and their sentiment.

There are those who extol the political experiences of Great Britain and they attempt to persuade the workers of America to follow the example of the working people of that country. We fear very much that those who offer such advice have not delved beneath the surface nor have they taken into consideration the difference in the social and industrial life of Great Britain as compared to the social and industrial life of America. They fail to take into account the difference in peoples, the difference in language, the difference in nationality and the difference in the formation and character of the country. But even so, what has Great Britain done through their political party that is in advance of what the American workers have done through their trade union movement?

I read the report of the president of the British Trades Union Congress to that Congress recently held at Scarborough, England, and the one distressing note that stood out more prominently than other distressing notes in that address was the reference to reductions in wages that the British workers had suffered amounting to millions of pounds. And this is in a country where a labor party, an independent political party, has reached its highest state of perfection.

I would indeed despair if in America the workers were forced to accept the reductions in wages as referred to in this report of the president of the British Trades Union Congress. There you can make the comparison, there you can find out the efficacy of our movement as compared with the movement in Great Britain, and if we have

succeeded and have held and are holding our economic strength and our wages in a country where we find it more practical and successful to follow a non-partisan political policy, as compared to a country where they emphasize the political as above the economic, then what should the American worker do?

Another thing: Here in America we tried the non-partisan political program that was a very fundamental policy of our movement until the last presidential election. We departed from that temporarily and committed ourselves, for the moment at least, to an independent political policy. The candidate of that party was the strongest candidate that labor could have selected, a man with a record and a history, a great patriot, a man whose name was known in every hamlet, village and home in America, a man with a brilliant record in the legislative bodies of our country.

Who could the independent political party have selected stronger and more influential than the late Senator Robert LaFollette? And yet, as President Lynch, of the Typographical Union, has well said, the working people of America, even under our recommendation, would not go over into this independent political movement. It is my judgment that an analysis of that experience, still fresh in our minds, is sufficient to demonstrate in America at least the impracticability of an independent labor party.

Another thing: Suppose these men who have been elected to the United States Senate and to the halls of Congress, who have fought labor's battles so well, had been candidates upon the independent political party's ticket? Would they now be either in the Senate of the United States or in the House of Representatives? Only recently we have had an opportunity to try out again our non-partisan political program. In the state of Wisconsin the voters were called upon to elect a successor to the illustrious late Senator LaFollette. His son, his offspring, became a candidate. Upon what ticket? Upon the ticket of one of the old political parties. The American Federation of Labor supported him, the other groups of labor supported him likewise, and as a result this young son of Senator LaFollette was elected by an overwhelming majority. What would have happened to

this same man had he been a candidate in Wisconsin, had he been a candidate upon an independent political party ticket? I leave it to you to answer that question. As a result of this policy labor will have in the United States Senate another friend who has pledged his support to the American Federation of Labor, and if we had followed the policy that my good friend Max Hayes advises here, Senator LaFollette would be at home and some reactionary would have been sent from Wisconsin to the United States Senate.

Where would Senator Wheeler be if he had been a candidate in Montana upon an independent political party ticket? Where would the others have been? All of them would have been left at home, while the enemies of labor would have been well represented. Labor is not going to follow a policy that means isolation, and in our attempt to pursue this independent political party we only play into the hands of the reactionary elements of our country.

There may be a time when we in America can organize an independent political party, when our nation becomes an industrial nation, as Great Britain now is, when the centers of population have grown and increased and the distances between our villages and our cities are greatly reduced, when the line of demarcation between village and village and city and city is so indistinct that it is scarcely discernible. We will have to change in America from an agricultural nation to a semi-industrial country before we can make a success along that line, and with our form of government, with the constitutional instrumentalities at our command with our form of government, the voters of America can make out of this government what they wish it to be.

There is no need of fear of revolution, there is no need here of a class war or a class struggle. Every citizen is a sovereign and every citizen is a voter, and the power of government is inherently vested with the voters of America.

So that if the things we complain of need correction—and they do—when the voters are educated to the point that they are determined to correct this wrong or that wrong they will employ the instrumentalities at their command to correct those wrongs.

I thought it proper and fitting that I should say these things this morning. They are on my heart and I wanted you to understand the attitude of the President of the American Federation of Labor on this subject.

I am heartily in favor of the committee's report.

Delegate Kutz, Altoona Central Labor Union: I want to ask a question of the chair for the information of the state from which I come, and I presume several other states. The reason I ask this question is to get express information as to what you mean by our non-partisan political program of the American Federation of Labor. Am I to understand that in a state like Minnesota, where we have elected Shipstead to the Senate and where we have elected Magnus Johnson and other men at various times, that if the political complexion still remains in that state as it now is, distinctly hostile to the two old political parties, can we believe that the non-partisan political program of the American Federation of Labor will not be partisan to the Democratic or Republican parties, and would that hold good in other states or political districts where the situation was the same?

President Green: The chair will answer that question by saying that the organized labor movement gave to Senator Shipstead its hearty support and contributed very largely to his success. Our non-partisan political program will permit us to support movements such as the independent movement in Minnesota, where it seems that we should support the candidates on that ticket, and vice versa, where are our friends are nominated on any party, independent, partisan, or whatever it may be, we can support our friends. Not only will we try to have our friends nominated, but we will try to have them elected.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee: I am not going to take up any time of the convention other than to add this one thought to what has already been said. The American Federation of Labor has never declined to do what was humanly possible to mobilize the political power of the wage earners. It is a question of how that power and that influence may be best organized.

The American Federation of Labor has found by experience that it is best mobilized,

not by the formation of an independent political party, but rather by mobilizing that power and that influence on a non-partisan basis. The justification for that policy, for that method of organizing the political power of our people is not only demonstrated in our land but finds even validity in the activities and in the development in all other lands where we are said to have strong labor political parties, and even where these parties manage temporarily to secure control of the government.

Realize this fundamental thing, that once we divide our power economically and politically into two distinctive, separate bodies we are merely disuniting our forces and we are weakening the power that we possess.

I shall not speak of the plausibility of a Labor party here, but let us go to England, where we are told they have a strong labor political party, and what do we find as a result of having an economic body on the one hand and a political body on the other hand? Do we find those two bodies in unison and in accord, all striving toward the common end and applying agreed methods of procedure? Observation and analysis of the experience there indicates to the contrary, as has been stated by the President of this Federation at the time that the fraternal delegates from England were addressing this convention when he pointed out that so far as international relations are concerned, the British Trades Union Congress declared for one position, one attitude, while the Labor Party declared for quite a contrary point of view.

That is true not alone as to international relations. These same bodies are also diametrically opposed, even on the economic field, for in the economic field they are beginning to realize that to entrust their safety, their welfare, and their hope for better conditions to Parliament has brought no results whatever, and the last Congress most emphatically and enthusiastically endorsed the exercise of economic power by the transport workers and others in preventing a wage reduction, and the responsible officers of the labor political party division found fault with the activities thus exercised.

And so we have this conflict of judgment, this conflict of opinion, this conflict of attitude and decision between independent

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labor political bodies and labor economic bodies.

Look to France, and the same thing has occurred in that nation, with a Socialist administration in control of the government and with its Premier, and then when the wage earners go on strike immediately the political labor party in power, in control of the government, is used to depress and repress the hopes of the wage earners as expressed by their economic power.

Who among us does not believe that if there had been a labor government in power in England at the time the miners resisted the wage reductions that MacDonald and his government would have taken the step that a Conservative government was compelled to take? Look to the history of that Labor Party in power, and what has it achieved? What has it accomplished other than to try to repress the economic force and power in England?

What is the situation in Russia, where a similar political power dominates that great land and where trade unionism is not permitted to exist or to express its hope or seek to right its condition by economic power?

You are bound to lead to that when you divide your economic power and your political power into two distinctive bodies, and whether we shall have it or not that will undoubtedly and always remain the case, and I believe that our concept of mobilizing our political power under the control, as we now have it, through our economic organizations, is the best destined to work out the salvation of the wage earners.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 58 was adopted by a practically unanimous vote.

Proposing Support of Movement to Bring About a World Conference of Trade Unions

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate J. Shafir, of the Chicago Bank Employees' Association No. 17709:

WHEREAS, The lack of solidarity between the workers of the different countries of the world is a constant source of weakness of the labor movement, creating a condition in which the capitalists use the workers of one country to defeat the workers of another, and take advantage of the resulting weakness to launch a world-wide "open shop" movement to destroy the trade unions; and

WHEREAS, The international division of the labor movement have been especially emphasized by the failure of the labor movement

of the United States to affiliate to any international center, while the rest of the unions of the world are divided between the Amsterdam International and the Red International of Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, The trade union movement of Great Britain, responding to the initiative of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, has inaugurated a world-unity movement, designed to bring together the unions of the entire world for a common struggle against capitalism; and

WHEREAS, This movement for world unity has resulted in the formation of an Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, established during the recent negotiations in London, and officially endorsed by the General Council of the British Trade Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor herewith endorses the movement for world trade union unity and pledges its support to the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee in its efforts to convoke a world conference of trade unions of every country for the purpose of establishing unity of the international trade union movement.

Regarding Resolution No. 77, we can only report non-concurrence, though we would urge some more fittingly negative action on this impudent proposal if that were possible.

It is proposed that we join what is called the Anglo-Russian Unity Conference in an effort to bring about world labor unity.

This is merely new language for the old "united front" propaganda by which Moscow for years sought to bring world labor under its undemocratic and destructive sway.

It is almost impossible to understand how any thoughtful democratic national labor movement could be so deceived as to lend the color of its support to such a treacherous proposal.

The American Federation of Labor is willing at all times to join with the free labor movements of other countries for the promotion and protection of the interests of the toiling masses. It will not lend its support to any movement to destroy from ambush the freedom of the workers of democratic countries. On the contrary, it will do all in its power to reveal the truth and to open the eyes of labor everywhere to the infamy of this proposed treachery.

The British workers have sent to us a message urging our sympathetic consideration of the proposal contained in this resolution. In addition to recording our own hostility to that movement, we return to the British workers and to all workers everywhere the call to stand by liberty, democracy, freedom, the right of peoples to self rule, the right of national labor movements to determine their own policies and their right to be loyal to the free institutions of their countries.

Furthermore, we convey to the world the most solemn warning of which we are capable

that we will not willingly tolerate in the Western Hemisphere any old world movement which seeks to impose itself upon American peoples over the will of those peoples. What the United States government, through President Monroe, expressed to Europe as a warning against armed territorial aggression, we convey in equally emphatic terms regarding aggression by propaganda. The Americas stand for democracy. The Pan-American Federation of Labor is the recognized international labor movement of the Americas. Through it the American Republics give expression to the aspirations and ideals of their wage-earning masses and the American peoples are determined that it shall so continue.

Neither the red internationale of autocratic Moscow nor any other internationale may in complacency ignore this definition of American labor policy. American labor is friendly to all the world, insofar as the world is bent upon achievement of the aims of democracy. It will contest to the last every inch of ground whenever and wherever autocracy seeks to invade the hallowed soil of this hemisphere. And we shall accept no pretense of "world labor unity" as a mask for invading disrupters and destroyers.

The New World is dedicated to human freedom. We want all the world to be free and we shall help to that end wherever possible. But above all and beyond all we shall preserve and develop the freedom of the Americas.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Recognition of Soviet Russia

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate J. Shafir of the Chicago Bank Employees' Association No. 17709:

WHEREAS, The Russian Soviet Government has withstood, for almost eight year, all the attacks launched against it from the enemies within its boundaries as well as from the organized capitalist governments of the world, hostile to it and constantly carrying on fresh forms of struggle against it, has demonstrated by its successful resistance that it has the support of the masses of Russian workers and farmers; and

WHEREAS, The delegation of the British trade unions to Russia has just published an extensive report pointing out the tremendous strides forward being made by the workers and peasants of Russia with their newly established society, and giving definite proof that while the workers of the rest of the world are suffering from a declining standard of living those in Russia are constantly improving their standards of life and living; and

WHEREAS, Many European governments, in spite of their bitter opposition to the Soviet system of society, have been compelled to open diplomatic and commercial relations with the Russian government; and

WHEREAS, The present administration at Washington, by thus far failing to give recognition to Soviet Russia, has greatly injured that country as well as the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled declares itself in favor of the recognition of Soviet Russia, and for the establishment of full diplomatic and commercial relations between the United States and that country.

We recommend emphatic non-concurrence in Resolution No. 78 for the following reasons:

The American Federation of Labor stands unequivocally for democracy, for the right of people to rule themselves and to control their own destinies through political machinery of their own making.

The American Federation of Labor opposes with all of the fervor of a high idealism every kind of autocracy, bureaucracy or dictatorship, whether brutal or benevolent.

The American Federation of Labor is emphatically opposed to revolution and to the teaching of revolution by violence wherever democracy exists and where the people have the power to modify or change their government through the use of constitutional means.

The American Federation of Labor denounces the whole communist philosophy which is superimposed on the Russian Soviet government, both as a philosophy and as a structure of so-called government.

The American Federation of Labor opposes the whole communist philosophy and dogma and the whole dictatorship in that unhappy and oppressed country.

The American Federation of Labor declares its hostility not merely in defensive manner, but in a vital and aggressive manner.

The American Federation of Labor urges the government of the United States to maintain the position it has taken in favor of non-recognition of the soviet regime and we commend our government for its courage, its adherence to fundamental principles of democracy and its absolute refusal to be drawn into the barter and sale for diplomatic advantage and capitalistic exploitation.

The American Federation of Labor will not barter its honor or its faith in democracy in that manner and it will oppose

with all its might any governmental attempt in that direction.

The American Federation of Labor will continue its opposition against all forms of communist agitation in the United States and in the Western Hemisphere and we are proud of the pledge of cooperation in that direction which has been given us by the organized workers of Mexico.

The American Federation of Labor is democratic in faith and structure and it can never be otherwise. Democracy and autocracy can make no compromise. To compromise with this enemy is inevitably to the advantage of the enemy.

The American Federation of Labor proposes, in the future as in the past, to use every honorable method to protect its own integrity against the corrupting, disintegrating, devastating preachings of communism and to protect in like vigorous manner every democratic institution in our Republic. We stand for America, for democratic America, and we want the world to understand that fact.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

A discussion of the subject ensued, in part as follows:

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: There seems to be a strange misunderstanding of the differences that exist in Europe and America. In Europe the fundamental idea is that the government can do all things and the people can do only those things which the governments permit; hence there is a struggle between the people and the government for larger and more increasing power to come to the people. In the United States the question was tested long ago. The people of the United States are free, not because they have a constitution, not at all; they have a constitution because they are free. You begin in freedom in one country and you build from that; in another country you build from autocracy and struggle to get away from that.

In Europe they are hampered with all kinds of legislation that prevents the people from using their power. Insofar as we took our common law from England we carried with us over here, of course, a tendency in the same direction. Our system of land tenure, our system of common law, is practically the system we have in England; hence, evidently, the misunderstanding and misconception which we have because somebody else is traveling one

way and insist that we shall travel the same way.

What is it that we in America fundamentally want? We want to establish on the industrial field, so far as it is possible, the same freedom and equality that exist on the political field. Now, how was it that you attained freedom on the political field in Great Britain? It was by the maintenance in the House of Parliament of power over the purse. The purse belongs there exclusively; the right of taxation and appropriation is exclusively lodged in Parliament, and it was that power which was used by Parliament to gradually change the system of English society from one of pure autocracy to one of democracy on the political field.

How was it done? First by petition, then by electing men to Parliament, then by a plain interchange and dickering between Parliament and the Crown. The fundamental idea was that the British people, acting through Parliament, could upset the government of England at any time they wanted to. What is the situation here? I want to call your attention to the fact that freedom and equality on the industrial field have got to be acquired as they were on the political field, step by step, building new roads through the wilderness. What is the fundamental distinction between the king and the arrogant employer? You bring to Mr. Gary or Mr. Rockefeller your petition for redress of grievances and he says, "I don't know you! Get about your business! Don't bother me!" Now that is what the king said, but there was a power behind the petition of the people which gradually made the king listen, and that was the power of the purse.

There is a power which you are trying to organize that will compel Mr. Gary and Mr. Rockefeller and the tribe generally to listen. We own our own labor power and we can refuse to supply that labor power and by so doing we can destroy—and in some instances we do destroy—as the Buck Stove and Range Company found out—we can destroy their business. In order to carry on that proposition you must be free men and women, you must own yourselves. That is the meaning of the labor movement in America.

Delegate Furuseth discussed further the labor movement and the political movement in America and in Great Britain.

President Green: I am not imposing on your patience just at this time because I think it is necessary for me to say anything with reference to the judgment and opinion to the

delegates to this convention in favor of the committee's report. I am merely rising to make one or two observations, because it occurs to me that after this vote is taken there will be no doubt in the minds of the American people as to the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward this proposition of recognition of Soviet Russia. And, inasmuch as there will be no doubt as to the convention's attitude, I wish that there may be no doubt as to the attitude of the President of the American Federation of Labor.

This subject seems to come before each succeeding convention of the American Federation of Labor and, for some reason or other, those who are behind this propaganda that has for its purpose the recognition of Soviet Russia by the American government refuse to accept the decisions of the convention from time to time as final. And I suppose, like Banquo's ghost, it will not down, it will always be here at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor; but I sincerely hope that the vote of the delegates at this convention will be so decisive and overwhelming as to leave no doubt as to the attitude of this great economic force in America's life.

We have no objection to the Russian people adopting such form of government as they may wish; we concede to the peoples in every nation the right of self-government, the right to determine their own forms of government, and we claim that right for ourselves. If the Russian people desire to live under a form of autocracy, of autocratic government, they may do so; if they believe that the people of Russia may be governed by the consent of the government, they may believe so, but we hear in America believe that all government derives its power from the consent of the governed. Naturally, there must be conflict between these two philosophies of government.

In Russia there is what is called a dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of the Communist Party representing this dictatorship. Well, if the president of the American Federation of Labor in this democratic institution here would attempt to dictate to any one delegate in this convention and tell him what to do, the president of the American Federation of Labor would be told to mind his business. I there is one nation in the world where the people refuse to accept dictatorship, it is in America; but if the Russians want dictatorship and autocracy, let them have it.

It is a far different thing in conceding the right of a people or a nation to determine their

own form of government and conceding to them that right and the recognition by us of that form of government. When they ask us if we concede to them the right to establish their own form of government in Russia our answer is in the affirmative, but when they ask us to recognize that form of government our answer is in the negative.

There may have been some doubt in the minds of honest trade unionists as to the wisdom of the policy of the American Federation of Labor in withholding its approval of recognition of the Soviet government. We may have questioned the wisdom of that policy, but certainly we cannot either question our judgment or our wisdom now, because our neighboring republic of Mexico recognized the Soviet government, and as a result diplomatic relations between the two governments were established. And what is the report we received? Here it is from one of the fraternal delegates attending this convention, one in close touch with the existing government in Mexico, one who occupies a close personal relationship with the distinguished president of that Republic. And what does he say to this convention? He says this:

"The so-called labor government of Russia has not done anything for Mexico but give trouble. Not once have they done a single thing that did not mean trouble for Mexico. Only three months ago Tchetcherin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in making his annual report to some congress of Soviets or other, said this about Mexico:

"It is a very fortunate thing that we have diplomatic relations with Mexico. This will give us the opportunity to use Mexico as a basis of operations on the North American continent.' What do they mean by that? I will tell you. Russia says that Wall Street imperialism is the most dangerous imperialism that we have. I don't doubt that that is true. Russia says, 'We must weaken that imperialism. How can we do it? If we could only start a war between Mexico and the United States!'

If it is the policy of the Soviet government to use Mexico as a basis of operation for the purpose of advancing their propaganda here, bringing about destruction of our free institutions, are we as sensible men going to favor a policy that will admit their diplomatic agents in every town and city in America for the purpose of carrying on their damnable propaganda?

In Russia they still have their prisons for political prisoners, those who differ with the Communist Party politically, and there is no freedom in the exercise of political rights. In Russia they still exile those they

charge with being political offenders, and exile them without trial. The economic strength of the workers in Russia cannot be exercised because it is completely dominated by the Communist Party.

Mexico has experimented, Mexico has tried, Mexico has recognized the Soviet government and the testimony of the Mexican people is that the Soviet government has constantly given them trouble since they extended that recognition. We have a little evidence of Russian propaganda here in America now. Through their agencies here they are carrying on that propaganda. They publish dirty, filthy sheets, and anyone who has read these sheets must form their own opinion of a government that would stand for such publications. And we know from a mass of data and information gathered—and I have it in my personal possession—that those who are circulating this propaganda receive their instructions and the directions they are to follow from the very roots of the Moscow government. We are not going to embrace this destructive force and for that reason you are going, I believe, to register your opposition to this government that would use the opportunity, if it is given it through recognition, to undermine our free institutions and destroy all the traditions of America.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by show of hands. The vote was almost unanimous.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, President, American Artistes' Federation: May I arise to a point of personal privilege. Matters are being discussed here which are of vital importance to us and the labor movement at large, and I would like with the permission of the Chair and of the convention to explain why it is that the international union which controls the actors in this country has no voice in this convention. Personally, I do not feel like assuming the responsibility of silence on this question, and I would like the permission of the Chair and the convention to make a brief statement as to the situation.

President Green asked if there was any objection to allowing Delegate Fitzpatrick to speak at that time. No objection was offered, and Delegate Fitzpatrick said in part as follows:

The amusement field in this country, so far as stage entertainment is concerned, is controlled by an international union known as the Associated Actors and Artistes of America. The composition of that international union is, I think, radically different in its form from that which characterizes the other international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We have separate fields of jurisdiction in the theatre—and when I say "in the theatre" I do not include, naturally, that department which is controlled by the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and Motion Picture Operators, nor by the American Federation of Musicians—I am speaking purely of the platform.

In this international union the English speaking stage is divided into two parts; the so-called musical comedy and dramatic field is governed by the Actors' Association, while jurisdiction over vaudeville, circus and minstrels is in the possession of the American Artistes' Association, of which I happen to be president, and which is really the old White Rats' Actors' Union; but for the purpose of avoiding injunction complications we have been obliged to give it the sonorous title. The other fields in the theatre are controlled by certain Jewish actors, a union of the Jewish chorus, the chorus which sings in the Grand Operas and a German branch.

Representation on this international board is proportioned according to the membership in these respective organizations, and by virtue of the fact that the Equity Association is the largest element in this international, it practically controls the international union. Now, I may be accused of waving the red flag, but I have no intention of doing any such thing. The organized labor movement in this country has at certain times given its unqualified support to the actors' movement. The present power of the actors' union which controls the legitimate theatre is due to the strength and honesty and purpose of the rank and file of the actors' organization, and to the unqualified support given it by the stage hands and musicians' unions in their struggle.

It is for that reason, Mr. President, that I am ashamed of the fact that the international union of which my organization is

an insignificant element has not seen fit to pay the courtesy to the American Federation of Labor of sending delegates to this convention, and I am not going to have, if it is possible to avoid it, any reproach aimed at the other elements in the international union which were not consulted. No meeting of the international board was held, as the constitution of the American Federation of Labor requires, to select a delegate to this convention. Now, it is within your power to draw whatever inference you like from the statement of fact as I have made it. All I ask is that in the future the representatives of organized labor do not hold the innocent members or the intelligent members of the international board responsible for what the dominating majority has seen fit not to do.

Delegate Weber, American Federation of Musicians, in making a statement for that organization, said in part: I arise for the purpose of emphasizing the statements and corroborating every word the previous speaker has said to the convention for the purpose of enlightening the labor movement. The entire labor movement is aware of the fact that the Actors' Equity Association, supposedly composed of 25,000 actors, owes its very existence to the American Federation of Musicians and the stage hands. These two organizations made untold sacrifices and spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to assist them. Today they are not represented here, and it is time the American labor movement should know the position they take, which is diametrically opposed to what the American labor movement stands for.

I made the contract for the actors five years ago. The contract expired last year, and they took advantage of the fact of my absence, and in Los Angeles went into my office and made my assistant believe I had agreed that they should provide in that contract that they would never under any consideration go on strike for anybody in the organized labor movement.

In Dallas, Texas, the labor movement became involved in a controversy with those responsible for the open shop movement. In all the buildings being erected for the Dallas State Fair no organized man was employed.

Last year they hoodwinked some of our

men into going down there, and we put on a strike that crippled the State Fair. Through the Texas press they advertised that they would have the finest attractions in the country, composed of the Actors' Equity Association members. The open shoppers of Dallas wanted to show the people of Texas that in spite of the stage hands, the central labor body and the state federation of labor, they would have the finest attractions at a fair in the state of Texas.

They made an arrangement with the firm of Shubert to send some of their finest musical comedies to Texas. I called up Mr. Shubert and got no satisfaction; I called up his attorney and got no satisfaction from him. The central labor union, the stage hands, the musicians and the Texas Federation of Labor protested. I said to Mr. Shubert: "You are a fair employer, you have hundreds of houses, you have thousands of stage hands and musicians employed, and yet you go down to Texas and take a position against the entire labor movement. You have joined hands with our enemies to defeat us and only use us when you need us. If you go into the Fair in Dallas the musicians will go out of every house you control." Mr. Shubert went down to Texas, cancelled his contract, and the open shoppers of Dallas made peace with the labor movement.

When some of these men become employers they set out to break every law of the musicians and stage employees, they provide their own music and shift their own scenes. We cannot stand for that; it will break down our conditions.

Secretary Woll continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Henry F. Hilfers, New Jersey State Federation of Labor:

During his lifetime, the late United States Senator William Hughes was ever to the forefront in every issue which meant betterment of the conditions of labor.

Throughout a long public service which included membership in the House and Senate of the United States, the late Senator Hughes rendered invaluable service in the cause of Labor.

His friends and the citizens of Paterson, N. J., the city of his residence during his lifetime, have organized what is known as the William Hughes Memorial Fund Association, having for its purpose the raising of a fund of \$20,000 which is to be used to erect a statue to be placed in front of the Court House of the City of Paterson in

memory of his splendid service to the Nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does hereby endorse the William Hughes Memorial Fund project and authorize the solicitation of contributions from among the locals composing its international organization.

The committee submits in lieu of the resolution the following: That it is well known that the late Senator Hughes gave valuable service to the cause of labor and that we express the feeling that the proposed erection of a monument to his memory is a worthy one.

Secretary Morrison: Having known Senator Hughes, and having worked with him to secure the legislation the Federation wanted, I desire to testify to his great worth and the valuable service rendered by him to the American Federation of Labor in securing legislation. No senator was more faithful or more earnest or gave his services more freely than Senator Hughes. I feel that I should make this statement to the delegates present, and of course favor the report of the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Teamsters—Street and Electric Railway Employees

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 40 and 41, and on the supplemental report of the Executive Council under the same caption, page 217 of the seventh day's proceedings, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is gratified at being able to report that at a conference between the representatives of the two organizations involved, presided over by the president of the American Federation of Labor, a satisfactory basis for a working agreement was discovered and the differences between the Teamsters and Street and Electric Railway Employees were amicably adjusted.

Your committee congratulates the president of the American Federation of Labor and the representatives and members of these organizations on the settlement of the dispute which so seriously threatened to disrupt the working conditions.

A copy of the agreement reached between the organizations at interest is attached hereto and made a part of this record.

Agreement Between the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 13, 1925.

It is hereby agreed between the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America:

That where buses are operated by or in connection with any street railway the operation of such buses or service shall belong to the members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

All men employed on buses operated by independent owners or companies not connected with any street railway company shall be recognized as coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. Where a dispute arises as to whether a bus line, or buses, is independent or is operated in connection with a street railway company it shall be referred to the presidents of the two organizations for settlement.

W. D. MAHON,

W. M. B. FITZGERALD,
Representatives of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.
THOMAS J. HUGHES,
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,

Representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

Approved:

WM. GREEN,
President,

American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Machinists and Blacksmiths vs. Street and Electric Railway Employees

On pages 41 and 42 of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption of "Machinists and Blacksmiths vs. Street and Electric Railway Employees," the Executive Council reports having held conferences with the parties at interest in these controversies.

Out of the conference held at headquarters on July 29, a recommendation was made for an Adjustment Committee to deal with the controversy between the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric

Railway Employees, which was referred to the officers of the International Association of Machinists and Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

Your committee recommends that the action of the Executive Council in thus proceeding in the direction of a settlement of this controversy be approved.

Your committee is pleased to report to this convention that an adjustment has been reached between the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, covering all matters in dispute between these associations, and providing for the amicable adjustment of any differences that may arise in the future, growing out of jurisdictional control of employees.

Your committee congratulates the organizations on having thus been enabled to reach a settlement that is mutually satisfactory, and recommends that this convention give its approval to this adjustment.

Adjustment of Jurisdictional Dispute Between the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America

Atlantic City, N. J.
October 5, 1925.

WHEREAS, Complaint has been submitted by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, to the representatives of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, said complaint alleging that in certain places the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America has intruded upon the jurisdictional rights of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, by taking into membership certain persons employed in the occupation of blacksmiths, drop forgers and helpers; and

WHEREAS, The places designated by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, where such intrusion has taken place, are as follows: Portland, Oregon; New Orleans, Louisiana; Granite City, Illinois; and

WHEREAS, The complaint of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers has also been brought to the attention of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and action by the Executive Council being a suggestion that the representatives of both organizations meet at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., on July 29, 1925, for the purpose of endeavoring to reach an adjustment satisfactory to both organizations.

It is therefore agreed between the representatives of both organizations mentioned as follows:

First: Upon complaint of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, it is to be understood that this matter be taken up immediately by the international presidents of both organizations and a thorough investigation be made. If it is found that the conditions complained of by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers are as stated in their complaint the officers of Division 587 of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America are to be instructed to inform such members they should rightfully belong to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers and that they should take their membership in the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers and that Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America has no jurisdiction over them and cannot protect them in their grievances, wages or working conditions.

Second: Upon the New Orleans situation, if it is found by the representatives of both organizations that there is a conflict of statement of the local officers of both organizations from New Orleans as to just exactly the class of work done by those who are named in the complaints and it is agreed by the representatives of both organizations that there shall be an investigation made by representatives assigned by the international organizations on this subject and if it is found that the men involved should rightfully belong to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, they shall then be advised to become members of that organization.

Third: As to the complaint in Granite City, Illinois, by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, this matter has been the subject of communication between both International Unions and it is found that Local Division 915 of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America have been instructed to refrain from taking into membership those who may be employed as Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers, Blacksmiths' Helpers or autogenous welders with the further advice that those members should belong to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers and be informed that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America could not protect them, and withdrawal cards have been issued to those who would accept or request the same and will be issued to others that may request the same if they are entitled to them.

It is understood that where withdrawal cards have been issued, it is agreed between both organizations that there shall be no discrimination against each other or their respective membership.

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This understanding between the representatives of both organizations is reached in the interest of both organizations and the membership generally and with the thought and intention of bringing about proper understanding for the future between both organizations and it is understood that all points where disputes may now exist, or may develop in the future, similar investigations and adjustments will be made.

ROY HORN,

General Vice-Pres. International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

WM. B. FITZGERALD,

1st Vice-Pres. Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

Machinists—Street and Electric Railway Employees

On page 217 of the Second Day's Proceedings, under the caption of "Supplemental Report of the Executive Council," under the sub-caption, "Machinists—Street and Electric Railway Employees," the Executive Council expresses gratification that the representatives of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees and the International Association of Machinists have accepted the recommendation of the Executive Council for the creation of a conference and adjustment committee.

We congratulate the Executive Council and the representatives of the two organizations concerned on having opened a way to what must certainly terminate in a peaceable solution of the jurisdictional dispute, out of which the controversy arose, and your committee feels gratified that it is thus enabled to make report on this subject, and we recommend the approval of the action of the Executive Council in dealing with this important case.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

BRICKLAYERS AND MASONS—PLASTERERS

On pages 217-218, Seventh Day's Proceedings, under the caption "Supplemental Report of the Executive Council," under the sub-caption, "Bricklayers and Masons—Plasterers," the Executive Council expresses its gratification at being able to report to this convention the agreement reached between these two great organizations, terminating a jurisdictional dispute that had disrupted the cordial relations between

the organizations and had proved a serious obstacle to the building industry.

We congratulate President Green on his success in having brought together the officers of these contending organizations and secured their consent to the agreement, which is contained in full, and we also congratulate the officers of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers of America, on having thus amicably concluded an agreement, the effect of which will be most beneficial to the building trades.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

PROTECTION FOR LONGSHOREMEN

On page 53 of the Executive Council's Report, under the sub-caption, "Protection for Longshoremen," we find a statement that Senator Pepper, of Pennsylvania, proposes to reintroduce at the coming session of the Congress a bill providing for a measure to give to Longshoremen the benefit of protection under a marine liability law.

It is the opinion of your committee as well as that of the trades concerned that a federal compensation law be enacted instead of a marine liability law, such as is intended by the Pepper bill.

The American Federation of Labor has many times gone on record as approving and endorsing the principle of compensation for industrial accidents and diseases and we recommend that this convention request the Executive Council to give all assistance to the end that a suitable compensation measure, covering the Longshoremen and other land workers, who may be temporarily employed on shipboard, the protection to which they are entitled and which is now denied them under a remarkable legal fiction.

Delegate Flaherty, Post Office Clerks: For the information of the committee, I would ask if you are aware that there is now on the statute books a federal compensation law.

Secretary McCullough: Yes, and we are aware of the fact that these longshoremen and other land workers who go on shipboard temporarily are excluded from the benefit of that act. We ask for a federal compensation law dealing with the status of longshoremen or any other land work-

ers when they are on ship board. We are trying to distinguish between the principle of the Pepper Bill, which is a liability bill, and the principle that has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor on many occasions—that of compensation as distinguished from liability.

Delegate Ryan, Longshoremen: The action of the committee is satisfactory to the Longshoremen's Association. The only rea-

son we had the Pepper Bill introduced was to get some temporary relief. At a meeting the other night all the trades concerned said they would work for a measure to protect the longshoreman and other maritime employes.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

At 12.30 o'clock p. m. an adjournment was taken to 2.30 p. m. of the same day.

Tenth Day--Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

Absentees

Myrup, Franklin, Dohney, Tracy (W.), Boyer, Quesse, David, Lippold, Fitzgerald (E. H.), Weber (C. E.), Badley, Coulter, Conway, Zaritzky, Zuckerman (A. M.), Spector, DeRaay, Rosemund, Knott, Feeney, McAndrews (J. J.), Snow, Baer, Kauffman, Lucchi, Kreindler, Dubinsky, Squibb, Bock, Rode, Hill, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Crough, Carey, Yarrow, Hedrick, Eisenring, Barry, Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Sullivan (H. W.), Austin, Cone, Mitchell, Basky, Funder Burk, Sweeney (T.), Manion, Thomas (P.), Kohn, Tracy (W. J.), Jewell, Nigro, Atkins, Taylor (T. N.), Allen, Ely, Nelligan, McAndrew (J. J.), Fox, Steadman, Wieck, Kelley (J. R.), Nelson, Patton, Jones (J. E.), O'Dell, Long, Hardin, Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Walsh (T. F.), Frampton, Foster, Hughes (F.), Keating, Anderson (G.), Bower, Reed (C. L.), Vaughn, Woodmansee, Trimmer, Peterson, Lonergan, McGeory, Tinney, Carrozzo, Shafir, Abrams, Ruben, Effrat, Geyer, Rogers, Simons, McGibboney, Blackman, Oglesby, Campbell (A. C.), Camous, Miller (A. M.), Tracy (E. J.), Portway.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Delegate Lynch, President International Typographical Union, in the Chair. Nominations for President were called for.

Delegate Lewis, President, United Mine Workers: The representatives of labor that attended the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor easily understood that the Grim Reaper had laid his heavy hand upon the shoulders of that greatest of all men in the ranks of organized labor, and that it might be the last convention in which we would have the privilege of hearing his voice and receiving his words of counsel. None of us could foretell, however, that the time of his passing would be so shortly after the adjournment of the convention, even before the delegates had completed their trip to the Pan American Federation of Labor convention at Mexico City; but President Gompers, upon that memorable trip home,

shuffled off this mortal coil and passed to that bourne from which no traveler returns.

President Gompers left behind him a mighty army of sorrowing friends and supporters and members of organized labor. His tragic passing shocked the entire American nation into the most complete understanding of his life and of his works that has ever come from the passing of a public man. Even those who during his long years of labor presumed to criticize his acts and differ with him on questions of economic policy publicly recognized his contribution to the movement he represented and to society, and they yielded unto Caesar that which was Caesar's.

Mr. Chairman, when the first grief of his passing had settled in the minds of the people of our ranks there naturally came the thought of his successor. With the passing of President Gompers there devolved upon the American Federation of Labor the responsibility of choosing his successor. It was true and recognized by all that in the ranks of our great organization there was a multitude of men, possessing the character and attainments to justify the assumption that they were entitled to recognition as the successor of President Gompers. And yet the deep sense of responsibility, the profound depth of understanding that in this instance labor should not and dare not make a mistake in choosing competent leadership caused the most serious consideration to be given to the subject in the minds of our people, and a most profound consideration of the character of every man mentioned for that place.

It devolved upon a comparatively small group of the members of the American Federation of Labor, the members of the Executive Council, to make a final decision and render final judgment on the proposition. Those leaders felt their responsibility most heavily, they appreciated the gravity and possible disaster that would come from a mistaken sense of judgment, and they one and all decided to lay aside any question of personal opinion, any question of

personal advancement, any question except the one paramount question before them of acting in a manner that would redound to the interests of the great organized trades union movement of our country.

They not only counseled among themselves, but they counseled with many of the responsible leaders of our affiliated organizations, and it came to pass that after the eulogies had been said and after the great panegyric had been delivered, after our revered leader had been forever interred in the earth, these men met in solemn conclave and selected a new chieftain for the American Federation of Labor. They selected a man whom they believed had those attributes of character and those fine qualities of leadership necessary to tide the great ship of American labor over the shoals and past the rocks of adversity which forever line its pathway.

Today we have met to determine whether or not the judgment of the Executive Council was justified, today we have met to determine whether the man who in the past months has been carrying the standard and banner of the organized trade union movement of our land, is justified in retaining that place of leadership and is justified in again being recognized by organized labor as its accredited spokesman; and it devolves upon this convention to say to this man, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, you have justified the faith of your own people, you have made yourself a place in the forefront of the nation's citizens, and labor may well acclaim you as its leader and follow you onward and onward to greater triumphs in accord with our defined and recognized principles."

Mr. Chairman, I presume at this moment to advance my own small opinion to justify the act and the faith and confidence of the Executive Council, taken in the small hours of the night when tragedy overlaid our ranks and when our people were grieving because of the loss of their great leader. I think the judgment of the Executive Council was right upon that occasion, and I think the American Federation of Labor will do well today to put the seal of approval on it.

They gave to you as a leader a man who is the son of a coal miner, who has sprung from the loins of labor, who has labored in the trenches and who from his boyhood has learned to understand and speak the language of those who toil. They gave the American Federation of Labor a great American, the father of a great American family, if you please, a man who has labored in the halls of civic reform and in the halls of peace, and we who have viewed his handiwork know that he has done well.

I know that he is great and wise in counsel,

because it has been given to me, under occasions of great responsibility, to sit with him in counsel and listen to his words of wisdom. It has been given to me to stand shoulder to shoulder with him in the fevered heat of industrial conflict, when I could rest secure that by my side stood a valiant man, valiant to the degree that he saw fit with his all to defend and proclaim the rights of labor and the rights of his oppressed fellow men.

Gentlemen, as a representative of the United Mine Workers of America, which organization is proud to call this man a member and who has served that organization with distinction for a great many years—I am proud today to stand upon the floor of this great convention representing the organized hosts of labor throughout the land, and to say that I desire to present in nomination to succeed himself, to justify his record and to take the place of that great leader of ours who is gone, the name of William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor.

(The delegates arose and applauded.)

Delegate Perkins, President, Cigar Makers International Union, in seconding the nomination, said: Mr. President and fellow delegates: I arise on this occasion, not for the purpose of making a nomination, but for the purpose of seconding one already made, fully endorsing the splendid, the gracious and the eloquent manner in which the nomination has been made. I may say on my own volition and of my own knowledge that my association with the gentleman just placed in nomination is such that I believe I know he possesses the qualifications that will enable him to successfully carry to fruition, not only our hopes and aspirations, but the exacting, high duty associated with the office of President of the American Federation of Labor.

I know that he understands the underlying, basic philosophy of the great union movement; I know and I am sure that in his hands our hopes and our aspirations are safe. I therefore take great pleasure personally, not only for the reasons stated by President Lewis, but those of my own, in seconding the nomination of William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Evans, Electrical Workers, moved that nominations close and that the secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for president for the ensuing year. The motion was adopted, the instructions were complied with, and the chairman declared William Green duly elected president for the ensuing term.

Chairman Lynch: Mr. Green, permit me to congratulate you on your election and to say it is fully justified by your record in office and by your fairness in presiding over this convention, and I am sure by the record you will make during the coming year. Ladies and gentlemen, I present to you the elected president of the American Federation of Labor.

In response to requests that he speak to the convention, President Green said: I would not be human if I failed to appreciate in full measure this manifestation of your confidence, your friendship and your good will. I am not insensible to the most friendly and complimentary sentiments expressed by my friend President Lewis who so eloquently placed my name before this convention. And following that, this unanimous vote of the convention so generously and enthusiastically given, all touches me very, very deeply. Whatever may be my fortune in the future, whatever may be my experiences in the days that are to come, I shall never forget this occasion and I shall cherish within my memory this manifestation of your friendship and good will.

I do not mind confessing to you that when I accepted the standard and banner of trade unionism, of leadership in this movement, when it fell from the palsied hands of our great leader, it was one of the most momentous moments of my life. When I considered the high standard of excellency and service which had been set by a man who had led for fifty years, with all the influence that went with that long, long line of service, with the wise counsel and judgment and courage given and shown by this great leader, I realized fully that it was a tremendous responsibility which I was called upon to assume. I wondered whether or not the judgment of my colleagues on the Council was properly placed, whether or not they had erred in their decision, because I fully appreciated the task I was assuming and the responsibility which came to me, but I resolved within my heart and mind that, come what may, so help me Providence, I would give the work the best that was within me.

I resolved this for two reasons: First, because I wished and yearned to carry on for the great hosts of labor, to serve as best I could; and secondly, I wanted to vindicate the judgment of my colleagues. And now is has come. I believe you have registered approval of the judgment of my colleagues, and because you have approved their action I am happy.

The greatest opportunity that comes to us is to serve, serve our fellow men, serve unselfishly as opportunity presents itself. What is there in life that brings such satisfaction and such great reward as service? Not service of a grudging kind, not service that finds its inspiration in the selfish motives of the human heart, not the sort of service that springs from a desire and promotes one's material interest, but a service that springs out of a desire to serve and to help your fellow men.

And so I accept your commission today, happily accept it, and with it and in return for the commission which you have transmitted to me I pledge to you all that I am. Here is my life, my body, my brain, my mind and my service in your cause.

President Green in the chair.

James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters, was placed in nomination by Delegate John P. Frey, of the Molders' Union. In nominating Vice-President Duncan, Delegate Frey said: Mr. Chairman, no trade union movement of any country has been so blessed in its leadership as our own, no trade union movement has any such record of leadership or the long, long years of service. It was a quarter of a century ago that I had my first privilege to attend a convention of the American Federation of Labor. I wanted to become acquainted with the men who at that time were leading our movement, to become acquainted with its leader and those who surrounded him and upheld his hands in the great task he was endeavoring to accomplish.

Among those whom I met a quarter of a century ago was a tall, stalwart, vigorous leader of the trade union movement who then, as ever after, upheld the hands of our great and beloved leader, Samuel Gompers. I met those who at that time composed the Executive Council of our great Federation of Labor, and as I look over the list today I am forced to take note of what the hand of time has done, because of all those who composed the staff of vice-presidents at that time none of them remain to serve this movement still with the exception of the one whose name I will have the privilege of placing in nomination.

We have all watched him for a quarter of a century, we have seen him at the forefront fighting every attack which was made against our movement, its principles and its policies. This American Federation of Labor has entrusted him with some of the highest and most important missions; the government of the United States has entrusted him with important international missions, and in all of these he has

always justified and vindicated the confidence that this great movement placed in him over a quarter of a century ago.

A quarter of a century tests the fiber and material and metal there is in any man, and I know of no one whose honor, whose integrity, whose devotion to this trade union movement, whose desire to be of service to it is greater than that of the man who now holds the position of first vice-president. A quarter of a century has brought silver hairs to his head; he is still, however, the same stalwart, upstanding champion of our movement that he was in the beginning. It gives me pleasure, Mr. Chairman, keen pleasure, to have the privilege of placing in nomination for the honorable, responsible position of first vice-president, James Duncan.

Delegate Harding, International Typographical Union: Thirty-five years ago in Birmingham, Alabama, I was present at my first convention of the American Federation of Labor. At that convention there were present, of those who are here assembled, only three that I can recall, James Duncan, Andrew Furuseth and myself. There may be others here, but I cannot recall them among those who were present on that occasion. For that reason, for the sake of auld lang syne, and for the further reasons enumerated by Delegate Frey, it gives me great pleasure to second the nomination of James Duncan for first vice-president.

No further nominations were offered, and upon motion of Delegate Koveleskie the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for James Duncan. The instructions were complied with and James Duncan was declared unanimously elected as First Vice-President for the ensuing year.

Frank Duffy, General Secretary of the Carpenters and Joiners, was placed in nomination for Second Vice-President by Delegate Sara A. Conboy, General Secretary of the United Textile Workers of America. In making the nomination Delegate Conboy said: I rise at this time to place in nomination a man for second vice-president of the American Federation of Labor who indeed needs no introduction. He has been secretary of his own international organization for a great many years, he has been vice-president of the American Federation of Labor; he has been a strong right arm of our president who has gone, and a strong right arm of the man who now has the honor of being our president. I could talk for an hour and tell good things about him, but I am not going to do that. It gives me great pleasure to place in nomination

for second vice-president of the American Federation of Labor Mr. Frank Duffy.

No other nominations were offered, and upon motion of Vice-President Woll the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy. The instructions were complied with and Frank Duffy was declared Second Vice-President.

T. A. Rickert, General President of the United Garment Workers' of America, was nominated for Third Vice-President by John J. Manning, a member of the same organization, who said: I am sure we all listened with deep interest to the wonderful nominating speech of President Lewis and the speech of acceptance by our honored president. I think it is in the minds of the delegates to surround President Green with the best thought we can gather in the crucial time that is coming. It is with that in mind that I shall name a man who has rendered service on the Executive Council, T. A. Rickert.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Connors, Switchmen, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for T. A. Rickert. The instructions were complied with and T. A. Rickert was declared Third Vice-President.

Jacob Fischer, General Secretary of the Barbers' International Union, was nominated for Fourth Vice-President by Delegate Baker of the same organization. In placing Vice-President Fischer in nomination Delegate Baker said: For fourth vice-president I nominate the General Secretary-Treasurer of the Barbers' International Union of America, Jacob Fischer, and in doing so I want to call attention to the fact that in the years I have been associated with him he has been a very valuable officer to our organization. There has never been a time when a weak organization needed our help that he did not immediately instruct us to lend our support to such an organization, and in the campaign inaugurated by this Federation for the further sale of label goods and for organization Secretary Fischer has worked zealously. After listening to the address of our worthy president we on the firing line realize that we need such men as Fischer to cooperate with our president.

No other candidates were nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Tighe, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Jacob Fischer. The instructions were complied with and Jacob Fischer was declared Fourth Vice-President.

Matthew Woll, President, International Photo Engravers' Union, was placed in nomination for

Fifth Vice-President by Delegate McCullough, of the International Typographical Union, who said: As we advance in years the habits of youth cling to us with greater persistence. I long ago formed the habit in this convention of nominating as one of the vice-presidents the man whose name I now present to you. On the first occasion I made certain pledges in his name. At each succeeding convention it has been my pleasure and my pride to call to the attention of the delegates that each of those pledges has been redeemed in its entirety, and, more than that, that this young man has grown in stature, that he stands on an equal footing with the greatest of our labor leaders, and I have the pleasure and pride of again presenting to this convention for the office of fifth vice-president the name of Matthew Woll.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Riley, of the Texas State Federation, the secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll. The instructions were complied with and Matthew Woll was declared Fifth Vice-President.

Martin F. Ryan, President, International Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, was nominated for Sixth Vice-President by Delegate Mahon, of the Street and Electric Railway Employes.

In nominating Vice-President Ryan, Delegate Mahon said: In the makeup of this great Federation it has always been our policy to divide the offices of vice-president so as to give the different industries and lines of employment proper representation in the councils of the American Federation of Labor. It was my pleasure for a number of years to represent in the councils of this great organization the transportation workers in the American Federation of Labor. When, on account of increased work in my own organization and on account of my health, it became necessary that I should retire, there was elected to fill my place from the transportation workers a man who has proved to be able to represent, not only the transportation workers of this country, but to represent fully the interests of the working men and women of America.

The gentleman I am about to name has, in the few years of his connection with this great American Federation of Labor, demonstrated his ability. While a modest man in his manners and ways, he has demonstrated his ability to lead and to direct. About a year ago when President Gompers passed away down on the Texas border at four o'clock in the morning, we were there in a demoralized condition, thou-

sands of miles from home, everying in a chaotic condition, but we placed in the hands of Martin F. Ryan the duty of arranging the transportation of the party and looking after the details of the journey home.

Inside of four hours from the death of President Gompers, Martin F. Ryan had shown his ability as a leader and director; he had the trains ready and all the arrangements completed for carrying the funeral cortege and friends of President Gompers, without a hitch in the entire procedure. That modest man demonstrated to us there his ability as a leader, and it gives me great pleasure, in behalf of the transportation workers of this American Federation of Labor, to place in nomination for sixth vice-president that physically big, big-hearted and noble man, Martin F. Ryan.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Hyland, of the same organization, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Martin F. Ryan. The instructions were complied with and Martin F. Ryan was declared Sixth Vice-President.

James Wilson, President, Pattern Makers' League of North America, was nominated for Seventh Vice-President by Delegate O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department, who said: I rise to place in nomination a young man, and I do it for two reasons. First, because of his qualifications as a member of the Executive Council; and, second, because I want to get my name in the record. Many years ago, in a town in Western Pennsylvania, where I had gone on business for the machinists' organization, of which I was then an executive, I heard a young man make a speech to a number of people in the interest of an organizing movement that was going on in that city. I listened to his speech and said to myself: "There is a young man who is going to make his way in the labor movement."

I have watched him grow since that time. He has been a successful executive in his own organization, he has been a successful officer of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council showed exceptional wisdom two years ago in selecting him to fill a vacancy on the Council. Last year I had the pleasure of presenting his name for seventh vice-president, and I take pleasure in presenting it now, Mr. James Wilson.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, the secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James

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Wilson for Seventh Vice-President. The instructions were complied with and James Wilson was declared Seventh Vice-President.

James P. Noonan, President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was placed in nomination for Eighth Vice-President by Delegate McNulty of the same organization.

Delegate McNulty: I desire to place in nomination for eighth vice-president a man who needs no introduction in this convention. Since he arrived at the age of manhood he has worked in the interests of the labor movement, both locally and nationally. I do not desire to make a long talk in his behalf, because it is not necessary to say that he has shown by his ability that he is capable of fulfilling the duties of the office I am about to nominate him for. He is not a college man, no, because no college has a patent on brains, but he is educated in the school of this American labor movement and is worthy of any honors you may bestow upon him. I therefore nominate James P. Noonan for eighth vice-president.

No other candidate was nominated and upon motion of Delegate Kearney, the secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James P. Noonan. The instructions were complied with and James P. Noonan was declared Eighth Vice-President.

Daniel J. Tobin, President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, was nominated for Treasurer by Delegate Hughes of the same organization.

Delegate Hughes: I rise at this time to place in nomination the present incumbent, Daniel J. Tobin, for the office of Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Lynch, International Typographical Union: Just as a tribute to a friend, may I move that the Secretary cast one ballot for the convention for the election of Daniel J. Tobin as treasurer. The motion was seconded and carried, the instructions were complied with and Daniel J. Tobin was declared Treasurer.

Frank Morrison, International Typographical Union, was placed in nomination for Secretary by Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.

In placing the Secretary in nomination, Delegate Berry said: By courtesy of the delegation of the International Typographical Union I am privileged to present to this convention a member of that organization for Secretary of the American Federation of Labor. The present incumbent, Frank Morrison, is known for the great service he has rendered to the American

Labor movement. It is a genuine pleasure to me, as the president of one of the printing trades unions, to present his name to this convention. Knowing of his close association with the former president, I assure the new president of a continuation of that cooperation and coordination so necessary to the furtherance of the labor movement. Therefore I offer to this convention the name of Frank Morrison for Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hayes (Max S.), International Typographical Union: In behalf of the delegation of the International Typographical Union, I move that nominations close and that the President be authorized to cast the ballot of this convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary.

The motion was adopted, the President complied with the instructions of the convention, and Frank Morrison was declared elected as Secretary for the ensuing term.

(The delegates arose and applauded.)

In response to repeated requests for a speech, Secretary Morrison said: I appreciate the continued confidence of the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention. When this term is finished I will have served the American Labor movement as secretary for twenty-nine years. At this time I feel the great labor movement is on firmer ground than ever before and that we will now forge ahead. When I had the honor of first being elected we had 265,000 members. I watched the movement grow until it had passed four millions, then we receded during the past five years until this year, when the tide has turned.

As in the past I shall give to the labor movement, to the office I hold, and to the assistance of our new chief, President Green, every bit of ability that I have, and I am satisfied that we are going to make new records, not only on the industrial field but in the political field, and we are going to wrest from the judges of this land favorable decisions in regard to labor. I see a bright and splendid future for the great American Federation of Labor.

President Green announced that, following the usual custom, two fraternal delegates would be elected to the British Trades Congress and one fraternal delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Delegate Murray, United Mine Workers: I desire to place in nomination Frank Farrington, President of District No. 12, United Mine Workers of America. President Farrington possesses the qualifications that are necessary to represent this organization in the British Trades Union Congress, he being both competent and efficient.

I believe he will represent with credit the American Labor movement if he is elected by this convention. I bespeak the wishes of the entire Mine Workers' delegation in asking this convention to elect him.

No other candidate was nominated and upon motion of Delegate Doyle, Painters, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Farrington. The instructions were complied with and Frank Farrington was declared duly elected delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

William L. Hutcheson, President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, was nominated for associate fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, by Vice-President James Wilson.

Vice-President Wilson: Each year the importance of the selection of delegates to the British Trades Union Congress grows. This convention has just now selected, in my judgment, an ambassador to the British Trades Union Congress who is worthy and qualified, and as his companion I will name one who will bring added honor to our movement. I present for your favorable consideration the name of William L. Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters' organization.

Delegate Tracy, Building Trades Department: Like my friend Jim O'Connell, I am desirous of having my name in the records. I therefore move that nominations close on the name of William L. Hutcheson, and that the secretary be authorized to cast the ballot of the convention for William L. Hutcheson. (Seconded and carried.)

The instructions were complied with and William L. Hutcheson was declared duly elected associate Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

James B. Connors, Vice-President Switchmen's Union of North America, was nominated for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress by Delegate Fitzpatrick, President, American Artists' Federation.

Delegate Fitzpatrick: We have now reached the most solemn moment in the proceedings of this convention. The delegates here have been laboring under the delusion that the selection of the President of the American Federation of Labor and the choice of fraternal delegates to Great Britain were matters of the most supreme importance to this convention. I think when I have succeeded in placing my case before the bar you will agree that the office of President of the American Federation of Labor and the dignity of our delegates to the British Trades Union Congress while loaded with importance,

that there is no moral danger in going to Great Britain, nor is there any danger of moral corruption in being the President of the American Federation of Labor; but when we send a man to Canada we are exposing him to temptations which we all realize are very difficult to combat, even in this country; and if it were not for the fact that my candidate comes from the City of Chicago, where he is acclimated to the dangers which he may encounter in Montreal, I would have very serious scruples of conscience in exposing any man to such moral dangers. However, I have perfect confidence in my candidate, at least until the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress is finished. I have confidence in him because he has one wonderful characteristic which is exemplified by a story with which, if I may, I would like to tell before introducing him to you.

Once upon a time in Danbury, Conn., there were two hatters. It was in the old days when wages were at their peak, and these two men, being of Irish birth, were naturally filled with the spirit of conviviality; in fact, it was not so much a virtue in them as it was a weakness, because the Saturday night conviviality frequently hung over until Monday morning. They spent their hard-earned money upon drink, in trying to fill busted straights, and their reputation and conduct became a scandal in the community. They had the reputation of being atheists, and also being Irish they were rather proud of that distinction, which gave them the appearance of being in defiance of even the Creator. It so happened, however, that one of them was taken seriously sick, and his brother atheist, upon receipt of a certain bit of news, grabbed his hat, rushed to the bedside of his friend and said:

"What's this I hear? Did you sind for the Priest?"

"I did."

"For what? Aint you an athiest?"

"I am."

"Well, what did you do that for?"

"Well, I have been lying here on my back the last three or four weeks; the grog has all gone out of me and all I do is stare at the walls and ceiling. I got to thinking maybe I don't know what's on the other side and after I pass on it may be too late, and anyway I got to be fearing and I sint for himself."

"You got the fear! Aint you been a union man all your life? You have, and you always had your dues paid up?"

"I did."

"And you never scabbed?"

"I never did."

"And you always voted the straight democratic ticket, didn't you?"

"I did."

"Then what the hell are you afraid of? Nobody has anything on you!"

And, Mr. President, nobody has anything on my candidate, and I can give you the assurance that even his campaign manager hasn't had anything off him.

Seriously, Mr. President, it gives me not only great pleasure but a sense of something warming to be able to rise and place in nomination for any office, however humble it may be, a man who has given the best years of his life to this movement. We cannot pay too much honor to the war horses of the organization. In my youth I was taught to have respect for men who were older than I; and as a youth in the American Federation of Labor I have learned that the men who have carried the fight are well worthy of the respect and admiration and imitation, not only of the youngest man in this convention, but of the oldest.

And so, Mr. Chairman, I have great pleasure in presenting to you a man whom I am sure will stay on the right track while he is in Canada—the right track from a labor point of view, the right track from a moral point of view, because he is used to staying on the right track. The man that I wish to nominate is James B. Connors, Vice-President of the Switchmen's Union.

No further candidate was nominated and upon motion of Delegate Bolander the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James B. Connors. The instructions were complied with and James B. Connors was declared elected Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

SELECTION OF CONVENTION CITY

Detroit, Michigan, was nominated by Delegate Mahon, President of the Street and Electric Railway Employees, who spoke at some length on the desirability of holding the 1926 convention in that city.

Delegate Berry, President of the Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' union, nominated Birmingham, Alabama. He spoke at length of the need of organization in the southern states and the benefit it would be to the movement if that city were selected.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen, seconded the nomination of Birmingham.

Delegate Martel spoke at some length in favor of Detroit.

Delegate Lawrence announced that Sacramento, California, had decided not to ask for the 1926 convention, and spoke in favor of the candidacy of Birmingham.

Delegate Atkins placed St. Petersburg, Florida, in nomination, and spoke at some length of the attractiveness of that city as a place for holding conventions.

Vice-President Wilson moved that the city receiving the highest vote on the first ballot be declared the choice of the convention.

Vice-President Duncan raised a point of order that the law provided for a majority vote in the selection of a convention city. President Green stated that the convention had power to decide as to whether or not a subject under the character under discussion could be decided by a majority or a plurality vote.

The question was discussed briefly by Vice-President Duncan, Delegate Gainor, and Delegate Furuseth.

The motion offered by Delegate Wilson was lost, and the secretary proceeded to call the roll, which resulted as follows:

CONVENTION CITY

DETROIT, MICHIGAN—Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Shanessy, Fischer (J.), Baker, Wenzel, Pearl, Horn, Powlesland, Reddick, Belair, Meehan, Lovely, Baine, Beasley, Anderson (F. W.), Weitler, Kugler, Obergfell, Sullivan (J.), Morrin, McGinn, Ryan (E.), O'Brien (J.), Hutcheson, Duffy (F.), Walker (G. T.), Howat, Lindeman, Bennett, Taylor (M. D.), Tierney, Coulter, Conway, Deckard, Huddell, Evans (D.), Murphy (M.), Cooley, Woll, Schmal, Rickert, Larser, Doyle (F.), Adamski, Houck, Sigman, Kreindler, Pinkofsky, Antonini, Perlmutter, Dubinsky, Maloney, Griffin (J.), Clarke, (W. P.), Gallagher, Harbert, Squibb, Duncan, Marshall (H. S.), Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, McDevitt, Koveleski, Tighe, Chlopek, Ryan (J. P.), Fljodzal, Milliman, Miller (L.), Hynes, Frayne, Redding, Pattison, Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Green (W.), Farrington, Hall (L.), Kennedy (T.), Nesbit, Golden, Keough (M. J.), Frey (J. P.), McCaffrey, Boswell, Wilson (J.), Gernon, Fischer (J.), McGivern, Donlin, Watson, Cook (P. G.), Coesfield, Burke (T. E.), Sullivan (J. J.), Fallon, Anderson (C.), Britton, Kelsay, Wood (J. T.), McQuade, Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Mahon, Fitzgerald (W. B.), Shea, Quinlan, Reardon, Bruce, Furuseth, Olander, Pryor, Keegan, Sweeney, Soderberg, Bolander, Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Neer, McLaughlin (J. P.), McCaffrey, Walden, I. T. U. delegation (119 votes), O'Connell, Walker (J. H.), Lewis (J. C.), Armstrong, Ely, Hilfers, Iglesias, Ohl, Rohr, Ryan (J.), Fitzsimmons, Martel, Campbell (W. M.), Ames, Zusi, Sampson, Anderson (G.), Fitzmaurice, Martinez, Hart,

Flynn (M. J.), Feinstone, representing 15,874 votes.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA—Franklin, Scott (C. F.), Dohney, McGuire (M. J.), Bowen, Jones (G.), Thornton, Lyons, Price, Shaughnessy, Ryan (M. F.), Weeks, Cullum, Hyland, Perkins, Ornburn, Campbell (W. A.), Sexton, Flaherty, Bradish, Lippold, Gale, Fitzgerald (E. H.), Harper, Wooten, Nicholson, Weber (C. A.), Badley, Noonan, McNulty, Joyce, Paulsen, O'Connor (J. S.), Knott, Evans (E. J.), Feeney, McAndrews (J. J.), Snow, Steward, Fitzgerald (J.), McNally, Weigand, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Greene (M. F.), Donigan, Scully, D'Alessandro, Moreschi, Marshall (J.), Etchison, Fosco, McSorley, Duty, Case, Morrison (H. L.), Gainer, Finnan, Duffy (C. D.), Swartz, Mugavin, Fechner, Fry, (C. W.), Haggerty, Larkin, Marshall (G.), Wills, Moyer, Crough, McMullen, Weber (J. N.), Carey (D. A.), Weaver, Canavan, Hirschberg, Parks, Yarow, Kelly (J.), Lammert, Smith (N.), Triggs, Doyle (J. J.), Eisenring, Parker (M. H.), Barry, Bergstrom, Berry, Higgins, McHugh, Smith (W.), Sigmund, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Clark (W. N.), Helt (D. W.), Austin, Cone, Canavan, Maloy, Griffin (H. C.), Ryan (P. J.), Sumner, Cashen, Connors (J. B.), Stecker, Manion, Ramsay, Perham, Derrickson, Smith (G. R.), Powers, Thomas McMahon, Conboy, I. T. U. delegation (591 votes), Kohn, Alexander (C. A.), Bowen (L.), Atkins, Gramling, Greer, Holland, Barringer, Reilly (W. M.), Kutz, Cunningham, Busby, Aymon, Nelson (O. F.), Nelson (C. B.), Keating, Weimar, Covert, Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Bohm, representing 11,615 votes.

Not voting—Mullaney, Aitkins, Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Boyer, Quesse, David (Paul), Zaritzky, Zuckerman, Spector, Doyle (J. J.), DeRaay, Rosemund, Baer, Simester, Kauffman, Sorkin, Bryan (W. E.), Bock, Rode, Hill, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Hannah, Suitor, Mitchell (M. W.), Basky, Funder Burk, Collins (J. J.), Tracy (Wm. J.), Jewell, Manning, Murphy (J.), Nigro, Taylor (T. N.), Egan, Kearney (J. J.), Allen (G. H.), Hall (E. G.), Nelligan, Kummer, McAndrew (J. J.), Fox, Steadman, Wiecek, Kelley (J. R.), Hammer, Malley (J. F.), Patton, Barnes (H.), Jones (J. E.), O'Dell, Long, Hardin, Sommers, Rynearson, Lappert, Walsh (T. F.), Frampton, Foster, Hughes (F.), Draper, Hushing, Burch (F.), Bower (A. P.), Reardon, Doyle (F.), Marsh (J. L. R.), Reed, Vaughn, Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Trimmer, Saylor, Peterson (S.), Loneragan, McGeary, Tinney, Carozzo, Shafer, Abrams, Ruben, Efrat, Geyer, Rogers (J. P.), Simons, McGibbons, Blackman, Oglesby, Campbell (A. C.), Camous, Miller (Annie M.), Berger, Tracy (E. J.), Toman, Portway, Smith (Ben.), Purcell, Dear, representing 1,034 votes.

President Green: Inasmuch as the majority of the delegates have voted in favor of Detroit as the next convention city, it is selected as the city in which the convention of 1926 will be held.

Delegate Frey, Molders: Last evening

there was a conference between the representatives of the State Federations of Labor and City Central bodies and the officers of the Workers' Education Bureau. That meeting adopted a statement which they desire to have a part of the records of this convention. The statement is signed by the representatives who attended the meeting.

No objection was offered, and the statement referred to was submitted to the secretary. It is as follows:

AN APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

We, the representatives of the State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies, delegates to the 45th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in meeting assembled at Atlantic City, New Jersey, on October 14, 1925, record our satisfaction at the growth and development of workers' education in the United States during the past year, and particularly at the report of the increasing support and cooperation from the State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies in the local educational movements.

The success of this movement within the American trade union movement will depend upon the local cooperation. And we believe that the results of this cooperation and the success of the movement will be of inestimable value to the membership of the trade union movement and the American Federation of Labor.

We heartily concur with the recommendations of the convention Committee on Education in its support of this movement. We will give our most earnest consideration to the creation of educational departments or committees and the appointment of educational directors to carry into effect locally the plans for the development of workers' education as outlined by the Workers' Education Bureau, and we join with the President of the American Federation of Labor in recommending the valuable educational services of that Bureau to the trade union movement.

We, finally, pledge our support to cooperate in strengthening this educational arm of the American Federation of Labor, and we appeal to the American trade union movement to join with us in this vitally important service to labor and in the interest of a better life for all.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN P. FREY,
President, Ohio State Federation of Labor.
J. H. WALKER,
Delegate, Illinois State Federation of Labor.
ROE H. BAKER,
California State Federation of Labor.
C. P. BARRINGER,
North Carolina State Federation of Labor.
J. C. LEWIS,
Iowa State Federation of Labor.
C. B. NELSON,
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union.

T. J. GREER,
Louisiana State Federation of Labor.
H. B. WEIMAR,
Shreveport, La., Trades and Labor Council.
STEPHEN ELY,
Delegate, Montana State
Federation of Labor.
W. M. REILLY,
Delegate, State Federation of Labor, Texas.
HENRY OHL, JR.,
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.
JAMES P. HOLLAND,
New York State Federation of Labor.
GUST ANDERSON,
Secretary, Central Labor Council,
Portland, Ore.
E. G. HALL,
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Workmen's Compensation

On page 53, of the Executive Council's report, under the sub-caption, "Workmen's Compensation," will be found a statement of the efforts made to obtain the passage of a Workmen's Compensation law to cover the workers employed in the District of Columbia.

We note that the Fitzgerald bill will again be introduced at the coming session of Congress and another effort made to secure its passage.

Your committee recommends that the Fitzgerald bill be approved by this convention, and that the Executive Council be authorized to give it every support at the coming session of Congress.

Your committee in this connection would again call to the attention of the delegates to this convention, and through them to the people, whether organized or unorganized, who are affected by the terms of the "Workmen's Compensation Law," to the necessity of having the fund out of which compensation is to be paid controlled in such fashion that the effect of industrial mishaps will not be made a source of profit to any private concern.

Your committee is firmly of the opinion that at the present time no greater safeguard is offered to the public, to the worker, and to the employer, than is provided by the exclusive insurance fund under the control and management of the state. This fund eliminates the possibility of profit that otherwise goes to the insurance company, a profit that rests on the hazard of employment and which cannot be disas-

sociated from that hazard. This element of profit is the incentive for the assumption of risk by insurance companies who write policies intended to protect the employer, and to secure to the injured worker the relief to which he is entitled. Out of this incentive of profit, depending upon the assumption of such risk, naturally grows the prudent act on the part of the insurance company to so calculate its charges for the service provided that the element of profit will be but lightly jeopardized, however great the risk of indemnity growing out of industrial mishaps may be.

Therefore, it is evident that however careful or dependable the insurance company may be its operations add greatly to the cost of doing business, because it must, in order to exist, collect more from the insurer than it pays out to the insured. The exclusive state insurance fund, supported by the industries coming under its provisions, is the only agency known at present which eliminates entirely the deplorable system that permits the accumulation of profits from the human misery and suffering that is entailed in industrial accidents.

We, therefore, urge that all efforts be made to establish the state controlled insurance in lieu of the liability insurance that is now sold to employers by insurance companies, whose operations entail, First: A high service cost laid upon industry in the form of excessive premiums, and Second: A burden laid upon the injured through the ever-present effort to hold compensation payments to the irreducible minimum.

The provision of the Fitzgerald bill that will give to the government control of the fund from which compensation is paid was the cause of the bitter attack made upon that measure by the insurance companies. This very fact is a powerful argument in favor of the exclusive control of the compensation fund by public authority, and this principle should not be lost sight of by those who are beneficiaries of this fund.

Your committee would again call the attention of the Executive Council to the recommendation made at the El Paso convention when the following was adopted: "In connection with occupational diseases, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to make the necessary inquiry and then draft an occupational disease section, naming therein the various diseases, with their derivatives, for

which compensation should be paid, which shall stand as a model for the states, and which we recommend to be engrafted in all state compensation laws."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

THE STRIKE OF RAILWAY SHOPMEN

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 38 and 39, the committee reported as follows:

On pages 38 and 39 of the Executive Council's report, under the above caption, "The Strike of Railway Shopmen," the Executive Council reports on the condition of the strike of the Railway Shopmen against the Pennsylvania and Long Island Railroads, begun in 1922.

Your committee notes with interest the report of the "magnificent stand in defense of a fundamental principle" that is being made by these shopmen, who have so gallantly stood out for the last three years and who are continuing in their efforts to secure the conditions of employment which are entailed in their just demands, the same being the right to maintain their craft organizations and to be represented at conferences with the management by men of their own choice, who will speak for the crafts and not for the company.

We also note with great interest that the Executive Council compares the policy of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in rejecting the principle of collective bargaining against the policy of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which has adopted that policy.

We also call attention to conditions that prevail on other roads that are fair to labor and which employ members of the shop crafts under satisfactory contracts.

A further and more illuminating and perhaps more impressive commentary on the effect of this policy may be discovered by reference to the daily stock market reports. Before the war, the stocks of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Baltimore and Ohio Railroad were quoted uniformly around 70. Today, the Baltimore and Ohio stock is quoted around 80, an advance of \$10.00 per share, while that of the Pennsylvania Railroad is quoted around 40, a decrease of \$30.00 per share. This is the concrete, acid test of the public's estimation of the values of these two railroad properties, which serve

the same section of the country, appeal to practically the same people for patronage and whose difference in management is mainly reflected in the value placed upon their properties by the public, which regards the Baltimore and Ohio stock as being worth double that of the Pennsylvania Railroad stock. As the value of the stock depends upon the worth of the property and that in its turn depends upon and directly reflects the quality of service that is given, the inevitable conclusion in this case must be that the public policy of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has the approval of the people while that of the Pennsylvania Railroad is condemned. And, as Mr. Atterbury has since his return from France and his re-entrance upon the Railroad service, frequently in season, and out of season, declared his undying, implacable hostility to crafts' organizations, and has persistently sought to supplant them by the substitution of company unions, we feel justified in suggesting that this policy of Mr. Atterbury's has cost the stockholders of the Pennsylvania Company many hundreds of millions of dollars, represented by the decreased value of the stock in that great corporation, as shown by the quotations published daily from Wall Street.

On the other hand, it is equally apparent and significant that the enlightened policy of Daniel Willard in dealing fairly and openly with his employees has found equal reflection in the enhanced value of the stock of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which has increased its value in the hands of its holders.

A representative of the Shop Crafts involved in this strike against the Pennsylvania Railroad appeared before your committee with the statement as to the present status of the strike. Your committee is informed that the strikers of the System Federation involved are proposing to begin a suit to test the validity of the contract that existed between the Shop Crafts' organization and the Pennsylvania Railroad, which was arbitrarily and summarily abrogated on one day's notice by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. Funds are necessary for the prosecution of this suit, which is primarily intended to establish the validity of contracts entered into in good faith between employers and employees.

While your committee approves the purpose of the proposed suit, we would recommend that the matter of providing the necessary funds for its prosecution be referred in the international unions whose local unions are represented in the System Federation involved. Your committee also wishes to record its opposition to any effort to submit the principle of collective bargaining to judicial interpretation and construction.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Horn, Blacksmiths: As a representative of one of the striking shop crafts who are still on strike on the Pennsylvania Railroad, I want to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that there are two ways to get out of Atlantic City. One is on the Pennsylvania Railroad; the other is on a railroad which at present, at least, has no strike, and I hope you will all remember that when you leave Atlantic City, and wherever you go, that when you ride on the Pennsylvania Railroad you are riding on a railroad which is still fighting the shop crafts.

Delegate Kutz, Altoona Central Labor Union, discussed the subject briefly and said, in part:

As one of the general chairmen of the six shop crafts on this system, representing some 30,000 men on strike for almost three years in behalf of the principle of the right of self-determination in industry, I want to bring to your attention just a few points. This organization in which I have the honor to be an officer is leading the combat against the onslaught of company unions in America. I dare say no one will deny that General Atterbury has been the motive power and the chief power in recent years, at least, in promoting company unions. On the Pennsylvania Railroad we have the most outstanding opportunity to defeat the most gigantic attempt at developing company unions. The members of our organization have left the workshops of the largest System Federation of Railway Employees and have gone on strike. They have been offered opportunities as recent as this year to put their membership to work in that industry on that system, provided they would submit to the principle of company unionism. We have men on strike today who

have had as high as thirty-nine years' service in that industry. They stand to lose everything but principle, except we succeed in winning their fight.

I appeal to you for this cooperation that all your organizations can so generously give. You know this organization of the Pennsylvania Railroad runs through thirteen States in this country. There isn't a town of any consequence in those thirteen States that this corporation does not influence, and if we have company unions in these towns where we should have trade unions the labor unions in thirteen States are affected. I appeal to you to do everything you can to oppose the efforts of this corporation and to assist corporations that are friendly.

In addition to the report of the committee, let me call your attention to a very glaring indictment against this anti-union corporation when I review for your benefit a report compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission and mailed to me a few days ago. It covers a period of three months in this year and shows the performance of each of the first-class railroads in America. This summary deals with train accidents, and I am just going to read a few of them. The Baltimore & Ohio had 304 train accidents of all classes in the months of April, May and June, 1925. For the same three months' period the Erie System had 100 train accidents, the New York Central Lines 220 train accidents, and the Pennsylvania Railroad 892 train accidents.

I trust that all of your organizations that may be able to assist in a financial way to help underwrite this action against this corporation will find some means of submitting your donations to the System organization.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, called the attention of the Chair to the fact that the hour of adjournment had passed.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, moved that the convention recess until 9.30 o'clock Friday morning, October 16, to reconvene at that hour and carry on its business. The motion was seconded and carried, and at 5.45 p. m. the convention recessed to 9.30 o'clock Friday morning, October 16.

Eleventh Day--Friday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.,

October 16, 1925.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 o'clock a. m., President Green in the chair.

Delegate Olander, Seamen, presented the following cablegram and asked that it be made part of the records of the convention:
London, Oct. 15, 1925.

Olander,
American Federation of Labor,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Please convey to convention the thanks of myself, officers and members for the resolutions passed at convention yesterday. You can assure them for me these sailors and firemen's unions will fight the Reds to the death and we will come out on top.

HAVELOCK WILSON.

President Green: The Chair regrets to announce that the morning papers carry information of the death of that old veteran and labor's friend for so many years, the Honorable Isaac R. Sherwood. You will recall that the President was directed on October 14 to send a telegram to him expressing our sympathy and our hope for his recovery. Immediately upon the noon adjournment your President sent that telegram, and if there is no objection I will have that telegram read, so that it may become part of the convention records. I might explain that this telegram was sent on October 14, and it appears that he died yesterday evening.

Secretary Morrison then read the telegram, as follows:

October 14, 1925.

Hon. Isaac Sherwood,
Toledo, O.

By direction of the convention of the American Federation of Labor I transmit to you its sincere sympathy because of your illness and its expressed hope that you may speedily recover. The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor will always remember you as a sympathetic and helpful friend, as well as a champion of the rights of the common people. Along with this message please accept my personal greetings and well wishes.

WILLIAM GREEN,

President of the American Federation
of Labor.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Railroad Labor Legislation

On pages 67 and 68 of the Executive Council's report, under the caption "Railroad Labor Legislation," on page 68—under the sub-caption, "Railroad Labor Board," and on pages 55 and 56, under the sub-caption "Western Wage Movement of Engineers and Firemen," and on page 69, under the sub-caption "Court Decisions Hold Labor Board Without Power," will be found a series of reports, dealing first with the attempt to secure the enactment of the Howell-Barkley bill, which failed of passage at the last session of Congress, after being reported to both Houses with amendments made on the floor. The Executive Council reports that this measure will be renewed at the coming session of Congress with certain modifications, which have the approval of the railroad unions.

The Executive Council reports that the criticisms made by the American Federation of Labor with regard to the Railroad Labor Board have been thoroughly justified by the experiences of the last year. The Western Engineers and Firemen found it more convenient to exercise their economic power instead of following the tortuous and never-satisfactory course of appealing to the Railway Labor Board. By doing so, they were enabled to secure increases in wages without delay, while the Labor Board was defeated in its appeal to the courts to give it jurisdiction over Railway organizations that were unwilling to submit their interests to its decision.

We recommend to the delegates to this convention, and to all others who are interested, the careful perusal of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The Executive Council also reports to this convention the fact that the Pennsylvania Railroad has again successfully challenged the authority of the Railroad Labor Board. The Telegraphers of the Pennsylvania Railroad, by a vote of almost 14 to 1, determined in favor of being represented in conferences by men of their own selection in preference to those selected by the company's plan of company union representation. Despite this overwhelming manifestation of the desire of its employees, the

Pennsylvania Company accepted the minority of 1 to 14, as expressive of the attitude of its employees, and permits this minority to dictate the policy of the Company for its relations with the majority.

The Railroad Labor Board objected to this action on the part of the Pennsylvania Railroad to no avail, again illustrating its futility and absolute uselessness as an agency for dealing with controversies that arise between the men and management in connection with transportation affairs.

The Shopmen's Union of Pennsylvania and the Railroad Clerks employed by that company found out through a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that there is nothing compulsory in the Transportation Act, and that the Railroad Board has no power to compel obedience to its orders or to require a company to hold conferences with a union of its employees. Other instances of the inability of the Railroad Board to compel obedience to its orders as well as of the disinclination or arbitrary refusal of Railroad Management to observe or comply with orders of the Railroad Board are numerous enough to convince anyone that this vaunted implement, which was intended to bring about the ready adjustment of all disputes or differences arising out of conditions of employment, wage schedules or other matters of relations between men and Management in the transportation industry in the United States, is of no avail whatever. It does not serve any useful purpose, it fails to protect the public and has shown itself to be entirely devoid of any function of service. It has now reached that state where it is no longer even cumbersome because it no longer has the regard much less the respect of any of the parties it was intended to serve between. Its abolition by the amendment to the Transportation Act would be but the painless excision of a dead and withered appendage.

Your committee again recommends the close perusal of all of the Executive Council's report on this subject and asks the convention to extend its approval to the activity of the Executive Council in this connection.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Manion, Railroad Telegraphers, discussed the subject matter of the committee's report and said, in part:

"In view of the probability that the Railroad Labor Board will issue a statement shortly respecting the controversy between the Order of Railroad Telegraphers and the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, I wish to anticipate that statement and make a few observations at this time. The Order of Railroad Telegraphers has a dispute pending with the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad for about a year and a half on the subject of increased wages and the establishment or restoration of our vacation privileges. This matter has been referred to the Railroad Labor Board on three different occasions, and in its final decision the Railroad Labor Board decided that we were not entitled to a general increase in wages and we were not entitled to vacations, but referred or remanded back that portion of the dispute dealing with the inequalities or differentials in wages for further conferences between the carriers and our committee.

"Our committee, in conference with the carrier, developed this fact, that so far as the carrier was concerned he recognized the justice of our request for increases in wages and admitted that we were entitled to them, but stated that if the carrier granted an increase in wages voluntarily he would be estopped to a considerable extent in coming before the Interstate Commerce Commission and securing increases in freight and passenger rates, and intimated, if not positively stated, that if the Railroad Labor Board would order an increase in wages, even though it amounted to the full amount we have asked for, they would be glad to comply with the decision.

"That necessitated the taking of a strike vote, for preparing for a strike on that property, and when the situation became menacing the Railroad Labor Board took it upon itself to assume jurisdiction in the matter and cited the carrier and the organization to appear in Chicago on the 9th of this month. We declined to appear, setting up the fact that we had appeared on several occasions and presented a mass of testimony, and if the Board desired to make a decision they had sufficient testimony before them to do it.

"When we failed to appear the Board appointed three of their members to go to Wilmington, N. C., where the headquarters are located, and conducted an investigation. I went to Wilmington the other day and

met this sub-committee of the Labor Board and listened to their program, which I found out was something they didn't have. They simply wanted us to stop all activities and permit them to conduct an investigation. I pointed out to them that if they were to conduct an investigation it would take six months to do it and we could not wait that long."

Delegate Manion concluded his remarks by informing the convention that the members of this sub-committee of the Railroad Labor Board were now making a tour of Florida as the guests of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, and that the men affected by the controversy, the telegraphers, the station men and tower men, who are receiving an average wage of 60.12 cents per hour, were not hopeful of the results that might come from the supposed investigation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Compensation

On pages 62 and 63 of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption "Compensation," your committee endorses the activity of the Executive Council recorded under this caption and recommends to the convention that the same be approved.

We call particular attention to the concluding sentences in the Executive Council's Report.

It is not possible that any measure that is perfect will be passed at a single session of a legislature, and it is better to have a compensation law with some defective features than no compensation law at all. A law which is defective can from time to time be amended in those particulars which experience show to be unsatisfactory, and these amendments and improvements can be obtained more readily after a law is on the book than at the time the measure is pending for original passage. It is not intended by this to discourage the attempt to secure the passage of laws containing the model provisions suggested by the Executive Council, but even where they cannot all be secured at one time it yet remains true that where a start is made in the right direction improvement will always be possible.

Therefore, we repeat the language of the Executive Council: "If the principle is established through the enactment of a Workmen's Compensation Law, the act thus passed can be perfected through amendments."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Affiliated Organizations Should Not Permit Interest in Promoting Social Legislation to Supersede Trade Union Purpose of Fostering Self-Reliance and Self-Help

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union:

WHEREAS, The trade union movement from its beginning has taken a deep interest in all measures for the welfare of the mass of the people; and

WHEREAS, The trade union movement on many occasions has endorsed legislation intended to give assistance to the weak, the unfortunate and the needy; and

WHEREAS, The sympathetic attitude of the trade union movement has led many well intentioned persons to secure trade union endorsement of social legislation; and

WHEREAS, The activity of the trade union movement in support of some social legislation has consumed so much of its energies that many vital trade union legislative interests have received less attention than was essential for the wage earners' welfare and the protection of his basic rights; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, advise all affiliated International, Departmental, State and local bodies that while all necessary social legislation should receive adequate interest and support, that under no circumstances should interest in such legislation supersede the legitimate trade union purpose to exercise and apply the principles and policies of self-reliance and self-help which constitute one of the most valuable and vitalizing features of the American's rights to voluntary associations, so that the trade union movement through its activities will enable wage-earners to exercise a necessary control over their lives in industry through trade union organization.

Your committee believes that the subject matter contained in Resolution 53 is of paramount importance at this time. The spirit of the resolution appears to the committee to be intended to check a tendency on the part of local, city central and state affiliated branches, that threatens to become dangerous. We refer to the frequent and sometimes thoughtless proposals to secure the enactment of laws governing matters that should not be made the subject of legislative enactment, but should be dealt with entirely through trade regulations. It is not the purpose or intent of this resolution to interfere with the enactment of essential and necessary laws dealing with Child Labor, Workmen's Compensation, Protection of

Women, in Employment, School Laws, or such Social Legislation as is entirely outside of trade regulation, but from time to time we find organizations giving their support to proposals which if enacted into law, and these put into effect, would inevitably weaken the structure as well as the influence of the labor union. Not only this, but as expressed in the resolution, this tendency has the effect of interfering with and superseding the "legitimate trade union purpose to exercise and apply the principle and policy of self reliance and self help."

Your committee believes that now, as ever, the success of the trade union depends upon the vigilance and loyal efforts of its own members to improve their own conditions, and this improvement will be best achieved by the application of the principle laid down in Resolution No. 53.

Your committee therefore recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lynch, Typographical Union: I am heartily in favor of the principle enunciated in the resolution reported favorably by the committee and its report, and I rise only to add to that that the principle enunciated by Delegate Frey in the resolution and in the report of the committee applies with equal force to activities within the trade union, as well as in the matter of social legislation, that it is possible to build up a system of benefits within the trade union which may be just as difficult to carry and which may have just as serious and devitalizing an effect on the union itself as the chasing of the will o' the wispas referred to in the report of the committee.

Delegate Frey, Molders, spoke in support of the resolution and said, in part:

"We have in this country groups of forward-looking men and women interested in legislation who desire our approval and endorsement of some of the bills they are interested in. We have found some of these groups of great assistance to us in our efforts to secure legislation which we have prepared in our interests, and I would not be willing that any construction should be placed either on the resolution or on the report of the committee which would lead others to think that this was directly or indirectly a criticism of some of those other bodies who are seeking legislation that is of

social character and who have upheld our hands on many occasions.

"The purpose of the resolution is to carry a warning that at times even most proper legislation is unloaded on our calendar of work, and that as a result of the activities proposed, even in Congress itself, but very frequently in the state legislatures, concentration upon the one or two vital measures which we have introduced is prevented, and as a result our efforts are spread so thin that not much is accomplished.

"I am convinced from some instances which have come to my attention personally that some of the sinister forces of this country, some of those who work carefully and cunningly, have been able to capture the imagination of some individuals, with the result that they come into our central labor unions and into our State Federations of Labor at a time when we are considering vital matters of interest to us, and because of the appeal of the legislation which they advocate, because it touches our hearts, because it has our sympathy, they stir up within the state so great an agitation in favor of some particular measure of social character that we actually lose sight of our own most important problems and for the time being are carried away with the talks which these individuals make.

"I have a particular individual in the State of Ohio in my mind who has done more to side-track trade union legislation effort by cunningly and cleverly keeping minds stirred up over a piece of social legislation than any other one thing. I think we should be a little more on our guard, and particularly for this reason: This convention has gone a little further in an effort to coordinate the legislative forces of the American trade union movement. From the platform the statement has been made that it is the duty of the International Unions to uphold the hands of the State Federations of Labor, because there much of the legislation affecting those who toil must be enacted. I know that the International Unions are going to lend more support than they ever did before, but I am satisfied that that support will be withdrawn if it is found that State Federations of Labor are so loading their work that they are unable to give first attention to what are purely trade union pieces of legislation."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. of L. to Continue Assistance of Organized Labor Movement in Porto Rico

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, of the Central Labor Union of San Juan, Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, Working conditions in Porto Rico in the different trades and industries as well as in the agricultural fields have become unbearable on account of the low wages paid by the corporations and wealthy individuals who have been permitted to resort to brutality and use violence and the official force and agencies to reduce wages and impose such conditions; and

WHEREAS, The wages and conditions endured by the working masses of Porto Rico at this time is the result of a general combination and conspiracy of the employers inaugurated since four years ago under the motto of the "Open Shop Drivers" to crush organized labor, a campaign which the organized workers of Porto Rico were unable to meet successfully on account of the ignorance of the masses and the lack of sufficient strength in the organization, the organizations having lost in strength and membership; and

WHEREAS, All efforts are being put forth by the reactionary forces to defeat the principle of the organized workers of Porto Rico affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the different National and International Unions, to the extent that several very well-known advocates of dual organizations hostile to the American Federation of Labor and to the American institutions have been placed in the payroll of the Government of Porto Rico in the bureau known as Bureau of Labor as "Lecturers" of such a bureau to go to every town and village to stimulate and encourage through speeches the formation of dual organizations hostile to the American Federation of Labor, while, on the other hand, the means of the organized workers of Porto Rico are so limited to carry on the necessary agitation and propaganda for our principles; and

WHEREAS, There has never been felt more badly than at the present the necessity of inaugurating, carrying out and maintaining indefinitely a vigorous, intensive and systematic campaign of education and organization amongst the working people of Porto Rico for the reconstruction of our local unions and to bring in new members, so as to enable ourselves to regain and retain all that which was practically destroyed by the open shoppers and reactionary forces of opposition; and

WHEREAS, The temporary transfer of the organizer of the American Federation of Labor—who was in that capacity there for over 25 years—to serve in the capacity of secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Washington, has considerably affected the organization work in Porto Rico to the detriment of the working masses who see themselves now deprived of his good, continuous and efficient services, of his long-earned experience and influence in all the local affairs affecting the people; and

WHEREAS, As it was always recognized by our beloved late President Samuel Gompers, the organized labor movement of Porto Rico was always a constructive conservative movement, loyal to the organized labor movement of the mainland, and the American institutions, and one of the bravest instrumentalities in the denunciation of social and economic crimes, and in the promotion and fostering of education, social legislation and remedial measures; and

WHEREAS, The social and economic task which is still necessary to carry on for a long time in Porto Rico to better local conditions as a question of humanity—if not for other reasons—and even as a matter of protection for the workers of the mainland against unfair competition of labor, for there are in Porto Rico many facilities for employers of a certain number of industries to go there and get cheap labor—cannot be left to local organized labor alone, on account of its too limited financial means and lack of opportunities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor proposes as it has been done in the past, to continue to lend its worthy and unquestioned cooperation, influence, moral aid and all financial help possible to the working masses of Porto Rico as represented by the "Free Federation of the Workmen of Porto Rico" and to the people of that island in general, in their efforts to better conditions, to establish a decent scale of wages, a reasonable number of working hours, living conditions in harmony with civilization, the promotion of social legislation and the exercise of all their civil rights free from industrial or political tyrants; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That during the absence of the general organizer of the American Federation of Labor from Porto Rico, the necessary steps be taken by the president of the American Federation of Labor so that Porto Rico might not suffer the effects of his absence or be left without any official direct representation of the American Federation of Labor—a privilege that our island has enjoyed for over 25 years—and that the above-mentioned organizer, being the best informed and the most influential man in all labor matters and labor problems in Porto Rico, as well as in the organization work, be instructed to spend in Porto Rico as much of his time as his new position may permit or whenever his new duties may allow him to spare any time in the benefit of the workers of the island.

Your committee recommends that the entire subject matter contained in the foregoing resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging a Congressional Investigation of the Bell Telephone System

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates James P. Noonan, F. J. McNulty, M. T. Joyce, C. M. Paulsen, Julia S. O'Connor, Irwin

Knott and Edw. J. Evans, of the Electrical Workers' International Brotherhood:

WHEREAS, The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the largest corporation in the world, holds in its power and control the entire means of telephone communication of the Nation; and

WHEREAS, This monopolistic grip on a vital public service has become year by year more arrogant, more arbitrary, more subversive to the rights of the people, more detrimental to the progress and welfare of the country; and

WHEREAS, Present statutory measures of regulation of this powerful monopoly are so completely futile and negative as to produce a condition whereby the telephone system of the country is practically uncontrolled in the exercise of the extraordinary power; and

WHEREAS, The relations of the Bell Telephone Company with its associated operating companies, and with the Western Electric Company, are so manipulated as to provide every opportunity for the perpetration upon the telephone using public of unreasonable rates; and

WHEREAS, This situation consistently drawn to the attention of the American people by representatives of the exploited and enslaved workers of the American Bell Telephone System has at least challenged public attention resulting in a demand from many quarters for a Congressional investigation of the Bell Telephone System; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its attitude adopted at two previous conventions, providing that the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, its relations to its subsidiary and associated companies be subjected to the closest public scrutiny by means of a Congressional investigation of inclusive scope, and that the securing of such investigation, whether by Congress itself or by the Interstate Commerce Commission, as may be expedient, be made part of the major legislative program of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Conclusion

Your committee has handled all the matters referred to it by this convention. We have given patient hearing to all delegates who were interested or concerned in matters pending before the committee, and have made full report thereon to this convention.

JAMES WILSON, Chairman.
T. W. McCULLOUGH, Secretary.
GEORGE L. BERRY,
THOMAS KENNEDY,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
JERE L. SULLIVAN,
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,
WM. J. BOWEN,

J. J. HYNES,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
JAMES C. SHANESSY,
ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK,
COLLIS LOVELY,
JOHN P. FREY,
WM. A. CAMPBELL.

Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Delegate McCullough moved that the report of the Committee on Executive Council's report be adopted as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Perham, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Machinists Request That Steam Engineers Be Directed to Enforce Decision Rendered By Metal Trades Department in Jurisdiction Dispute

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates Robt. Fechner, Chas. W. Fry, Daniel Haggerty, William Larkin, Chas. F. Wills and Geo. W. Marshall, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The resolution quoted below was adopted by unanimous vote of the Metal Trades Department Convention held at Montreal, Canada, June 2, 1920, by mutual consent of the two interested International Unions; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers' locals have in some localities refused to comply with this decision, thereby causing strikes, etc., and loss of time and jobs to members of the Machinists' Union; and

WHEREAS, The International Officers have made an effort to carry out the decision, but to no avail, with some of their locals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fifth annual convention of the A. F. of L. instruct the officers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to take such action at their next convention as will make the action of the Metal Trades Department convention operative.

Resolution

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists has been granted and is now recognized as having jurisdiction over the building, assembling and erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories and elsewhere, where machinery is used and erected; and

WHEREAS, Several locals of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers are claiming, and in some localities are doing repairs on steam rollers and other engines, and general repair work on machinery; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the twelfth annual convention of the Metal Trades Department of

the A. F. of L., held in Montreal, Canada, June 2, 1920, that where emergency repairs to engines are necessary and machinists are not available, same may be done by members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; but where machining, fitting or general overhauling and repairing is needed, same shall be done by members of the International Association of Machinists; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be mailed by the Secretary of this Department to all Metal Trades Councils, and upon request of union employers for information of the action of this convention upon this resolution, same shall be furnished by the Secretary of this Department.

Washington, D. C., July 2, 1920.

This will certify that the above is an exact copy of the resolution adopted at the convention of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., at Montreal, Canada, June 2, 1920.

(Signed) A. J. BERRES,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Both parties appeared before your committee and agreed that the facts are as set forth in the resolution, and further, that the engineers have since then upon several occasions endeavored to carry out the agreement, but that the Engineers' Local in Chicago, has taken an appeal from the decision as made by the president and executive board of the engineers to their convention. But the officers of the engineers assured your committee that notwithstanding this, it is their purpose to endeavor to enforce the understanding at an early date.

Therefore, your committee recommends that no action be taken on this resolution at this time.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Jurisdiction Over Operating Boilers and Engines

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Arthur M. Huddell, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, The Building Service Employees' Union in the City of Chicago are operating boilers and engines; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction over the operation of boilers and engines was never granted to this organization; therefore, be it RESOLVED, That the Building Service Employees' Union is hereby instructed by this convention to at once cease to allow their members to operate boilers and engines.

Both parties to this resolution appeared before your committee and stated that they had agreed upon a mode of procedure which they believe will eventually bring about an understanding between them and ask that no action be taken on this resolution.

Your committee so recommends.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Instruct Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872 to Confine Work to Jurisdiction Granted by Charter

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate William Kohn, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Federal Union No. 14872 located in Chicago, Illinois, is still infringing and interfering with work covered by jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, In accordance with Resolution 148, adopted at the Buffalo Convention in 1917, they were instructed to confine their work to the jurisdiction covered by their charter; and

WHEREAS, In accordance with Resolution 25, adopted at the El Paso Convention in 1924 conferences were held; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at a regular session held at Washington in May, 1925, has definitely decided that Federal Labor Union No. 14872 Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers be directed to carry out the action of the Buffalo Convention and to confine their work to that covered by the jurisdiction specified in their charter granted by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers Local No. 14872 be instructed by this Convention to confine their work to the jurisdiction for which their charter was granted and failing to do so within their (30) days after the adjournment of this Convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to revoke their charter.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council and that the Executive Council be authorized to carry out the purposes of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Tailors Request Demarcation Lines in Jurisdiction of Dyers and Cleaners' Unions

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates Thomas Sweeney and C. N. Bolander, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, That the granting of a Federal Charter to the Dyehouse Workers of Chicago, Ill., has caused misunderstanding to the extent that a Federal Labor Union admitted to membership suspended members of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Council issue an order to all parties concerned that they are to confine their organizing activi-

ties to dyehouse workers only; and that all parties doing their own cleaning and pressing come under the jurisdiction of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, as was granted to them by the Rochester, New York, Convention of 1912.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Perham: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Adjustment, which is signed:

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman,
H. B. PERHAM, Secretary.
EDWARD FLORE
C. L. SHAMP
J. B. ETCHISON
D. A. CAREY
ROY HORN
W. E. BRYAN
PHILLIP MURRAY
B. M. JEWELL
F. H. FLJOZDAL
M. F. TIGHE
WILLIAM F. CANAVAN
FRANK KASTEN
JAMES MALONEY
M. F. GREEN

Delegate Fechner obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Resolutions:

U. S. Veterans' Bureau

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Robert Fechner of Machinists' delegation:

WHEREAS, Every Convention of the American Federation since 1919 has made a study of and passed resolutions offering cooperation to the U. S. Veterans' Bureau in its problem of rehabilitating the Disabled Veterans of the World War; and

WHEREAS, Under the World War Veterans' Act the work of training and educating the disabled ex-service men will close on June 30, 1926; and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Veterans' Bureau will still need the practical cooperation of all elements of society in order to properly complete its task of properly caring for the maimed and wounded; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., recommends that all delegates take the necessary steps to have their respective national, state and local organizations arrange to cooperate in a practical manner with the U. S. Veterans' Bureau in the training and employment of the disabled ex-service men through its Central Office in Washington, D. C., and its fifty-three Regional Offices located in the principal cities in the country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Director of the U. S. Veterans' Bureau, Washington, D. C.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Baine, chairman of the committee, reported as follows: At the suggestion of the delegates representing the International Cigar Makers' Union your committee has amended the resolution by inserting the word "cigars" in the first and third whereas and in the first resolve. The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate W. R. Walden, Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, As a war measure the Internal Revenue Tax on Tobacco, Cigars and Cigarettes was greatly increased as were taxes on many other commodities of popular consumption; and

WHEREAS, The necessity for a war tax measure is gradually being rendered needless; and

WHEREAS, The continuance of the increased tax on tobaccos, cigars and cigarettes is a burden that does not seem justifiable when our peaceful situation is considered; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Internal Revenue Tax on Tobaccos, Cigars and Cigarettes be reduced to the pre-war basis; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., does endorse this petition and authorizes its Executive Council, through its legislative committee to present, and urge the passage of this appeal before the Ways and Means Committee of the next Congress.

With this amendment, your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

This completes the report of the Committee on Legislation.

Respectfully submitted,

C. L. BAINE, Chairman,
THOS. F. FLAHERTY, Secretary.
LUTHER STEWARD
W. D. MAHON
W. W. BRITTON
THOMAS C. CASHEN
EMANUEL KOVELESKI
A. ADAMSKI
P. H. TRIGGS
N. W. HARPER
JULIA S. O'CONNOR
W. H. BENNETT
D. C. CONE
G. MARSHALL
THOMAS McQUADE
WINFIELD KEEGAN

The report was adopted as a whole and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Schmal, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 73, the committee reported as follows:

Work-Study-Play or Platoon System

We desire to express the earnest hope that that Standing Committee on Education will submit to the Executive Council in the near future a report which will show the origin and purpose of the work-study-play "or platoon" system.

Intelligence Test

The increasing use of the so-called group tests in our public schools warrent serious attention and we are pleased to note that the Standing Committee on Education is continuing its investigation on this subject.

Junior High Schools

It is charged that in some cities the Junior High School is used to discourage the regular high school. The Standing Committee on Education is, we are informed, seeking information on this point. We urge that its findings in this respect be submitted to the Executive Council in the not distant future.

The most comprehensive report prepared by State and city trade committees on these joint subjects: Junior High Schools, Intelligence Test and the Work-Study-Play or Platoon System, we find is the report of the Chicago Federation of Labor, in the compilation of which officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor co-operated with the Chicago body.

The necessity for and the wisdom of the compilation and publication of that report and actions taken by the Chicago Federation of Labor, were rendered inoperative by the tactics resorted to by the Chicago Board of Education during the year 1924. We believe it proper to say that nothing contained in the report of the Standing Committee on Education nor in this report of your Committee, is intended to in any degree, contradict any statement contained in the Chicago report, referred to herein.

Your committee submits the foregoing observations and recommendations firmly convinced of the imperative need for the utmost caution and alertness being constantly exercised in all matters affecting the educational policies of our schools.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: Although I

know we are all pressed for time, this is a subject of such supreme importance that I would feel I have failed in my duty if I did not arise and support the report of the committee and give to you some information which I believe has not yet been made obtainable to all the delegates.

Whatever misunderstanding may have arisen in the early part of the convention relative to the construction that was placed upon the report of the standing committee has been completely removed, and the road is clear for the preparation of a comprehensive report which I am sure the standing committee will submit in the very near future. What is the Work-study-play plan? If you want to get an answer to that you must corner a platoonist and seek to secure from him or her a definition of the word "work," as it is used in connection with that plan. In seeking information on the platoon system I communicated with the United States Bureau of Education. I received a reply signed by a lady having the imposing title, "Specialist in Industrial and Economic Relations in Education." My inquiry to the United States Bureau of Education was directed to a subject affecting children under fourteen years of age, the application of the so-called platoon system to the elementary schools—and the reply came from a specialist in industrial and economic education! Why? Because of the meaning of the word "work" in the title "Work-Study-Play Plan."

In order to get a definition that might be clearly understood I have searched through the records—not content with the Chicago investigation, not content to go to Pittsburgh or Akron and there take a look at a group of children marching around in a platoon school—but I went back into the records seeking the origin of the plan. This so-called platoon plan is nothing more or less than the Gary system, a name, however, that the platoonists seek to avoid. Go back to the report of 1916 when they were trying to inject the "work-study-play" plan, and there we find this illuminating statement. The caption of that part of the report reads, "Co-operative Courses between school, manual training shop and the workmen employed on school repairs and construction work will develop naturally and economically."

The report says in part:

"Boys may receive their credits for work done with workmen through a system of

time-keeping and school credit checks which give the relative earning power of the various activities and provides additional vocational training opportunities. The school building department will find it advantageous to establish a shop in a central location for the sheet metal men, also for the electricians, the plumbers and any of the other workmen. Later it will be proven that a foundry, machine shop and pattern shop will add to the efficiency of the department from the point of view of getting the work done, so the educational opportunities are expended by ever-increased efficiency in the handling of this school repair and construction work."

That applies to an elementary school! That is a suggestion offered as affecting children under fourteen years of age! The response of the citizens of New York nine years ago to that sort of thing was so vigorous that the platoonists were driven to cover.

Since then, while retaining the word "work" in connection with their plan they have sought in the introduction of this system in the few cities that have accepted it so far to cover that thing up, but the ultimate purpose is to bring it to life again.

I call your attention to that one point—one of several that ought to be called to your attention, merely to bring it home to you that we are playing with fire in delaying the securing for ourselves complete information as to what is transpiring in the public school system of the United States. The situation has become so dangerous that about a year and a half ago even the conservative National Educational Association, issued a nation-wide warning, and I want to read just a brief extract from a circular of that organization sent out all over the country.

"A fight is on, the country over, to reduce school costs and school privileges. Nothing but an aroused public sentiment can avert the impending injury to the public school system." Now, then why the necessity of this sort of warning at this particular time? Because immediately following the war the reactionary forces in this country, the enemies of the public school sought to take advantage of the public resentment against the increase in taxes by arousing suspicion against the public school system.

In 1921 a meeting of some importance was held, if I recall aright, and it was determined there that steps were to be taken to arouse the people of the United States against education by calling their attention to the costs in dollars and cents. The American Council on Education organizing an inquiry on the financing of public schools. The financing of that inquiry was undertaken by the Carnegie Institute and the Rockefeller Foundation and other funds, shortly after the Carnegie Institute issued the report in which it is charged that our schools are being "overrun by a flood of pupils, many of whom would never have been admitted under reasonable conditions." That has special reference to the high school, of course. It is claimed on their part that the trouble is the admission of great numbers ill-fitted for higher education such as is given in the high school. That is almost the exact language of the report.

The inquiry commission which is being financed in part by that corporation, entered my own state and has published a voluminous report intended to awe us as to the amount of money we are spending for the education of our children, and the report closes by telling us, in substance that we have an antiquated system of taxation in Illinois, that we have reached the educational tax limit in many parts of the state, and the only way to curtail expenses is to lop off some of the higher and more expensive schools, referring, of course, to the high schools. I am glad to say that the standing Committee on Education has now been made aware of this situation and is preparing to submit to the Executive Council the information that will enable the Council and the American Federation of Labor to cope with the situation.

The three proposals referred to in the report of the committee, the so-called platoon or Gary system and the Intelligence test and the Junior High Schools are the classification schemes by which it is intended to separate the children into different groups, some of which are to be given the advantage of a higher education and others are to be turned into industry and commerce at an early age.

The junior high school has the same relation to a regular public school system as the switch has to the main line of a railroad. The switch need not be opened,

it can remain closed and the line remain intact. It isn't a high school, it is an intermediate school, but it is used to split the system at a point where it is hoped to check the movement toward the high school. They tell us in honied language that in cities where they have adopted that system there is an increase in the pupils that go from the eighth and ninth grades into the high school. That is a misleading statement.

Last June in Chicago when an inquiry was sent to the pupils in the eighth grade as to the number that intended to go into the high school in September, over 90 per cent replied in the affirmative. And what is true in Chicago is true in every city in the United States without exception. Everywhere the demand for more and more high school education for the children of the working people has been growing apace.

Now, to investigate and determine what effect this intermediate school has upon the children, it is necessary to do more than to walk into some city and find a building that is called a junior high school, go in and look at the children, and ask a few questions of the teachers. You have got to determine its effect over a period of time, not so much its effect upon the children, because that is hard to define, but its effect upon the teachers. Let us make that inquiry in a city in the United States that has had junior high schools for ten years. The system did not originate yesterday, it is not as new as some might believe.

I want to call your attention to this one item compiled by all the supervisors in that system. The language is something like this: "The pupils are separated into two general groups. Those in the superior group are encouraged to go on into the high school, those in the inferior group are urged to take up household and industrial work."

What is the significance of that? The words "superior" and "inferior" appear in the report. What is the significance?

It isn't so much that they have divided the children into two groups and found some inferior to the others, though I think the use of that word is unfortunate—but it is this philosophy that runs through it—that household work is fit only for those of inferior intelligence and therefore the brand

of inferiority is placed upon the wives and mothers of our country who do the household work.

And then they say, too, the inferior are fit only for the trades and occupations we are engaged in. Shall we sit still while they place that kind of brand upon those who have raised our children, and let them send the boys and girls back into the home with a sneer on their lips for their fathers and mothers? It is more than a question of technical education. The whole philosophy of our American life is at stake, and I say to you that not many months will go over your heads if you allow this to go on before you will find that the teaching of the Declaration of Independence will be prohibited in some of our schools, because they cannot teach that truth about American life and inject this poison at the same time.

So much for the junior high. I shall not take up your time with the platoon system except to bring to your attention one point. I think every delegate here knows that all over the world educators have insisted that in order to get the best educational results there must be close personal contact between the teachers and the pupils. As a result of that we have insisted in our past conventions that the public school class of forty to fifty-five pupils is too large for the best educational results, for the reason that the teacher cannot give sufficient attention to the individual child. Under the platoon system the home room teacher has charge of from 80 to 90 children and the special teachers having one-half hour periods handle from 400 to 500 different children each day. What shall we say of a system that at the minimum doubles the number of children for the home room teacher, and multiplies the number many times for the teacher in the special rooms?

If you go back to look up the descriptions of the Gary system, before they began to cover some of its purposes, you will find them telling you they marched the children to the halls as the classes changed in the special rooms by the open doors of the shop courses in order to attract their attention to that kind of work. And let me say that in the fifteen years they have been advertising it they have thus far, may it be said to the credit of school boards over

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the United States, succeeded in inducing only sixty-six school boards to even test out the plan. Most of the school boards have said no, because there isn't an educator in the United States who has earned the title of a progressive in his profession that has been willing to give his o. k. to that system.

Now as to "intelligence tests," in one city that has used those alleged tests in the elementary school for some period of time, the report shows that there were forty per cent of errors, that in forty per cent of the cases the intelligence test had given a wrong conclusion, that in forty per cent of the cases the children were admittedly branded wrongly. Now, you all know the power of suggestion upon yourselves, and surely you know what it would be on small children. A small child is told that he is rated X or Y or Z. The child rated highest naturally throws out his chest, raises his head and looks with scorn on the baby that is rated Z. Later when it is found a mistake has been made and the child that has been rated Z should have been rated higher, the little one cannot raise his head as he would have if he had been rated properly in the first place.

Let me now tell you about the report of the Research Division of the Chicago Board of Education applying the intelligence test to pupils in the Chicago high schools. They discovered, so they say, that the children who were taking the two year vocational courses were the lowest in intelligence, that those who were taking the four year courses were higher in intelligence, that those who were taking the four year technical course leading to colleges were in a still higher class and that those who were taking the four year academic courses leading to universities were the highest.

It is obvious, of course, that the main reason for a boy or girl selecting a two year vocational course is that the economic condition of the family will not permit the children to remain in school longer. Those who take the four year vocational course do so because the financial circumstances of the family permits it. Those who are heading towards the colleges and universities are, in the main, able to continue their education because their families are better off financially than are the families of those

who take the shorter courses. Thus it appears that the intelligence level which is, of course, determined by nature, and the economic and social levels parallel one-another.

Each person, according to this sort of reasoning, is placed in his particular position in life, high or low, by a rigid natural law, against which it is useless to struggle! What utter nonsense.

That sort of report was sent broadcast out over the city of Chicago and we were asked to seriously accept it. They said similar results had been found through the army tests, although it is now well known that the army tests did not give intelligence levels but educational or informational levels. What is the philosophy that runs through all this? Is it strange to you? It is the Hindu caste system which asserts that every man is put into his occupation by a law of nature, a law of God. That is the arrangement of the caste system in India—the teamsters in the teamsters' caste, the miners in the miners' caste, the sailors in the sailors' caste and so on up to the Priesthood itself and that is brought over to America under the title of an alleged psychology and inflicted upon our school children. And those alleged scientists who are running wild over the United States now say to one another in their publications, with fiendish glee, that the public school system is a wonderful laboratory because of the compulsory attendance law. And then they come forward with such statements as I am about to read to you, if I may. This will show that I am not drawing upon my own imagination when I speak of injecting the caste system into the life of our public schools.

Dr. G. B. Cutten, President, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York, in inaugural address a few years ago said:

"It may be interesting to speculate concerning the effect of mental tests upon the problem of democracy. If the present hopes and expectations are realized they will result in a caste system as rigid as that of India, but on a rational and just basis. We are now examining children in the public schools, and find all ranges of intelligence from imbecility to genius. We are told that the intelligent quotient of a child rarely changes, so that we are enabled to tell early in life what the limit of intelligence of any person will be, and in a general way

to what class of vocation he is best fitted, and, to a certain extent, destined."

So they are going to find out, by measuring us as children, as to whether we are to be day laborers, miners, carpenters, school teachers, bank presidents or something else, and the crowning infamy is now committed when statements are made that they have discovered that those of superior intelligence are also of the highest character. Well, we have a sordid tale in the courts of Chicago that it seems to me challenges that sort of philosophy, a tale so terrible in its details that I do not even care to mention the names of those involved. They say you are put on your level by nature and there is no use struggling against it. I say it is time for the American Federation of Labor to give the lie to those who in this manner are challenging the true laws of life, who are denying all religions as well as trampling upon the philosophy of our trade union movement.

Delegate Marshall (Hubert S.) suggested that Delegate Olander be added to the Standing Committee on Education.

Delegate Olander: I have such complete confidence in the committee that I think that will not be necessary. I know they will give me every opportunity to appear before them and give them the information I possess.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

BY THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The Committee on Education of this Convention desires to call attention to a public statement made recently by the Commissioner of Police of New York City, in which he suggested that every resident of Greater New York, and perhaps of the United States, be photographed and finger printed, and that their records be filed as one method of eliminating crime, following the practice of Germany, France, Austria and other countries.

In the opinion of your committee this form of enforced registration would not only entail a great amount of work and enormous expense, but it might very easily become a medium for a vast system of espionage in this country. The presumption of our common law, in contradiction to continental law, is that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty. Under an oppressive administrator such a system might reverse, in fact, this time honored legal principle. While we are

in full accord with every effort to curb crime and eliminate the causes which lead to crime, we are opposed to this suggested method which we feel is fraught with danger to the freedom of the American people.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Schmal: That completes the report of the Committee on Education, which is signed

JAMES P. NOONAN, Chairman
HENRY F. SCHMAL, Secretary
JOHN H. WALKER
JOHN HOWAT
H. C. GRIFFIN
WILLIAM A. NEER
E. H. FITZGERALD
THOMAS E. BURKE
E. WILLIAM WEEKS
WILLIAM SMITH
WILLIAM YOUNG
MORRIS SIGMUND
F. G. STECKER
HUGH FRAYNE

Committee on Education.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BOYCOTTS

Delegate Farrington, chairman of the committee reported as follows:

To Declare the National Woolen Mills of Parkersburg, West Virginia, Unfair

Resolution No. 3—By delegates Thomas Sweeney, C. N. Bolander and Gust Soderburg of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, That the National Woolen Mills, of Parkersburg, West Virginia, declared for a non-union shop on January 24, 1925, thereby locking out 184 members of the Journeymen Tailors Union of America; and

WHEREAS, All efforts on the part of the Union, and of the most highly respected citizens of Parkersburg have failed to induce the National Woolen Mills to recede from its determination of enslaving the workers in a so-called open shop; and

WHEREAS, An accommodating Judge issued a restraining order, forbidding the workers from peacefully advising any and all persons of the actions of the management of the National Woolen Mills, also known in the South as the Whatley, Inc., Tailoring Company; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Delegates to the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 1925, deem it the duty of all Central Labor Unions, State Federations of Labor, Federal Labor Unions, and all National and International Unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, to render all assistance in their power to the Journeymen Tailors Union of America, and is subor-

dinate Local No. 350 of Parkersburg, West Virginia; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council issue instructions to National or International Unions of Clothing Workers affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, that the National Woolen Mills of Parkersburg, West Virginia, is on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and such action as in their judgment is advisable.

Delegate Bolander, in discussing the question, explained that the words "woolen mills" in the resolution might be misleading, that the National Woolen Mills is a tailoring establishment which has been in existence for fourteen years and through the support of labor has prospered enormously. He gave an account of the trouble leading up to the lock-out, the efforts that have been made to settle the difficulty and in concluding said:

This is the first time the Journeymen Tailors' Union has ever brought in a resolution of this character to the American Federation of Labor. We have been affiliated here since 1887, and this is the first time we have brought in such a resolution. Now while I am on the floor I want to express my thanks and appreciation to the various unions affiliated, particularly to the Typographical Union. The little Typographical local union in Parkersburg has done splendidly for us, as have their unions all over the United States. The Label Trades Department, through Secretary Manning, has rendered us splendid service, and for that we express our thanks.

At this convention there have been many very splendid tributes paid to the women in industry. Out of the number of people locked out in Parkersburg seventy per cent were women, all American women. I have never in all my life seen a more militant force of women than there are in Parkersburg. Some people say the American people cannot be organized, or that when they are organized they will not stay in the organizations. That statement is refuted by our experience in Parkersburg. We appreciate the support that has been given us, and have a right to hope that further support will be given us by the organized labor movement of America, and particularly by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolutions 8 and 16 deal with the same subject, and are as follows:

Requesting That Affiliated Unions Be Circularized Asking Members Not to Subscribe to Magazines Printed by the Crowell Publishing Co. of Springfield, Ohio

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate James P. Holland of the New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Crowell Publishing Company of Springfield, Ohio, refused to employ union labor in the production of the following magazines: American Magazine, Collier's Weekly, Farm and Fireside, Mentor and Woman's Home Companion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Atlantic City, N. J., that the secretary of this body be instructed to send these resolutions to each affiliated organization with the request that no member of organized labor subscribe for any of the above magazines or periodicals until the unfair course of the Crowell Publishing Company is changed and union people are employed in the production of the above named magazines and periodicals; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the labor press of the Nation and also a copy to the president of the International Typographical Union.

Requesting That Affiliated Unions Be Called Upon to Protest to the Crowell Publishing Company Its Attitude Toward Union Printers and Mailers.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate James M. Lynch, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The Crowell Publishing Company, publishers of Collier's Weekly, the American Magazine, the Woman's Home Companion, Farm and Fireside, and the Mentor, early in 1924 locked out for no justifiable reason the union printers and mailers engaged in its plant at Springfield, Ohio, and despite the repeated efforts of representatives of the International Typographical Union to peacefully adjust the difficulty, has since been conducting these two departments—composing room and mailing room—on a non-union basis with out-of-town strikebreakers and boys; and

WHEREAS, Because of the fair-dealing of the International Typographical Union, attested to by thousands of employers throughout the United States and Canada; because of the munificence of the International Typographical Union as exemplified in its splendid system for training of apprentices, making of them useful citizens and good craftsmen; its establishment and long maintenance of a home for its aged and infirm members, not to speak of its pension system and its other humanitarian projects, it is obvious that the Crowell Publishing Company's refusal to deal with that union—particularly in view of the editorial uttering of the company's chief product, Collier's Weekly, to the effect that industrial disputes are harmful and should always be adjusted through conciliatory means and by application of the Golden Rule—is not only

inconsistent but is unfair and unwarranted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor calls upon its affiliated unions, their members and families, their friends and all lovers of fair play and honest dealing to protest to the Crowell Publishing Company against its refusal to permit the union printers and mailers of Springfield, Ohio—natives and long-established residents of that city and who were formerly the loyal, faithful and competent employees of the concern—to now work in its establishment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be furnished the daily press and the labor press for publication, and that all other honorable means be used to acquaint the reading public of America with the attitude of the Crowell Publishing Company in the matter of its relationship with the International Typographical Union.

The committee reported that the subject matter of Resolution No. 8 was covered by Resolution No. 16, and recommended concurrence in No. 16.

Delegate Ohl, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, discussed the question briefly, and warned the delegates that solicitors of the Crowell Publishing Company have been making the statement that the Typographical Union has adjusted its difficulty with that company. He stated that the Wisconsin Federation had circularized the state with regard to the misrepresentation, and that such action should be kept up until notification by the Typographical Union that an adjustment had been made with the Crowell Publishing Company.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

To Declare The Holland Furnace Company Unfair

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates M. J. Keough, John P. Frey, Geo. E. McCaffrey, and G. W. Boswell, of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution, indicating the unfair attitude of the Holland Furnace Company towards organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The convention decided that the Holland Furnace Company would be declared unfair, if the officers of the American Federation of Labor failed to bring about an amicable adjustment of the differences which existed between the International Molders' Union of North America and the Holland Furnace Company; and

WHEREAS, Through the friendly efforts of President William Green a conference was held in the Headquarters of the A. F. of L., with the representatives of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, the International Molders' Union of North

America, and the Holland Furnace Company; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this conference further conferences were held between the representatives of the International Molders' Union of North America and the Holland Furnace Company in Holland, Mich., which resulted in written and verbal agreements, for the purpose of establishing friendly relations; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the Holland Furnace Company immediately took steps which made it impossible to carry out the provisions of the agreement; and

WHEREAS, Their action was not only a violation of their agreement, but a dishonorable repudiation of their promises and avowed intentions of friendliness; and

WHEREAS, The attitude of the company's representatives has been flagrantly dishonorable, and in open violation of the spirit and the intention of the verbal and written understandings entered into; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Holland Furnace Company be declared unfair to organized labor.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Frey, in discussing the question, said in part: Because of the great interest the International Molders' Union has in its contest with the Holland Furnace Company, I know that the members of that union would feel that its representatives were negligent of their duty if they failed to make some statement in this connection relative to the reasons for the dispute. I will not go into the details of the kidnapping, slugging, mobbing, with the connivance of the local police department and the representatives of the Holland Furnace Company in Holland, Michigan, but they make up an interesting story. Eventually, through the efforts of President Green, a conference was had with the company and after four days in which every detail had been discussed an agreement was reached, and immediately that agreement was violated because of its provisions, including the organizing of the molders in the company's foundries in Holland, Michigan, and Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

The Holland Furnace Company at the present time is trying to control the entire furnace business of the United States. We want the assistance of the international unions and their members in calling public attention to the fact that not only did this company in the beginning make use of its own employees in slugging, kidnapping, mobbing, etc., but, when they signed an agreement they immediately gave instructions to their representatives in the foundry to

see that the agreement would not be carried into force so far as organizing the molders is concerned. Incidentally, I might say that the price they charge for their furnace is much higher than the price charged for furnaces made by union employes of firms in the United States and Canada, and union made furnaces are so much better there can be no comparison between the two.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Pledging Assistance to the Bakery Workers in Their Contest with the Ward Baking Company

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel and J. Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company, operating bakeries in the cities of New York, Brooklyn and Syracuse, N. Y.; Providence, R. I.; Boston, Mass.; Newark, N. J.; Baltimore, Md.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Youngstown, Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio; South Bend, Ind; and Chicago, Ill., as the forerunner of the most gigantic bakery mergers in the country, has declared for the non-union shop in all its manufacturing departments; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company, by such declaration, cancelled its agreement with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, locking out its union employes, thereby establishing a labor-crushing policy for the observance of kindred bakery mergers; and

WHEREAS, The Ward Baking Company, as reported, is contemplating a merger with other large and powerful non-union bakery trusts, seeking to maintain its reactionary leadership, dictatorship and anti-union policy to the detriment of producers and consumers of bakery goods alike; and

WHEREAS, Indefensible profits are reaped by the Ward Baking Company and kindred combinations by crushing independent competition and paying low wages—not conforming with the minimum standard of decency as required in accordance with the tabulations published by the U. S. Department of Labor—to the workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention reiterates and reaffirms its past decisions of the Portland and El Paso conventions, assuring the organized bakery workers of its continued, undivided support in this contest until a satisfactory termination of the controversy has been reached by the reunification of the Ward Baking Company and the establishment of desirable union conditions in kindred undertakings in the baking industry.

Since the presentation of this resolution to your committee information has come to it that the Ward Co., mentioned therein, is

one of the several vast combinations now engaged in the formation of an even vaster aggregation of capital for the control of the bread baking of the United States.

Investigation further shows that all of these combinations have been engaged on the one hand in fighting union labor and on the other of attempting to keep the price of bread up to war time levels; that even during the periods of greatest depression in agriculture, when the farmer was compelled to sell his wheat and other grains at a loss, they have maintained war time prices for their finished products.

By and through these methods, they have succeeded, according to the information coming to this committee in extorting large sums from the public through the simple device of keeping up war time profits which have been in great measure concealed by the formation of new companies and the issuance of large volumes of stock with no basis behind it than hope of ability to continue this extortion.

Further there is reason to believe, that the proposed new combination by virtue of its greater size proposes to secure an even greater grip upon the bread of the country, and become an even greater menace to the producer and consumer of bread—to the producer because of ability through large volume purchases to keep his prices down, to the consumer through ability to keep the prices at which he must buy up.

Ability to arbitrarily fix the price of bread, is ability to say how much and when men may eat. It is a violation of the common law and of the law of self defense that if permitted to go unchecked must be a menace to all.

In view of this fact and the further facts revealed above, your committee recommends that the resolution be approved and in addition that the executive council be and hereby is requested to ask Congress to investigate the formation of these trusts and more specifically, the vast new organization now in process of formation and that in advance of the meeting of Congress the President be asked to protect the public interest by preventing its formation until such time as the Congress may have made its report.

Delegate Goldstone, Bakery and Confectionery Workers:

It is really gratifying to hear from the floor of this convention a report such as has been delivered by the Committee on Boycotts, and I would not undertake to add anything to it, but simply express to the committee our great satisfaction in its report. It means a great deal to the bakers of this country.

The American Federation of Labor has given wonderful support to the Bakers in the last few years. The support given by organized workers when the attack of the Ward Baking Company began meant the protection of our old local unions and the creation of many new locals. Many of our local unions would be forgotten today if it were not for the whole-hearted support given by organized labor in districts where the Ward Baking Company made its strongest attempt to destroy the Bakery Workers' Union. I have been asked by my colleagues attending this convention with me to make this statement here and thank the American Federation of Labor and its members in every part of the country for the support that has been given us. With the loyal support of the labor movement we do not fear the power of the Ward Baking Company so much for ourselves as we fear the injury that will be done the consumers of bread by the extortionate prices they would charge if they were successful in defeating our organization.

Delegate Furuseth made a brief statement with regard to the Peoples Legislative Service, an institution formed about three years ago through the influence of the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette, that has for its purpose furnishing information to senators and congressmen. He suggested that the Bakers avail themselves of this service.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

To Assist Metal Polishers in the Dispute With the Cribben & Sexton Stove Works

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates W. W. Britton and Ray Kelsay, of the Metal Polishers' International Union:

Thirty-five members of Local Union No. 6, of Chicago, went on strike at the Cribben & Sexton Stove Works at 9.30 A. M., Wednesday, September 16, 1925.

Our members made four major demands from the firm. First, the recognition of the Metal Polishers Union, and the right of the polishers and buffers to organize. Second, the recognition of the shop committee. Third, the restoration of the \$1.00 per hour,

day work. Fourth, the re-adjustment of the piece work prices so that it will be possible for a polisher to earn \$1.10 per hour.

Three years ago in the midst of a severe industrial depression the Cribben & Sexton Stove Works took advantage of the situation to discharge the union polishers and buffers, and fill their places with non-union men.

These original non-union men having gradually displaced from time to time until the present working force, while unorganized, were not the ones that took the places of the union men at that time.

During the three years of the "Open Shop" policy of the Cribben & Sexton plant, conditions in the polishing and buffing department had reached a hopelessly deplorable condition, where those working at our craft had nothing to hope for. The right of collective bargaining was denied these workers, and the company insisted on handling the workers in the polishing and plating departments in an absolutely arbitrary manner; stated that they would deal with each man separately and individually but would refuse to recognize either a committee or the union.

Then the company attempted to cut the day rate from \$1.00 an hour to 85 cents per hour, and the piece prices were arranged to suit the convenience of the company, and at present it is impossible for a polisher to know what he will make working on the piece work basis; many of them averaging around 75 cents an hour; the union is now demanding a decent wage rate. The following is an example of the result of their treating with their employees individually:

The firm paid its laborers from 42 to 45 cents an hour and the highest rate of wages for the fastest stove mounter does not now exceed \$5.00 a day, while the company has employed a large number of women in its enameling department and these women on a piece work basis, by working very hard, are able to earn about \$25.00 a week.

The Cribben & Sexton Company manufactures gas stoves, ranges and furnaces. They all go under the name of the "UNIVERSAL."

WHEREAS, This is the only large stove shop that has taken this antagonistic attitude towards organized labor; and

WHEREAS, If an adjustment is not brought about, it may develop into another strike of the magnitude of the Buck Stove and Range Company of several years ago; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, direct the secretary to give this matter full publicity to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor by circular; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor refer the matter to the Executive Council for the purpose of making every effort to adjust this strike.

The committee reported concurrence and recommended that the Executive Council co-

operate with the affiliated unions having jurisdiction in an effort to unionize the plant.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Chairman Farrington: The committee has acted upon all resolutions that were referred to it, and the reading of the last resolution completes the committee's report, which is signed:

FRANK FARRINGTON, Chairman,
JOHN H. REARDON
M. J. MCGUIRE
WALTER SNOW
CHARLES D. DUFFY
W. F. FUNDER BURK
TIMOTHY HEALY
G. V. MORESCHI
CHARLES CASE
LESLIE MILLER
J. R. SMITH
EDWARD CANAVAN
JOHN J. DOYLE
THOMAS MALLOY
MORRIS KAUFMAN
LUIGI ANTONINI

Committee on Boycotts.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Pan-American Federation of Labor

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 83, the committee reported as follows:

Pan-American Federation of Labor

The record of the congress of the Pan-American Federation we read with deep gratification. The occasion in connection with which the congress was held, together with the deliberations of the meeting, was a most convincing demonstration of the effectiveness of our trade union movement in making effective high humanitarian ideals in the relations between workers of countries of widely diverse customs and development.

The congress, preceded by the inauguration of a constitutional labor government, gained an additional focus by the shadows which darkened about its president and architect. As the Executive Council pointed out, the last public appearance and official work of Samuel Gompers was as presiding officer of that congress.

The record of the achievements of the Pan-American Federation is so definitely constructive, that we feel constrained to urge with emphasis that every effort be

made to maintain and advance the work of this organization. We suggest definite concentration on efforts to increase affiliations to the Pan-American Federation of Labor and to render assistance to the organizing work in various Latin-American countries. Much can be accomplished by making available in Spanish, literature interpreting the purposes and methods of the trade union movement.

It is evident that the American Federation of Labor is an effective agency for interpreting to Latin American countries the real genius and the humanitarian ideals of our nation. It is, therefore, a great conserving agency for peaceful, constructive intercourse between nations. For these reasons we recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor submit to the President of the United States and the Executive of the Pan-American Union the desirability of according to the American Federation of Labor adequate representation upon the agencies and in the activities of the Pan-American Union, the Pan-American Financial Congress and the Arbitration Board recently created.

We note the change in the secretariat of the Pan-American Federation of Labor necessary by the promotion of Canuto Vargas by appointment as Labor Attache of the Mexican Embassy at Washington, and we heartily approve the appointment of Santiago Iglesias to fill the vacancy in the office of Spanish-Speaking Secretary. His devotion to the cause and industry are assurance that work will move forward effectively.

Secretary Woll: If there be no objection, the committee wishes to incorporate in that report our congratulations and commendation of the election of President Green as President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

President Green: If there are no objections the statement of the secretary of the committee will be incorporated into the report.

The Chair modestly accepts it.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Mexico

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 85, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends approval of the prompt action of the President of the

American Federation of Labor in seeking information of the Secretary of State as to the purpose and basis of his public declaration upon Mexico last June. Because the extraordinary tone and method of the communication seemed likely to endanger relations between our country and Mexico, the forthright inquiry of President Green helped to clear the atmosphere.

We commend President Green in continuing the established policy which constitutes the American labor movement as the friend and champion of the rights of the people of Mexico. Such a course has been repeatedly affirmed by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee propose that the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to express our appreciation of the distinguished courtesy of a personal greeting from the President of Mexico conveyed to us by the fraternal delegates from the Mexican Federation of Labor. We recommend in this connection an expression of confidence of the American Federation of Labor in the sympathetic purposes of the Honorable Plutarco Elias Calles, whom we consider a consistent and constructive friend of organized labor of both Mexico and the United States.

The conference on immigration between Mexico and the United States arranged by the President of the American Federation of Labor, was both timely and constructive. the problem with which it dealt is one which, if allowed to develop without an attempt to conserve the welfare of all concerned, would eventually have been a source of dissension and bad will.

We commend the statesmanship reflected in thus beginning to study the problem at once, and recommend endorsement of the action in providing for a commission of inquiry to make recommendations upon a basis of facts to the labor movements of our two countries. We are gratified to report that the underlying principle upon which this latest joint undertaking by the labor movements of our two countries is based, is the principle of voluntarism which implies educational methods, organization of wage earners and reliance upon the power of economic organization.

Your committee concurs in and recommends approval of the recommendation set forth by the joint committee of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor in which they recommend the creation of a joint commission representing the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana and the American Federation of Labor for continuous study of immigration and emigration.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to select a representative as fraternal delegate to the next coming convention of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana.

International Labor Office

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 82, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee fully concurs in what the Executive Council says under the caption "International Labor Office." We commend the Executive Council action in raising funds to furnish a room in the International Labor Office, and congratulate them on the attainment of the desired result.

We recommend that when the memorial contribution which the American Federation of Labor is to make to the International Labor Office at Geneva is in readiness for presentation that the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to make that presentation personally in order that we may give additional significance and distinction to the honor we wish to pay our departed leader. Such an act would most graciously symbolize the reverence with which we hold his memory.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

China

On that portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 88, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee has had under consideration that part of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "China," and notes with sustained interest the splendid statements set forth in which is related things which seem to be almost impossible among civilized nations. This subject is so important we deem it advisable to quote in full and particularly call attention to the letter President Green wrote and forwarded to President Coolidge under date of July 10, 1925. President Green's letter

indicates in unmistakable language "the fundamental causes for present disturbances in China" and then declares that "the abolition of extra-territorial rights of foreigners is necessary to China's administrative integrity and sovereignty."

Further on President Green says, "Our American trade union movement believes firmly that our Republic stands for ideals of human justice and equality of opportunity for all and that these ideals must direct not only national policies but our relations with other countries. The Chinese situation is an opportunity for further application of these ideals and labor earnestly desires that our country act in conformity to the highest ideals of humanism and constructive progress."

With this we have coupled Resolution No. 43.

Declaring for the Withdrawal from All Nations of Extra-Territorial Privileges in China

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, During the past hundred years foreign nations have been imposing limitations upon China's Sovereignty through treaties that accorded them special privileges and guarantees; and

WHEREAS, The development of national institutions and a responsible government in China are retarded by the prerogatives exercised by foreign nations in settlements over which the government of China has no control and by treaty provisions which deny China the right to fix and collect customs duties; and

WHEREAS, Foreign nations have been developing in China modern factory production and branches of commercial undertakings thus imposing the complexities and difficulties of controlling these technical developments in the service of human welfare upon a people familiar only with hand production and unprepared to protect themselves through voluntary economic organizations and necessary protective and humanitarian legislation; and

WHEREAS, Not only the world-wide organization of industry and commerce make it necessary for Labor to concern itself for the establishment and maintenance of such standards of life and work as will assure opportunity for progress for all who work, but Labor has a very deep sense of responsibility for using its influence to promote human justice and freedom in all human relations; and

WHEREAS, International conferences have been arranged for October 26 and December 18, the first to consider customs and the second to consider extra-territoriality; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor declare itself for the withdrawal from all nations of extra-territorial privileges, and for giving to China customs autonomy and that we urge our Government to further the policy of speedy action upon these principles; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor express to the Chinese Federation of Labor our fraternal desire to render them all possible assistance in the development of their trade union movement, and our deep concern for the establishment of high Labor standards in all countries bordering the Pacific.

Your committee is in accord with and notes with deep satisfaction the statement made by the Executive Council and with the forceful and fundamental portrayal of cause and effect of inadvised treaties and policies of foreign nations in China. We congratulate President Green upon his timely, forceful and convincing statements filed with President Coolidge. We moreover concur in Resolution No. 43 and recommend that both the statement of the Executive Council and the letter of President Green be approved and that Resolution No. 43 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNATIONAL WORLD COURT

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 54, and upon Resolution No. 40, the committee reported as follows:

Disapproving Affiliation of the United States With the World Court

Resolution No. 40—By Seamen's Delegation:

RESOLVED, By the 45th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that we protest against the United States in any way affiliating with the so-called World Court.

Your committee has considered that part of the Executive Council's report under the caption of "International World Court," page 54, and Resolution No. 40, and begs leave to report on these proposals as follows:

Conditions affecting the relations between the nations of the world are in a great state of flux. In this changing order of things of world-wide nature it is imperative that extreme caution and care be exercised in whatever decisions are reached and which are world-wide in their consequences. Be-

cause of this and for the further reason that the American Federation of Labor has viewed sympathetically the development of a tribunal which may lessen causes of war and promote peace among the peoples in the world without involving our nation in foreign entanglements and alliances, your committee recommends reference of the subject contained in Resolution No. 40 to the Executive Council for continued research, observation, study and constant alertness and in addition to a report of its findings on this subject.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: There will be someone here who will recollect a struggle—a very insignificant one—to prevent the American labor movement from being made a part in any way of this new policy that was begun at the peace table at Versailles, and which is gradually developing to become just what it was then stated it would become. Of course I have no objection whatever to the Executive Council examining; on the contrary, I hope with all my heart they will examine, and in doing that examining that they will try earnestly to divorce themselves from any precedent or prejudice.

The World Court as proposed is a misnomer of the most absolute character. The kind of world court that can and will, so far as it is permitted to act, do much to prevent wars has been in existence for some time and the United States has been a party to it. That is the arbitration court at The Hague. There it is specifically understood by all the nations that they are not to be compelled to come in there; there is to be no force except public opinion, if you please, to our own country, that will bring them in there. It is a voluntary affair, it is an arbitration; we have used it in many things and with great advantage to us as an American people.

We have stood for arbitration among nations now for more than forty years, and the court at The Hague has been organized for the purpose of hearing and determining such causes as may be submitted to it by a voluntary agreement between nations. These things do not interfere with the dignity and the right of each nation that has within it the power to define its right of sovereignty and self-determination. But the proposed court connected with the League

of Nations is an entirely different proposition from that. When the Executive Council read the Paris Treaty establishing the League of Nations and the powers given to that League of Nations they will find that it is a super-government which claims for itself the right to determine the relations between nation and nation, so far as their national questions are at issue.

Its last report says that the question of immigration is not a domestic question; in other words, that the League of Nations may, through its assembly, determine what people are to be able to come to the United States, in what number and from whence. It goes further and says that those nations that have great natural resources may be compelled by the League of Nations to sell part of those resources to nations that haven't any, and at a price to be determined by the League of Nations. If that isn't super-government, if that isn't robbing the United States of its sovereignty, if it be in accordance with the right of self-determination of the different nations, let the Executive Council when it gets to examine these things explain these questions away.

Just as the assembly is provided to deal with national questions purely between nations, the labor section of that institution is organized for the purpose of providing rules and regulations that are to cover the relations between employers and employees throughout its jurisdiction. I am not going to go into that. If you listen to a resolution which the committee is to report you will hear why we should not adopt anything dealing with this League of Nations question until it has had the most exhaustive and careful investigation into it.

What is the Court to do under these regulations?

The Court is to construe the decisions come to by the League of Nations assembly, and it is to construe the resolutions come to by the labor office through the system under which they work; in other words, it is a super-court that if it could do it it would undertake to determine, not only the relations between the United States and some other nation, but the relations of the bakers to the Ward Company, etc. I ask the Executive Council to go into this matter with the utmost thoroughness possible and to divorce

themselves from the influence that any former action may have had upon them.

A Court means that a person who feels aggrieved may bring Bill Jones before its tribunal, and in order to do that the court is endowed with the power to issue a subpoena to bring the parties before it upon the complaint of one of the parties. Who is to serve a subpoena upon the United States to come into the World Court? Who is going to serve a subpoena upon France, with her tremendous air service that is able to sink all the navy you have got? Who is going to serve a subpoena on England? Well, you can think over these things.

Of course you can serve a subpoena on Nicaragua, of course you can serve a subpoena on Norway, of course you can serve a subpoena upon Hadjez, this wonderful new government they have established down at the Persian gulf—you can serve a subpoena on Liberia and a few other nations. Subpoenas can be served there, yes, but serving a subpoena on the United States—why you gentlemen here would be ready to tar and feather anyone who advocated it if you came to understand what it really meant!

This World Court, so-called, was not intended to do this thing. The man who introduced it had the highest ideals with regard to it. I think, even in my personal dissent with Woodrow Wilson, that he died because he tried to bring it about. His idea was noble and high and idealistic.

You ought to give the highest attention that you possibly can to assist your Executive Council to become right on this question. I know the difficulty they will have, because one of the hardest things for an organization or for men to do is to reverse themselves, and they will have to reverse themselves if they are going to finally act right on this question. And it takes big men and big organizations to do that. I hope and trust that the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are big enough men, when they have investigated this thing and divorced themselves of prejudice, to come to an understanding of it.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee: The committee's report recommends reference of this subject to the Executive Council for further study, observation and action. The previous speaker, I understand, does not dissent from the report of the committee, but has attempted to present to this convention his point of view upon the World Court, the

problems involved in that question and the dangers to be faced and met with, as he conceives or concedes them.

I presume that all of us may have particular points of view on that subject. Your committee does not attempt to adjudicate those varying conflicting opinions and judgments. It does recommend reference of this subject to the Council for further examination, investigation and observation, and I, as a member of the committee and in behalf of the committee, should not want to express an opinion on the subject matter referred to us, because I don't believe it is essential in acting on this part of the committee's report.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers, discussed the matter at some length and said, in part:

If a poll of the public sentiment of the world were taken today there is no doubt but that, by practically unanimous acclaim, this would be considered the most important question in the world. As the introducer of an opposing motion which requests that this great labor movement of America record itself in opposition to the World Court, has taken up fifteen minutes of your time in pointing out its infirmities, I will trespass upon your indulgence for a lesser time to say a word on the opposite side; and in doing so I don't want to enter dissent to this report, because if that committee is true to the repeated assertions and declarations of this movement for the past ten years, if they are true to the address delivered by your President in response to the fraternal delegates upon this platform, you will not do anything to chill the hands of our President or our Congress in trying to meet this overwhelming question.

In my philosophy of life I have a great deal of impatience with those whose only asset is criticism. For my own part, I have sought to make myself useful to my constituents and thus have tried to seriously analyze the affairs of the world in which I live, the condition of wages and how they have constructively moved forward for the benefit of those I serve, and I learn that after all, wages are based on production. If we still sowed wheat by hand and cut it with a sickle and thrashed it with a flail we would not have advanced so far.

I have further discovered that the great bane of the workers in past centuries has been continued wars and preparation for wars

and the promotion of international hatreds and dissensions.

Calling attention at this point to the changed conditions in the world today, Delegate Gainer said: Today there are practically no domestic questions. The price of wheat is an international question, the price of copper is an international question; seventy-five per cent of our cotton is exported, and if we ceased to use coffee today we would leave Brazil prostrate.

Look at your morning paper, and you discover that over half its front page is devoted to international questions. And just recently, to show you the inter-dependence of one government upon another, we found ourselves involved in a war, not of our own making, the cost of which in blood and treasure amounted to eighty billions of dollars.

Quite recently it was my privilege to cross the ocean, and I found that when I left port I had to have a passport based on international agreements, I travelled on sea lanes made by international agreement, I arrived on the other side and I changed my money by international agreement, and I found that our nations were inter-dependent in thousands of ways and that there was no way to separate them.

This question of international relations has been so profound that every President who comes to the White House realizes that it is of supreme importance. Woodrow Wilson attempted to meet it, the late President Harding attempted to meet it, and President Coolidge, whom no one can charge with being a radical, has already recognized the importance of this great question, and the probabilities are that on the 17th day of December the Senate of the United States will take up the question of our relations with other countries. You have got to have some relations with other countries, you can't dismiss this question, because it won't let you alone, no matter who you send to the White House.

I read with a great deal of satisfaction and pride the splendid address of President Coolidge before the American Legion convention, and his expression there on this question meets my views fully.

Delegate Gainer then quoted an article from the New York Times of October 16, 1925, setting forth statements with regard to the two great powers of France and Germany getting together and promising to never fight again.

In conclusion he said: There is just one

thing to do, and that is to do what the committee proposes to do, to realize that international conditions are in a state of flux, but to continue to hold a sympathetic attitude toward any program or any pledge or any advice or any agency contrived by international legislators that will promote international cooperation.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

The speeches of fraternal delegates and the presence of fraternal delegates or representative trade unionists from Great Britain, Canada, Germany, Mexico and Ireland, forcefully remind us of the shifts in international relations that have given the United States a dominant place. We find that the economic problems of all nations are in varying degrees interdependent and hence the need becomes increasingly apparent for joint consideration of inter-related problems by the constructive forces of trade unionism.

In conformity with our repeated expressions of interest in the international labor movement, we recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to continue negotiations with the International Federation of Trade Unions for the purpose of endeavoring to reach an agreement upon fundamental points and on the basis enunciated at the El Paso A. F. of L. convention.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORTS OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

A perusal of the report of our Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress discloses that they observed with comprehensive interest the outstanding proceeding and action of our fellow trade unionists of Great Britain.

The report brings to our observation a close view of the fact that from an economic basis the problems there are similar to those with which we are confronted. We note with approving interest the statement that "many attempts were made to inject political matters into "the industrial situation, but all such attempts failed, as a sharp distinction is made here between both, and all political questions are promptly referred to the Labor Party Conference."

For a more and broader view of the situa-

tion as noted by our delegates, we recommend your attention to the report printed in full in the seventh day's proceedings.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**REPORT OF DELEGATE JAMES DUNCAN
TO THE TRADES AND LABOR
CONGRESS OF CANADA**

Your committee has read with approval and sustained interest the very interesting and illuminating report of Delegate Duncan, and recommend that it be perused by all students, friends and trade unionists who we are sure will glean full and instructive information. We recognize the value of exchanging fraternal delegates with our fellow trade unionists across the imaginary line which separates us only in affiliation and allegiance to country.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 39 to read as follows:

**Protesting Adoption of An International
Seamen's Code by League of Nations,
Which Would Perpetuate Servitude
for Seamen**

Resolution No. 39—By the Seamen's delegation:

WHEREAS, Article 23 of the covenant of the League of Nations pledges the members of the League to "secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children"; and

WHEREAS, The International Labor Office of the League of Nations has for some years past and is still promoting an international codification of the rules relating to seamen's articles of agreement; and

WHEREAS, Article 64 of the proposed international seamen's code, as prepared by the International Labor Office, deliberately and designedly attempts to perpetuate involuntary servitude aboard ship by prescribing penalties for seamen if the latter quit work, even though their ship may be securely moored in a safe harbor; and

WHEREAS, Article 65 of said proposed international seamen's code aims to inflict further penalties upon any seaman who "incites another to desert or who assists him to do so" which language when judicially interpreted, will make impossible any co-operation and effective organization among seamen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in forty-fifth annual convention assembled that we respectfully direct attention to the fact that fair and humane conditions of labor cannot be secured or maintained as long as penalties are inflicted for quitting work and for "inciting" others to quit work while in harbor; further

RESOLVED, That we emphatically pro-

test against the adoption of said international seamen's code and authorize the Executive Council to give every possible assistance to the organized seamen of America in resisting international sanction for compulsory servitude aboard ship.

Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 39 as amended and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**To Assist the Work of Organization in
Latin-American Countries**

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen:

WHEREAS, The state of oppression, misery and peonage under which the wage earners are living in some of the Latin-American countries are alleged to be living, is a blot on the American Continent which should no longer be tolerated by the forces of organized labor in this hemisphere; and

WHEREAS, Repeated appeals have been made to the American Federation of Labor to help and assist the wage earners of said countries to establish their rights as free men; and

WHEREAS, With the increase of Latin-American immigration into the United States the low standard of living imposed upon the wage earners of our sister republics in this hemisphere constitutes a menace to the standard of living, achieved by organized labor in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The prestige and reputation of the American people as a liberty-loving people is endangered, due to the ruinous exploitation of the wage earners in the Latin-American countries by American and European interests combined; and

WHEREAS, At the fourth Pan-American Labor Congress, held in Mexico City last December, resolutions were approved, recommending that missionaries and organizers be sent to Latin-America to cooperate with the affiliated organizations in developing their strength so as to be in a position to become the bulwarks of freedom and democracy in their respective countries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to cooperate with the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in carrying out the resolutions adopted in this matter by the Mexico City Congress.

Your committee finds that the subject matter of the resolution is partly if not wholly covered in the report of the Executive Council with reference to Pan-America and Mexico. Therefore we recommend that Resolution No. 55 be referred to the Executive Council for its consideration and action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Opportunity for Hearing of Venezuela Labor Delegation Before Pan-American Federation of Labor Prior to Publication of Report Covering Situation in That Country

Resolution No. 23.—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen:

WHEREAS, The forty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously approved a resolution describing the alleged intolerable oppression under which the Venezuelan workers and the people are held by the present government, and calling upon the President of the American Federation of Labor to cause an investigation of these charges through the Pan-American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The large file of documents and affidavits now in the office of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the testimony of witnesses, and the fruitlessness of all attempts to establish direct communication with Venezuelan labor organizations, whose representative men in Venezuelan territory it is alleged may risk their liberty, and even their life, by the mere act of answering a letter of inquiry, all tend to prove the truth of the allegations embodied in the resolution, approved by the forty-third annual convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-fifth annual convention of the A. F. of L. to recommend to the President of the A. F. of L., before making public a complete report on the Venezuelan situation at whatever moment he should consider most opportune, that the representatives of the exiled citizens of Venezuela resident in the United States, be heard as well as any labor delegation that may be invited and sent from Venezuela organized labor, to appear before the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Your committee concurs in principle with the foregoing resolution and recommends that it, with the subject matter contained therein, especially in the resolve, be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor with authority to act in obedience to his own best judgment and as the complex, involved circumstances may appeal to his mature information, consideration and judgment.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Granting of Pardons to Mexican Libertarians Imprisoned in Texas

Resolution No. 54.—By Delegate John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed

the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with the President of Mexico, the Mexican Ambassador in Washington, D. C., and all other duly authorized Mexican representatives in respectfully and earnestly petitioning the Government of the State of Texas to grant pardons to Abraham Sisneros, Jesus M. Ranger, Jesus Gonzales, Leonardo M. Vasquez, Pedro Perales and Charles Cline; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the American Federation of Labor gave every possible measure of cooperation when the petition for pardon was presented to the Governor of Texas; and

WHEREAS, Final action has not yet been taken upon the petition by the Governor of Texas; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the Executive Council to communicate with the Governor of Texas and convey the deep interest which the delegates, representing the American trade union movement of the United States and Canada, have in the pardon of the men named, and that the Executive Council appeal to the Governor of Texas to act favorably upon the petition for pardon which has been presented.

Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 54 and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation amended Resolution No. 73 by inserting the words, "so far" after the word "has" in the second line of the second Whereas. The amended resolution reads:

Commending the Administration of President Calles of Mexico and Pledging Continued Friendship and Confidence

Resolution No. 73.—By Delegate Matthew Woll of the International Photo-Engravers' Union:

WHEREAS, The inauguration of Plutarco Elias Calles as president of Mexico brought fruition to the hopes of the workers of that country and satisfaction and gratification to the workers of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The service which our fellow trade unionist has so far rendered as president since his inauguration has fully warranted the confidence and hopes reposed in him by labor everywhere and by the great masses of the people; and

WHEREAS, He has called labor men into the service of his government in the most important administrative capacities, as in the case of the appointment of Louis N. Morones, leader of the Mexican labor movement, to be Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor; and

WHEREAS, He has further shown his foresight and courage by appointing labor attaches to the leading Mexican embassies in foreign nations, giving the honor of the first appointment to the Mexican embassy at Washington where Canuto A. Vargas, a trade unionist, now serves in that important capacity; and

WHEREAS, In every possible manner Gen. Calles and his associates have striven to improve the condition of the workers and the masses of the people with a fine zeal, a noble courage and an inspiring fidelity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we adopt these resolutions as an expression of our continued friendship and confidence, in appreciation of the magnificent reception given to our delegates who attended the inauguration in Mexico City and as a pledge of continued cooperation, friendship and fraternity in the great cause of human freedom, progress, democracy and justice.

Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 73 as amended and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 42 by adding after the word "Kansas," in the last Resolve, the following language: "And in such other states as the question may involve." The amended resolution reads:

Urging Special Effort to Organize Mexican Wage-Workers in the United States

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, At a conference of representatives of the American and Mexican Federations of Labor, held at Washington, D. C., August 27, 28 and 29, 1925, the immigration problem was frankly and fully discussed; and

WHEREAS, At said conference a declaration was adopted setting down the principle that the ultimate condition of mankind should be such that all men should enjoy the greatest possible right to travel freely to every part of the world in pursuit of happiness and well-being, but that, nevertheless, a universal obligation should be observed to the effect that all persons in ordering their movement or their conduct should refrain from endangering the standards and conditions of life and the progress achieved by other peoples; and

WHEREAS, The Mexican Federation of Labor, in keeping with the principle above set forth, has repeatedly appealed to the workers of Mexico to refrain from emigrating to the United States, and is willing and anxious to cooperate with the American Federation of Labor in maintaining and improving the standard of living and working conditions achieved in the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 45th convention of the American Federation of Labor, endorses and approves the declaration and principles adopted by the Mexican-American Labor Conference, of August 27-29, on the question of immigration, and that the Executive Council be authorized and urged to cooperate with the Mexican Federation of Labor in devising ways and means whereby the principles adopted by the said confer-

ence be carried into effect and practice; and, furthermore, be it

RESOLVED, That in this same connection it is essential that all bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and its organizers and representatives, be requested to pay special attention and devote special effort to the task of organizing the Mexican wage-earners in the United States so they may be in a position to cooperate with the American Labor movement in maintaining and improving the conditions achieved by its efforts; and, furthermore, be it

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Mexican Federation of Labor, and to all organizers of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations in the States of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Colorado, Oklahoma and Kansas and in such other states as the question may involve, with a special request that efforts be made to carry into effect the purposes set forth in this resolution.

Your committee concurs in Resolution 42, as amended, and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Killing of Striking Workers in Nicaragua

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, A gloomy report has reached the American Federation of Labor, stating that on Sunday, August 30th at the town of La Cruz, District of Rio Grande, Republic of Nicaragua, about fourteen defenseless agricultural laborers employed by the Cuyamel Fruit Company were shot to death apparently for no other reasons than to dare to strike for better wages; and

WHEREAS, Representatives of the workers of Nicaragua have appealed to the American Federation of Labor for moral assistance to voice the right of the workers to organize and strike; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend that the Chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor communicate with the President of the Republic of Nicaragua requesting him to cause an investigation of the alleged wilful slaughter of defenseless workers and that assurance of the rights of the workers to organize and to strike for better living conditions, be guaranteed.

We concur in this resolution and recommend its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Entering of United States Troops in Panama City

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, That recent press dispatches from Panama City stated that owing to the

workers' strike against the higher rents of housing and housing conditions, the United States troops entered the City of Panama to disperse the workers' meetings and other demonstrations of protest; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the American Federation of Labor, to recommend and instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor to cause an investigation of the motives and reasons why the troops of the United States have been used to enter Panama City and serve as an instrument of force in a controversy of the people of Panama with their landlords and profiteers in the renting of houses for the workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if investigation results prove that the entering of the United States troops in the Republic of Panama, was an uncalled for and unnecessary action, then the President of the American Federation of Labor is authorized to energetically protest to the President of the United States against the interfering of the troops of the United States in the controversies of the people of the Republic of Panama.

We concur in this resolution and recommend its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee: This concludes the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, which is signed:

GEORGE W. PERKINS, Chairman,
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary.
JAMES DUNCAN
MAX S. HAYES
JAMES WILSON
ANDREW FURUSETH
JAMES O'CONNELL
JOHN P. FREY
B. A. LARGER
D. J. TOBIN
GEORGE L. BERRY
JOHN H. WALKER
C. L. BAINE
W. D. MAHON
W. J. BOWEN
J. A. FRANKLIN
J. J. HYNES
WM. L. HUTCHESON
SARA A. CONBOY
TIMOTHY HEALY
E. J. MCGIVERN
ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK
EDWARD J. GAINOR
ALBERT ADAMSKI
EDWARD J. EVANS
WILLIAM GREEN

Committee on International Labor Relations.

Delegate Woll moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole and as acted upon by the convention. The motion was seconded and carried and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, submitted the following as a final report:

Resolution No. 91 by Delegate Robt. Fechner:

WHEREAS, Every Convention of the American Federation since 1919 has made a study of and passed resolutions offering cooperation to the U. S. Veterans' Bureau in its problem of rehabilitating the disabled veterans of the World War; and

WHEREAS, Under the World War Veterans' Act the work of training and educating the disabled ex-service men will close on June 30, 1926; and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Veterans' Bureau will still need the practical cooperation of all elements of society in order to properly complete its task of properly caring for the maimed and wounded; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Atlantic City, recommends that all delegates take the necessary steps to have their respective national, state and local organizations arrange to cooperate in a practical manner with the U. S. Veterans' Bureau in the training and employment of the disabled ex-service men through its Central Office in Washington, D. C., and its fifty-three Regional Offices located in the principal cities in the country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Director of the U. S. Veterans' Bureau, Washington, D. C.

While your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution, your committee also recommends that the U. S. Veterans' Bureau extend a greater degree of cooperation to the trade unions in order to avoid many of the misunderstandings and causes for friction and disagreement that have been experienced in the past in the indiscriminate placing of men without first consulting the officers of the trade unions affected.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Woll: On the seventh day of this convention, upon receipt of a cablegram by Fraternal Delegate A. A. Purcell, advising of the death of Fred Bramley, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, the President instructed your committee to present a resolution upon that unfortunate occurrence. The resolution reads:

Resolution No. 92, by Resolutions Committee:

WHEREAS, The trade unionists of Great Britain have suffered a great loss in the death of a beloved and faithful executive,

Fred Bramley, the Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress; and

WHEREAS, The strength of fraternal fellowship and good will that binds together the wage-earners of all countries makes the sorrow of workers of one country a grief to those of all countries; and

WHEREAS, In addition to universal fellowship, there is the closer bond between the trade unionists of America and those of Great Britain, of fundamental and enduring ties that have made all keenly sensitive to the interdependence of the labor movements of the English-speaking countries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor express its deep sympathy for the family of Fred Bramley and the British Trade Union Movement in their sorrow and loss and that the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to convey this message to the British Trades Union Congress.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Woll: The committee wishes to present the following resolution, which it believes expresses the unanimous feeling and sentiment of this convention:

RESOLUTION NO. 33

By Resolutions Committee

WHEREAS, The delegates and officers of the 45th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, appreciative of the fine spirit of courtesy and helpful cooperation with which representatives of the organized labor movement and the citizens of Atlantic City and the State of New Jersey have facilitated the work of this convention, we the Committee on Resolutions proposed an official expression of our grateful appreciation for the welcome, hospitality and unflinching service that have been accorded us. We have daily enjoyed the distinctive beauty of this city and the most commodious facilities of the meeting hall provided.

We propose to express formally the appreciation of the American Federation of Labor of the words of welcome with which the State of New Jersey and Atlantic City and the labor movements of both State and City greeted us, the genuine courtesy and competent assistance accorded us by W. S. Scott, Manager of the Stanley Theatre; Sidney Lowenstein, Orchestra Leader and members of the Stanley Theatre Orchestra, and Karl Bonawitz, Organist; President Canavan, of the Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Operators International Alliance; Representative Dougherty of the local Moving Picture Operators' Union; to thank the members of the press who have helped Labor to get a wider audience for the deliberations of the convention; to extend fraternal greetings and good-will to the labor movements of the countries that have sent representatives to this convention; and finally to urge all delegates to carry back to their constituencies renewed determination to strengthen the work of fraternity, education and organization in order that we may give reality to the ideals of

humanitarianism that constitute our cause. We suggest a standing vote on this proposal as manifest evidence of our unity and aggressive determination.

The resolution was adopted by a unanimous rising vote.

Delegate Woll: This completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions, which is signed:

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary
G. W. PERKINS
B. A. LARGER
A. A. MYRUP
J. A. FRANKLIN
JOHN L. LEWIS
THOMAS L. HUGHES
DAVE EVANS
P. J. MORRIN
C. J. LAMMERT
JOHN COEFIELD
JAMES M. LYNCH
JOE WEBER
WM. B. FITZGERALD.

Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Woll moved the adoption of the committee's report as a whole and as acted upon by the convention. The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers: As a representative of the conference held in Washington in July, dealing with the subject of insurance, I want to make a brief statement. I am sure that all will be gratified to know that the first essential step has been taken for the formation of a Union Labor Life Insurance Company, intended and designed to benefit the wage earners of our land, both the United States and Canada, and we have the assurance of the Mexican Federation of Labor as well in this undertaking. The various organizations and members will receive further information within a few weeks.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Is this to be an insurance company entirely outside the management and government of the unions?

Delegate Woll: It will be an insurance company owned and controlled by the trade unions, but not to be a part of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Furuseth: Will the American Federation of Labor be the leading part of it?

Delegate Woll: The American Federation of Labor as such will not be involved in it, but the Board of Directors shall be made up so that at least three-fourths of its members shall be trade unionists who are affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: It now appears that the

work of the convention is completed. The resolutions presented to the convention and all matters legitimately brought before it have been acted upon and decided by the convention. Consequently, the work of the convention is now concluded.

The Chair wishes to make this observation and give voice to these sentiments. I think I can truthfully say that we are leaving here feeling that we have been privileged to participate in one of the most educational, instructive and helpful conventions that the American Federation of Labor has ever held.

(This statement of the President was applauded.)

The work of this convention, in my opinion, will make history in the work and progress of the labor movement. We have conducted our deliberations and discussions, in my opinion, upon a plane that was in keeping with the dignity, the standing and the influence of the American Federation of Labor.

I am willing to make this assertion, that in no parliament ever held anywhere has there been more able discussion on questions, or more thoughtful consideration of questions than has been manifested and shown in this convention. Questions of social interest, political and social economy, all have been touched upon, considered and discussed ably and intelligently. It seems to me that it would compare with a course in university training,

because I know of no college or university that could offer a more helpful and constructive course in social and political economy than has this convention during its two weeks' sessions.

I am proud of this convention and its work. I appreciate, as the presiding officer of this convention, the work done by all the committees who have served so well, the intelligent and complete reports they filed, and the studious and painstaking way in which the delegates participating in this convention have considered the reports of the committees. I express to you all my sincere appreciation and profound thanks.

Now we shall go out from here with a program, with a record of which we may all feel justly proud, and we shall face our future work with an indomitable spirit, a spirit set aflame by the proceedings of this convention, and I am sure that spirit will not be dampened or lessened in all our work and in all our activities.

And now, with these closing remarks, I declare the forty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 1 o'clock p. m., Friday, October 16, 1925, the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

Frank Morrison.

SECRETARY.
American Federation of Labor.

William G. Plummer

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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